

**South African Newspaper Reports on Corruption: A Rhetorical
Analysis of the Role of the Media in Moral Formation**

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Religion and
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Abstract

The premise of this study is that of a reformed theological perspective which holds that all human beings are corrupt. It sets out to explore whether newspaper reporting, using rhetorical strategies which build awareness in the public about corruption, will solve the said issue of corruption. The study reports on the rhetorical strategies of four weekly South African newspapers, the *Sunday Times*, *The Sunday Independent*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport*. Four cases of corruption in the calendar year 2016 were selected and the four newspapers' reporting were analysed. This was undertaken by means of four case studies on the said articles from these publications. The study found that the four selected newspapers employ various rhetorical strategies in their reporting on the four cases of corruption. Through their reporting they establish an awareness, and allow their respective readers to judge on issues of corruption. However, the study also shows that corruption is more than its manifestation through the conduct of certain individuals. Based on the abovementioned theological premise, it will take more than just the newspapers' reporting to solve the issue of corruption.

Key words: Corruption, moral formation, media ethics, newspapers, news reporting, rhetorical strategies




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Declaration

I declare that *South African newspaper reports on corruption: A rhetorical analysis of the role of the media in moral formation*, is my own work; that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Eugene Baron

October 2017

Signed:  _____



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Acronyms

AIP	Association of Independent Publishers
ANC	African National Congress
BBE	Black Economic Empowerment
BCCSA	Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa
BPI	Bribe Payer Index
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ELM	Elaboration-likelihood model
FIC	Financial Intelligence Centre
FCJ	Forum of Community Journalists
IABSA	Interactive Advertising Bureau South Africa
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
MP	Member of Parliament
MRM	Moral Regeneration Movement
NEC	National Executive Committee
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
ONO	Organisation of New Ombudsmen
PC	Press Council
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PRASA	Passenger Railway Agency of South Africa
Precca	Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act
RSG	Radio Sonder Grense
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SANEF	South African National Editors' Forum
SAUJ	South African Union of Journalists
SCA	Supreme Court of Appeal
SONA	State of the Nation Address

TI Transparency International
TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UWC University of the Western Cape



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1. Introduction

1. 1 Introduction

This study is situated in the context of a wider ethical discourse on moral formation and, more specifically, a South African discourse on the formation of a human rights culture. This has to be understood against the background of what Nelson Mandela described as the need for an “RDP of the Soul”, the “need to build the moral and religious foundations of society”, to “strengthen the moral fabric of society” and ongoing calls for moral regeneration since 1994. In theories of moral formation, the role of parents, role models, schools and religious communities is widely acknowledged. This study focuses particularly on the role of the printed media, not just in shaping public opinion, but also in creating moral awareness, fostering moral resolve and discussing ways of addressing moral problems. It investigates the way in which selected newspapers report on endemic corruption in the context of national, provincial and local government in South Africa. Such reporting informs readers about such corruption and raises a public awareness in this regard, and moreover, it shapes the attitudes of readers through the particular rhetorical strategies employed, the placement of reports, the frequency of such reports and the selection of voices to respond to alleged corruption. These aspects indicate the particular ideological stance adopted by a newspaper and on this basis the ways in which public opinion is shaped and how a newspaper’s role in moral formation is approached.

The study analysed reports on corruption in the context of national, provincial and local government in South Africa included in four South African weekly newspapers over a period of 12 months, from 1 January to 31 December 2016. The research problem that was investigated may be stated as follows: What rhetorical strategies are employed by the *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* to report on selected instances of corruption in South Africa in the period from 1 January to 31 December 2016? In order to address this research problem, I selected four instances of corruption within this period of time and gathered all the relevant reports on such incidents in these newspapers. I collected such reports, described and analysed the rhetoric of each report as well as comparing the reports that appeared in the different newspapers on the same event. In order to analyse the rhetorical thrust of such reports I made use of classic and modern forms of rhetorical criticism with reference to the work done by Douglas Lawrie (2005) on public speaking, which also applies to media reporting, as described in standard text books on rhetoric. On the basis of such a conceptual instrument, I sought to capture and assess the ways in which each newspaper approached its role in shaping not just public opinion, but also moral awareness, moral attitudes and moral behaviour.

1. 2 Context and relevance: The need for moral formation

1.2.1 The need for moral formation in the context of corruption

In his February 2013 State of the Nation Address (SONA), President Jacob Zuma commented on a number of alarming facets of the South African moral landscape, including heinous crimes, HIV/AIDS, human trafficking, teenage pregnancy and

ongoing corruption in various spheres of society. He reported on the brutal rape and murder of Anene Booysen to indicate that women and children are often the victims of such moral decay.

Although such incidents continue to shock the whole country, the one moral concern that was emphasised most in the SONAs from 2009 to 2017 is that of corruption. Zuma made a commitment in 2009 to accelerate the fight against crime and corruption. He has referred to the problem of corruption in all his subsequent SONA addresses and indicated some of the measures the government would introduce to tackle corruption. I briefly reflect on his references to corruption in the said addresses of 2012 to 2017.

In 2012, the President announced that the Department of Home Affairs had signed a memorandum of understanding with the banking industry to roll out the online fingerprint verification system in all participating banks which will assist the country to detect and prevent fraud, the launch of Corruption Watch as well as government and business' agreement to implement anti-corruption programmes. In the following year (2013) the President announced that government would strengthen the capacity of law enforcement agencies to tackle corruption. With regard to procurement, he announced government's plans to centralise the procurement under the office of the Chief Procurement Office at National Treasury (2014). In the same year, he promised that measures would be introduced to prevent public servants and public representatives from doing business with the state,¹ as well as to strengthen the protection of whistle-blowers. In 2015 came more assurances that the government is hard at work fighting the scourge of corruption by introducing seven anti-corruption institutions as well as seventeen pieces of legislation.

It is quite strange that not much was said in the 2016 SONA, other than a small reference to corruption when the President referred to [the] "undertaking to spend public funds wisely and to cut wasteful expenditure" (Zuma, State of the Nation Address, 2016).

In 2017, the President reported on some success stories in the fight against corruption:

The fight against corruption continues. Within the National Prosecuting Authority, the Asset Forfeiture Unit completed 389 forfeiture cases to the value of R349 million. They obtained 326 freezing orders to the value of R779 million. A total of R13 million was recovered in cases where government officials were involved in corruption and other related offences in the past year.

Concerning this need to address corruption, there was and is indeed consensus amongst some political parties. During 2012, the Inkatha Freedom Party's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for example, stated that South Africa was on the verge of becoming dysfunctional, because of corruption (*Mail & Guardian*, 2012/02/14).

According to the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) report of 2014 published by Transparency International (TI) (a global organisation combating corruption) South

¹ This was followed-up in his next address (2015) in which President Jacob Zuma reported that the government has, "...signed into law the Public Administration and Management Act which amongst others prohibits public servants from doing business with the state".

Africa occupies 67th place on the index with a score of 44/100, indicating that the country is losing its moral compass. Although in 2012 South Africa scored a dismal 43 and showed a decline in its corrupt activities to a score of 42/100 in 2013, it increased beyond 43 (in 2012) to a score of 44 in 2014 (Transparency International, 2014) and in 2016 it achieved an even worse score of 45.

As part of the 2016 report by TI, it responds² to the status quo of South Africa as part of Sub-Saharan Africa:

Some other large African countries have failed to improve their scores on the index. These include South Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania and Kenya. South African President Jacob Zuma was in court and in the media for corruption scandals. This includes his own appeal against findings in a report by the Public Protector Thuli Madonsela, regarding undue public spending in his private homestead in Nkandla.

Deon Roussouw (EthicsSA, 21 January 2013) of the Ethics Institute of South Africa adds that South Africa is at a crossroads, with a set of interrelated challenges threatening to undermine the social fabric of our democracy. He argues that South Africans should focus on at least four ethical priorities to bring the country back on track. These are: unambiguous ethical leadership; to transcend narrow self-interest; to halt the slide down on the TI corruption perception index; and to engage citizenry. He argues that the only way to reverse this trend of decline in morality due to the increase of corruption is to build a strong service ethos in the public service. Pollock (2007: 302) believes that corruption is best dealt with through the formation of good habits in order to develop moral character. In the words of former President Nelson Mandela, regarding threats to the moral fibre of the South African society:

Our nation needs, as a matter of urgency, what one writer has called an 'RDP of the Soul'. When we succeed in changing our own way of doing things, when we make progress in transforming society at all levels, we shall not only be improving our own quality of life. We shall also be laying the basis for a future of hope for our children and grandchildren (Mandela, State Of the Nation Address, 1999).

At a moral summit in October 1998, Mandela engaged with religious leaders and urged them to become involved in a moral regeneration campaign. For Mandela, this initiative was a way to deal with "... the extent of corruption both in the public and private sector, where offices and positions of responsibility are treated as opportunities for self-enrichment; the corruption that occurs within our justice system, violence in interpersonal relations and families, in particular the shameful record of abuse of women and children; and the extent of tax evasion and refusal to pay for services used" (Moral Regeneration Movement, n.d).

Kretschmar, Bentley, and Van Niekerk (2009: 102-104) provide several reasons as to why moral formation is needed within the South African context: South Africa is facing a serious moral crisis, and there can be no easy way to change this situation. The authors argue that government will not be able to solve the moral crisis on its own, but needs believers (speaking from a Christian perspective), who are well

²² Their response may be seen on their online website at http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/africa_corruption_is_a_big_issue_in_2016_african_elections Accessed on 21 February 2017.

informed about how people are morally formed and who contribute to the shaping of good people.

1.3 Theories of moral formation

This research is situated within the University of the Western Cape's study project on moral discourse. The work of Ernst Conradie (2006) in the textbook *Morality as a way of life*, is a first-year textbook that serves as a foundation for further research. I therefore base my discussion and theory of moral formation on his preparatory work in this regard.

Conradie (2006: 6) makes the point that in various discussions in the field of ethics, the focus is mostly placed on issues of "moral or responsible decision making", whereas there are at least two more critical areas that also need to emerge when dealing with the question of morality: a vision for a good society and of the need for virtuous people to build that good society.

Conradie (2006: 8) points out that there has always been a tension between these three questions and that it has not always been possible to maintain cohesion between them. In fact, he indicates that there were particular times in history when one of these moral questions was emphasised in opposition to the others. Conradie (2006: 53) adds that in late twentieth century ethical discourse, one may observe that there is a move away from an "ethics of doing", which focuses on what constitutes a good action, to an "ethics of being" that focuses on the type of person one should be. This shift was influenced especially by Alisdair MacIntyre's book *After Virtue* (1981) and Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self* (1985). This led to a retrieval of virtue ethics in various circles including Christian theology (see the role of Hauerwas, 1975) and also a feminist ethics of care (see Nell Nodding's work 1984).

In an ethics of being there are especially three further questions that have to be addressed, namely why a retrieval of virtue is important, which virtues have to be cultivated and how the formation of people of good moral character takes place (Conradie, 2006: 51). This study will focus on the third one, namely on the need for and approaches to moral formation.

Conradie (2006: 72-77) suggests that one may identify at least five distinct approaches to moral formation. In the first place, he refers to a communal approach to ethics. The focus is on how virtues are learned and how to behave according to the "worldview of the community" to which the person belongs. The emphasis here is on a person's role responsibilities, the processes of socialisation and accepting what is expected of him/her according to the specific community to which the person belongs.

Secondly, Conradie refers to an approach to moral formation which takes place within an institutionalised context, where the focus is not so much on the community, but on institutions within a pluralistic society. The focus of this approach is on a respect for authority. A 'good' person is defined according to his or her loyalty towards a particular institution. Moral formation is thus understood as "training in obedience to authority, that is, the authority of the institution, the charismatic leader, the sacred text, the divine being" (Conradie, 2006: 74).

Thirdly, in the context of the European enlightenment, in particular due to the influence of Immanuel Kant, moral formation is approached in terms of rational argumentation. The individual needs to be persuaded on rational grounds about what is right or wrong, about universal moral principles and the duties that follow from these. The approach to moral formation shifted from that of being morally guided by the rules of an institution to the assumption that individuals have freedom to make moral judgements. This approach to moral formation thus fosters the ideals of freedom, conscience and responsibility.

Fourthly, a different approach to moral formation was adopted in theories of responsibility (influenced by scholars such as Max Weber, Hans Jonas, Emmanuel Levinas, Paul Ricoeur and theologians such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Heinz Eduard Tödt, and Wolfgang Huber). The focus here is on moving away from an emphasis on moral conscience to recognise and accept responsibility for the consequences of one's actions. Moral formation is thus centred on "a call to individuals, communities and institutions to accept responsibility and exercise responsibility in decision making" (Conradie 2006: 76).

Finally, in the context of contemporary virtue ethics, a degree of consensus developed concerning a number of variables crucial to establishment of a context conducive to moral formation.

Conradie (2006; see also Vosloo 1994) lists the following conditions in this regard:

- Where virtues are rooted in a more comprehensive vision of the good life, of a good society
- Where virtues are usually embodied and carried through narratives, through paradigmatic stories
- Where such paradigmatic stories are conveyed by "communities of character", namely groups, traditions and communities of people who live with integrity, honesty and loyalty
- Where conversion, transformation and discipleship are necessary for those who participate in such "communities of character" (this also requires a long, intense and often painful process of moral formation)
- Where regular exercises, rituals and (spiritual) disciplines are the context within which virtues can be internalised
- Where role models, examples, heroes, saints, martyrs, significant adults, (all inspiring figures) play a key role in guiding people through such processes of moral formation, providing direction, motivation and inspiration
- Where friendships (in a variety of ways and forms) are crucial in order to sustain people on this road of moral formation
- Where credibility is born from the concrete practising of central convictions and virtues; such credibility eventually serves as the criterion for whether or not moral formation has actually taken place.

This list of conditions for moral formation immediately indicates the limitations of the media (the focus of this study) in shaping the moral and religious foundations of society. The media play a significant role in articulating a vision for the good society, while regular reporting (e.g. on corruption) may be regarded as an exercise in vigilance to identify, address and not to condone societal ills. However, the media

cannot by themselves cultivate appropriate virtues except by functioning as a role model of such vigilance.

These approaches to moral formation are clearly influenced by insights emerging from related fields of study, such as sociological theories of socialisation and theories of moral development in the field of educational or developmental psychology.

Such theories of socialisation suggest that a person is trained and inculcated with the values and norms of the community, which brings awareness of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The socialisation process stretches throughout a person's lifespan. Primary socialisation focuses on the internalising of norms and values from infancy to the adolescent stage. This is followed by secondary socialisation which focusses on the period from adolescence through to adulthood, and thereafter. Berger and Berger (1979) give a comprehensive account of what the socialisation process entails and understand moral formation as part of the process of socialisation.

The theories in developmental and educational psychology, which focus on the process of how individuals develop, are discussed within three areas. In the first area, the focus is on cognition and reasoning in the process of moral formation. The adherents of such an approach to moral development argue that a person should be able to understand what is wrong, why certain rules or behaviours are good or bad. The theorists who wrote at great length in this field of research were Kohlberg, Piaget, and Gilligan (see Berk, 2013: 484-502)

The second approach as to how moral development takes place is focused on the emotional component. What is a person's disposition, attitudes and sentiment, and how is this developed? Sigmund Freud (cited in Berk 2013: 488-490) discusses this process which commences during the infancy stage and continues to the early childhood development stage. This process of development is referred to as the psychosexual stages of development. This perspective of moral development places an emphasis on the deep-seated emotions which are developed in the unconscious. While this may or may not be true for Freud, in Piaget for instance, it is much wider, and encompasses the cognitive processes too, including at what stage a child can actually grasp certain moral imperatives depending upon their cognitive stage of development e.g. being able to 'reverse think'.

The third approach to moral development places the emphasis on the behavioural component. This approach provides some insight into the process of moral behavioural change, and how an individual undergoes such change. Those who espouse such a perspective on moral development include influential theorists such as John Watson, Edward Lee Thorndike, Albert Bandura, Burrhus Frederic Skinner, and Walter Mischel (see Berk 2013: 490-450).

In theories of moral formation such insights clearly have to be incorporated although moral development and socialisation cannot be equated with moral formation. The integration of such insights is for example, addressed by the Dutch practical theologian Johannes van der Ven in his influential and comprehensive study entitled *The formation of the moral self* (1998). Two South African responses to the work of Van der Ven are those of Louise Kretzschmar and Nico Koopman. Kretzschmar

(2009: 104) notes that the strength of his approach lies in the fact that he engages with a range of other disciplines such as psychology, education and philosophy. Koopman (2007: 115) argues that the various modes³ jointly enhance the formation of persons in all aspects of the spheres of the individual, the community, the society with all its institutions, the pluralistic society as well as the multicultural society. In this study, Van der Ven's work is regarded as an authoritative account of the complexity of moral formation.

1. 4 Delimitation and statement of the research problem

1. 4. 1 Introduction

This study assesses the rhetorical strategies employed in four South African newspapers to report on issues of corruption during the course of 2016. It is important to distinguish this focus from two other possibilities that would also focus on a rhetorical analysis of such reports.

Firstly, one could concentrate on the reception of the newspaper reports by the actual readers. This would require an empirical study on the experiences and perceptions of such readers in specified contexts. It could also require data collection through interviews and focus group discussions by regular readers.

Secondly, one might investigate the impact of such reporting on the prevalence of corruption. The question would then be whether a rhetorical act as embedded in a newspaper report was indeed persuasive, given the responses by readers in addressing cases of corruption or in establishing policies to avoid future corruption. This would also require an empirical study, typically in the form of opinion polls, even though such impact can hardly be established with any degree of certainty. To establish how actual readers acted upon the strategies of persuasion employed by the reporter in addressing a particular intended audience is beyond the range of this study.

Instead, this study focuses on the rhetorical act from the perspective of the newspaper itself, i.e. its editor, owners, management, staff. The study did not include the opinion section of the newspaper when selecting and gathering the reports on corruption in the newspapers, but is mainly based on the news section. The emphasis is placed on the rhetorical strategies employed in news reports on corruption and the ideological positions of the particular newspapers as reflected in such reports. The given focus of this study requires a clarification on a number of aspects.

1. 4. 2 Print media

I am aware of the emergence of electronic forms of media. However, printed newspapers are still in circulation and although the online versions offer significant competition for printed versions, there are still a number of readers who prefer to

³ The modes of Van der Ven include two informal modes (discipline, and socialisation) and five formal modes (transmission, development, clarification, emotional formation and character formation). The media, according to Van der Ven's modes, will be included in the socialisation 'mode' which occurs informally.

read the printed version. The printed edition also better symbolises the particular identity, ethos and ideological positioning of the newspaper and the media networks through which it is published.

1. 4. 3 Four South African weekly newspapers

This study does not focus on all South African newspapers' reporting on corruption, but just four weekly newspapers. This is largely due to the many newspapers in circulation in South Africa and also because weekly newspapers most probably covered the most important news during the course of the 2016 calendar year. The following four newspapers were selected for this study.

The Sunday Times is one of South Africa's weekly English newspapers; was established in 1906, and is currently owned by the Times Media Group. The Times Media Group is a well-known media company in South Africa, was previously known as Johnnic Communication, and later became Avusa (Wikipedia, Times Media Group). The Times Media group also produces other daily and weekly newspapers besides the *Sunday Times*, including *The Times*, *The Sowetan*, *Sunday World*, *The Herald*, *Weekend Post*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Saturday Despatch*, and *Business Day*. The company also has community newspapers in circulation such as *Algoa Sun*, *Go! & Express*, *Our Times*, *Talk of the Town*, and *The Rep*. According to Wikipedia, *The Sunday Times* reported in 2016 a weekly print circulation figure of 442, 018.⁴ Mr Bongani Siqoko was appointed as the editor of the newspaper at the end of 2015.⁵

The Sunday Independent is a weekly English newspaper and is owned by Independent Media. Including the *Sunday Independent*, the company also circulates 15 national and regional newspapers, which include, *The Star*, *Saturday Star*, *Sunday Independent*, *Business Report*, *Cape Argus*, *Cape Times*, *Daily News*, *Mercury*, *Isolezwe*, *The Post*, *The Independent* that appears on Saturdays, and also the *Weekend Argus*. In 2016, the *Sunday Independent* reported a weekly circulation of 41,464. According to the former editor of the *Sunday Independent*, Jovial Rantao (n.d.), the mission of the newspaper is to "...bring South Africa and the world in one quality package to the reader...to stimulate, provoke, inform and entertain".⁶ The newspaper is currently (2017) owned by Iqbal Survé and his company Sekunjalo Holdings. The present (2017) editor is Steve Motale.

In the newspaper's online website⁷ it provides a brief background on the owner:

'Dr Survé is a Physician, Entrepreneur and an ardent Philanthropist, born and educated in Cape Town, South Africa.

He was affectionately known as the "Struggle Doctor" because of his provision of medical care towards victims of apartheid brutality, including some of those imprisoned on the infamous Robben Island.

⁴ See Wikipedia entry for Sunday Times at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Sunday_Times (accessed on 23 August 2016).

⁵ See <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/business/2015-11-24-bongani-siqoko-named-new-editor-of-the-sunday-times/> (accessed on 19 September 2017)

⁶ See <https://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/about-us> (accessed on 5 October 2016).

⁷ See <https://www.independentmedia.co.za/en/executive-chairman/dr-iqbal-surve/>

Dr Survé had both a personal and/or a professional relationship with many former Island prisoners including Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Govan Mbeki on their release from Robben Island.

After leaving medicine in 1997 he founded The Sekunjalo Group, which is today wholly owned by the Survé family. Dr Survé serves as the Executive Chairman of The Sekunjalo Group, headquartered in Cape Town.

The story of Africa's rising is an important narrative that the Survé family and Sekunjalo have committed to by investing in media on the African continent. Dr Survé is the chairman of one of Africa's largest print and online media groups, Independent Media, which has 24 major newspaper titles with 10 million readers daily, including the only pan African newspaper, *The African Independent*.

The *Mail and Guardian* is under the management of M&G Media Limited. This media company is 77.69% owned by a Zimbabwean publisher and entrepreneur Trevor Ncube, while 10% of its share is held by the M&G Staff Share Trust and Media Development Investment Fund. The remaining 2.31% shares belong to other minorities (*Mail & Guardian online*, 2014).⁸ The *Mail and Guardian* in South Africa was known in the beginning years (1985) of its establishment as the *Weekly Mail*.

The history of this English newspaper shows that it was opposed to the national government before 1994, and played a key role in exposing the system of apartheid. It was able to send its reports to the outside world due to the company's direct links with the *Guardian* in London. The newspaper, together with the *Guardian* in London, broke the "Inkathagate" scandal – by providing details on how police funds were secretly channelled to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to block the African National Congress (ANC).⁹ The *Weekly Mail* was sued following such reports but a large investment from the *Guardian* and the *Weekly Mail* helped to stabilise the latter's precarious finances and also resulted in the name change to the *Mail and Guardian* in 1995 with the *Guardian* as the major shareholder. According to post 1994 records the *Mail and Guardian* had a circulation from "25 000 a week to more than 50 000 per week" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2014). The current (2017) editor of the newspaper is Khadija Patel who took up the position on 1 November 2016. However, during the most part of the research in 2016 Verashni Pillay was the editor of the *Mail and Guardian*.¹⁰

The fourth newspaper that is included in this study is *Rapport*. The newspaper, which was established in 1970, is, according to its current (2016) editor Waldimar Pelsler, a "leading Afrikaans Sunday newspaper and reaches 20% of the Afrikaans market" (*Media24, Rapport*, 2016¹¹). *Rapport* falls under the management of Naspers and its publishing house, Media24. Media24 is responsible for daily newspapers such as *Die Burger*, *Beeld* and *Volksblad*, besides other magazines and books. In August 2016, the paid circulation of *Rapport* was reported to be 129, 169 copies with a readership

⁸ See Wikipedia entry for Rapport at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rapport> (Accessed on 26 November 2015).

⁹ See Mail and Guardian webpage at www.mg.co.za. (Accessed on 23 August 2016)

¹⁰ See the Mail and Guardian's announcement on their online webpage <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-10-20-khadija-patel-appointed-mg-editor> (Accessed on 19 September 2017)

¹¹ See <http://www.media24.com/newspapers/rapport/> (Accessed on 23 August 2016)

of 1,338,000. This is a brief introduction to and background information on the newspapers that were used for this study.

It is important to distinguish between the owners and the management of the four newspapers, as well as the editors of the newspapers. There has often been speculation on the influence and meddling of the owners and the management in terms of the editorial content of their media companies. For instance, the resignation of the former editor of the *Sunday Independent*, Wally Mbhele, was alleged by the *Sunday Times* to be the result of 'interference' of the owner Mr Iqbal Survé in the editorial content of the newspaper (*Sunday Independent*).¹² It is therefore often speculated that newspapers will serve the interest of a certain group within the South African society, which would make their reporting often biased.

1. 4. 4 Corruption

On the basis of current reporting in South African newspapers, one may identify many different individual cases of corruption over the span of a calendar year. Some of these (e.g. the scandals around the South African arms deal and Nkandla) elicit regular reports in the media over an extended period of time. Such cases may be classified in terms of different forms of corruption, including that in the context of national, provincial and local government, government-funded institutions (e.g. schools, universities and parastatal companies), in the sphere of business and industry, in organisations in civil society (e.g. non-profit organisations, sport codes, religious groups) and in transactions between individual citizens. However, this study focuses on cases that pertain to alleged corruption in the context of national, provincial and local government and government-funded institutions.

I collected any newspaper report on alleged corruption in the selected newspapers during the course of 2016 (with around 50 editions of each of the newspapers) and then classified such reports under the rubric of specific cases. The issues of corruption were selected on the basis of the definition provided in South African legislation. Once this classification was done, I chose four such cases for closer investigation. These four were also selected based on the volume of newspaper reports on that specific issue that were published over the course of the calendar year (2016). I chose matters that included instances of corruption in national, provincial and local government as well as government-funded institutions. When just one of the newspapers published news on a particular case of corruption but not the others, the cases were not selected.

1. 4. 5 Statement of research problem

On the basis of the discussion above, the research problem that was investigated in this study was formulated in the following way:

What rhetorical strategies are employed by the *Mail and Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent* and *Rapport* to report on selected instances of corruption in national, provincial and local government and government-funded institutions in South Africa in the period from January to December 2016?

¹² See the report of the *Sunday Times* with the headline, "Survé canned editor over Molefe article" (2017/05/14), which can be accessed online at <http://www.africanewsforum.com/2017/05/15/iqbal-surve-canned-editor-over-brian-molefe-article/>

The study concentrated on the calendar year of 2016. I covered one calendar year in order to allow for some demarcation but also because it provided a natural beginning and end in government cycles as well as newspaper cycles.

There is certainly a degree of consensus that the media has an influence, and particular newspapers, and their role during the apartheid years, have been mentioned during the course of this chapter. But although various newspapers may include the same issue of corruption, the four selected South African newspapers reported differently on instances of corruption.

Although the newspapers might report on the same issue, there may be some distinct differences as well as similarities in how they do so. This is due to the particular rhetorical strategies they employ. For instance, these could be in the specific wording or captions that they use, or the placement of the case in a specific edition, or, the perspective they give to it when they report on it.

Newspapers might also argue that they are guided by the South African press code, and the internal codes and ethos of the institution too. The press code is a way of enforcing objective and truthful reporting when they consider reporting on a specific event, story or incident. In practice, this is not indeed the case. The various newspapers are still guided in their ideological positions, choices, decisions and their selection of particular cases and how they choose to report on these.

It is not very easy to perceive those distinct differences, as newspapers are claiming to the general public that they simply report the facts, are objective in their reporting, and that they merely place the news reports on the table, without any (hidden) agenda. The problem is that this would therefore not make sense if they merely did this, because the circulation figures prove that more interest or less interest is shown in the purchasing of some newspapers, than others, by the South African populace. This study set out to investigate and identify those rhetorical strategies that the four selected weekly newspapers use when reporting on corruption, to describe them and compare the said strategies of each newspaper to that of the others.

In doing so, I compared the different newspapers' rhetorical strategies, to reveal the distinct differences as well as the similarities and how each newspaper reports on the four cases of corruption, which may not be too clear to or noticeable by the ordinary reader. But employing a careful and close analysis, the rhetorical strategies of the newspapers could indeed be identified.

1. 4. 6 Research hypothesis

There might be diverse reasons why the various newspapers employ different rhetorical strategies. The reason might be because of the particular readers that the newspapers have in mind. It could also be the result of their particular ideological positioning; therefore they will use different rhetorical strategies in their reporting. I have a particular interest in how they report on corruption cases and the rhetorical strategies that they use, as this would convey the newspaper's particular ideological disposition.

1. 5 Research design and methodology

Various approaches are used to analyse texts and documents. Some researchers make use of content analysis when they analyse the underlying ideology and other features within (media) texts (Fourie, 2009: 4). Devereux (2003: 120) argues that content analysis is viable, especially when researchers want to “identify the intentions and other characteristics of communicators, detect the existence of latent propaganda or ideology, reflect cultural patterns of groups, and reveal the foci of organisations and describe trends in communication content”.

Content analysis can be divided into two categories. When Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012: 228) discuss content analysis as a tool to analyse documents and texts, they specifically refer to quantitative and qualitative designs. In terms of the former kind of design they refer to four appropriate methods: semiotic, discourse, frame and narrative analysis. However, if researchers want to analyse texts and documents, following a qualitative approach which I use for this study, these authors suggest the following qualitative analyses: verbal protocol, script (from a positivistic perspective), speech act (from a linguistic framework), hermeneutical, intentional, a thematic, and phenomenological analysis.

A method not mentioned by Wagner et al (2012), but which is also widely used to analyse texts and documents, is rhetorical analysis (Lawrie, 2005). This method which is based on the practice of rhetoric emerged and became an official practice during the period of Aristotle and Plato (classical times), and is still one of the methods used to analyse texts in the 21st century. Researchers who recently employed this method are scholars such as Dutcher-Walls (1996), Austnaberg (2012) and Alpaslan, Green and Mitroff (2008).

Berger (2011: 73) argues that a rhetorical analysis is also recently being applied after the “explosive development of the mass media found on radio, television and film”. He (2011: 75) further states that although a rhetorical analysis was mostly applied to oratory, especially in classical times (Aristotle, Cicero), it is also relevant in a mass-mediated culture.

Although the focus of this study on corruption situates it in the field of ethical discourse, the method of rhetorical analysis that is employed here does not require a detailed ethics statement. The general criteria for scholarly work may suffice.

Furthermore, it should be stated that though this study may indeed be interdisciplinary in nature, it addresses the role of the media and its approach within the discipline of Christian ethics. A rhetorical analysis will unearth the necessary results in order to ‘affirm’ or ‘reject’ the hypothesis that the four weekly newspapers employ distinct rhetorical strategies, which should contribute to the wider discussion on Christian ethics and a theological reflection on corruption.

1. 6 Chapter overviews

I followed sequential steps in order to investigate the research problem as stated above. In this chapter I began by providing an introduction to what the research entailed, and how it was conducted. I then provide an adequate overview of three aspects pertaining to the background against which this study is undertaken.

Firstly, I offer a brief overview on the endemic problem of corruption, with specific reference to the South African context. I establish a working definition of corruption, identify various forms of it, and describe the measures that are put in place by government, non-governmental organisations and other institutions in South Africa in order to address corruption in South Africa. I refer to relevant legislation and analyse governmental policy and information documents. I then discuss corruption as it manifests in South African society, alluding to various items of literature by authors that also address the prevalent corruption in South Africa. Moreover, I proceed with and also draw on Christian ethical discourse, particularly a reformed perspective on the notion of *corruption totalis*, to discuss corruption. In this chapter I do not make any conclusive comments, but merely offer a short theological discussion on sin and corruption. This is documented in Chapter Two.

Secondly, I offer an overview of theories and approaches to moral formation in terms of current discourse in the field of Christian ethics. This is carried out with reference to some of the standard textbooks and insights from Christian scholars in this regard. The aim was not to offer a comprehensive overview, but simply to briefly outline the various approaches in order to recognise them whenever employed in the print media. I document these in Chapter Three. This chapter will contribute to the broader field of Christian Ethics since it aims to provide a framework and basis on which the findings of the distinct rhetorical strategies of the four selected newspapers will be discussed and assessed, and documented in the final chapter.

Thirdly, I focus on the print media, with a particular emphasis on the ethical framework of South African newspapers. I refer to the South African Press Code, documents and policies that govern and regulate the print media industry. I also discuss the ethos of the four selected newspaper companies (for those that have one), as articulated in their vision and mission statements and the code of conduct for employees. I make use of standard textbooks in the field of media ethics; all this is documented in Chapter Four.

Fourthly, I describe the instrument that I employ in this study to identify, describe and compare the rhetorical strategies of the four selected newspapers in their reporting on corruption. Since the study of rhetoric has been undertaken from classical times, it is not possible to offer a comprehensive overview of the field or of rhetorical approaches. Instead, I use an analysis of various aspects of the rhetorical act offered in a textbook by Professor Douglas Lawrie on public speaking entitled *Speaking to Good Effect* (2005) that is used at the University of the Western Cape. I describe, discuss and assess his analysis and indicate how it can be used as an instrument in this study. Chapter Five documents this.

After explaining the instrument, I identify, describe, analyse and compare the rhetorical strategies employed in the four selected South African newspapers to report on cases of corruption during the course of 2016. I followed the method as described in the delimitation above. I additionally collected and classified all reports on corruption that appeared in these newspapers during the course of 2016, under specific cases. I then selected four cases of corruption for closer investigation, following the sampling process as sketched above.

On this basis, I offer a detailed description and analysis of the said strategies employed in the four newspapers in reporting on each of these cases. I use Lawrie's (2005) model as an instrument in this regard. I then compare such rhetorical strategies in order to clarify the similarities and differences between such strategies and to assess the rhetorical significance of such strategies. The results of the research are documented in Chapters Six to Nine of this thesis. Each chapter deals with a specific case of corruption during the course of the calendar year (2016). The case studies that were selected are reported in the following order and chapters in the thesis.

- The reported corruption when upgrades were carried out at President Jacob Zuma's private residence at Nkandla. This is documented in Chapter Six.
- The reported corruption of the Guptas' unethical relationships with public officials and state-owned institutions, which is documented in Chapter Seven.
- The reported corruption at the South African Broadcasting Corporation of South Africa (SABC), documented in Chapter Eight.
- The reported corruption at the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA), which is documented in Chapter Nine.

In these four chapters I describe the distinct rhetorical strategies identified by the researcher in each of the four weekly newspaper's reports on the specific case of corruption as outlined above.

Then, in terms of a summary I compare the similarities and differences between such strategies and assess the rhetorical significance of these strategies. I also assess the appropriateness of such strategies given the media's role in moral formation (see Chapter Three) and the press code adopted by South African newspapers (see Chapter Four). This is documented in Chapter Ten.

Finally, in Chapter Eleven, on the basis of the results reported in the previous chapter (Ten), I offer some concluding comments that pertain to the role of the media with regard to the rhetorical strategies that they employ in reporting in general. I also offer some recommendations for amendments to the press code in South Africa. In this regard, I focus on the responsibility of the media towards moral formation in the context of the malformation that becomes manifest in endemic corruption. However, most importantly I provide a small contribution to the discipline of Christian Ethics by discussing the findings and outcome (s) in terms of the distinct rhetorical strategies of the four selected newspapers' reporting on corruption in terms of a theological perspective on corruption, but more specifically in line with a reformed perspective of *corruptio totalis*. In the final chapter, I go beyond a mere discussion on the findings of the four selected newspapers, beyond the four selected cases of corruption, beyond cases of corruption in 2016 and indeed beyond the South African context, to contribute more broadly to the discipline of Christian Ethics.

2. Corruption: A South African Case Study

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I offer a brief overview on the endemic problem of corruption, with specific reference to the South African context. I establish a working definition of the issue, identify various forms of it and describe the measures that have been put in place by government, non-governmental organisations and other institutions in South Africa in order to address the said corruption in this country. This was done by analysing governmental policy and information documents, but also with reference to the available literature that addresses the topic in South Africa. Finally, the chapter briefly discusses the role that media can play in the combatting of this menace.

2.2 Concerns over corruption

The prevalent corruption on the continent of Africa is alarming. Mbaku (2000b: 120-121; in Hope & Chikulo, 2000) describes the scourge in African countries as follows:

Basically, corruption has increased levels of poverty and contributed significantly to the marginalization of large groups of people. By concentrating economic and power resources in the hands of a few individuals and groups, corruption has worsened income distribution, increased conflict between ethnic and other social cleavages, and encourage incumbents to become very repressive as they struggle to retain their lucrative public positions despite deteriorating economic and social conditions.

Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 18), responding to the state of corruption in Southern Africa, make the point [that] 'daily reports in the media in Southern African countries show large sums of money involved in corrupt dealings and practices'. Therefore, Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 18) argue that a general feeling from respondents in the region exists [that] 'the prevalence of corruption in Southern Africa was no longer a matter of debate but a fact'.

In South Africa, the National Planning Commission was tasked 'to advise on issues impacting on long-term development' in South Africa, and produced their report on 11 November 2010. According to this report corruption is one of South Africa's prevalent challenges. Its huge scale is a serious threat to South Africa's democracy (Gildenhuys, 2004: 82).

Corruption Watch released its annual report for the year 2016 with the theme: *Bua Mzanzi* (speak out, South Africa). It reflects on the issues of corruption that transpired in 2016:

In South Africa we watched as the Constitutional Court handed down a judgement stating that President Jacob Zuma violated the very same constitution that he is mandated to protect. We also observed the Shenanigans [sic] at SARS and the desecration of the National Prosecuting Authority. In 2016, we learned how our state - one that thousands fought for so that it could one day be free and belong to all who live in it – was captured by a few politically powerful individuals and their business cronies.

The threat of corruption in society was one of the reasons behind the establishment of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), a civil society initiative that was the

brain child of the (then) former deputy president, Jacob Zuma. The movement drafted a charter of positive values and constituted a framework of ethical and moral reference for all South Africans that is based on the values enshrined in the constitution. The focus of the MRM includes combating the root causes of crime and corruption in all its manifestations.

Although there are various incidents of corruption that occurred after 1994, I want to briefly refer to a few examples as presented by Alex Boraine.¹ Boraine (2014: 91) makes reference to the corrupt activities in South Africa after 1994 when he alludes to the forty members of parliament who, in 2005, were charged with making illegal use of parliamentary travel vouchers for personal use and for family and friends. He then also makes reference to the 'arms deal',² in which the former president Thabo Mbeki, deputy president, ministers, deputy ministers and director-general were alleged to have been involved in corrupt activities. Subsequently he refers to the grave and damning report concerning the alleged involvement of the former chair of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Pansy Tlakula, in tenders relating to the IEC's lease agreement. Therefore, Boraine (2014: 92) argues that corruption has become so commonplace in South Africa that it does not even surprise people when they read about it; he goes on to say that it is also one of the worrying features in South Africa: that the phenomenon has become something they expect to live with as being endemic and inevitable.

Besides the comments by Boraine, Brits (2014) and Zulu (2013) also highlight some disturbing examples of corruption that have unfolded on South African soil. Brits (2014: 514) refers to corruption as a cancer:

As a young democracy, South Africa's image had suffered a decided setback because of corruption in all spheres of society and an unacceptably high crime rate. From the outset, the new government had committed itself to clamping down on these evils, but by 2004 it did not have much to show by the way of results. In 1998 alone, fraud and inefficient management cost the government more than R10 billion. Poor financial control was often the biggest cause of corruption.

Zulu (2013: 84-85) refers to corruption with reference to its manifestation in local municipalities. He mentions the Province of Mpumalanga, including these municipalities: Balfour, Piet Retief and Standerton. He argues that the reason for poor service delivery in the province and these municipal districts is the direct result of corruption, fraud, and maladministration. He also refers to the Northern Cape, Kuruman, where it was reported that there were incidents of alleged awarding of tenders to friends of officials as well as an incident where one of the mayors was charged with alleged nepotism and unauthorised use of funds. Zulu (2013: 86) then highlights the report of the Minister of Cooperative Governance, which stated [that of

¹ Dr Alex Boraine is a previous advocate and was also, during its operation, the vice chairperson of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

² Corruption Watch (a civil society organisation in South Africa) provides a short description of the arms deal: 'Formally known as the Strategic Defence Package, the arms deal, to use its notorious nickname, was a multi-billion-rand military acquisition project finalised in 1999 by the South African government'. Further information on this case of corruption can be found on their website, <http://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/the-arms-deal-what-you-need-to-know-2/> closing quote marks?

the] ‘...283 municipalities in the country, only eight local councils had received unqualified audit reports from the Auditor General in the 2007/8 financial year’.

Corruption can have serious consequences. Ayittey (2000: 105), arguing that corruption has several deleterious effects on economic development on African Countries, says ‘...inefficiency and waste, aggravates the budget deficit problems, drives away foreign investors, and leads to economic contraction and collapse’.

Boraine (2014: 92-93) contends that this practice in the public sector is worse in that ‘...it robs the state of resources which could have been used for education, health and social upliftment. The most serious consequence of corruption in the public sector is that it hits the poorest of the poor’.

Kochan and Goodyear (2011: 20-25) discuss the economic, political and social effects of corruption. The economic effect includes the stifling of competition and is regarded as the major deterrent for investors. These authors contend that this is because the perceived level of corruption is the ‘single biggest disincentive for companies wanting to invest in foreign markets’. Corruption has an effect on the political climate of a country as it impedes ‘the consolidation of democratic structures and processes’. The impact on the society is devastating. Kochan and Goodyear (2011: 23) argue that corruption also destabilises a country’s social order. [It] holds ‘a society captive, slow [sic] or stop [sic] social progress, and empower [sic] despots...It also systematically corrupt [sic] countries, and ...increase [sic] the divide between the ruling elite and the dispossessed, with potentially devastating long-term consequences.’

2. 3 Working definition of corruption

It is not simple to define the concept of corruption. In fact, Chan (2007: 26) describes corruption as a complex issue. Gashumba (2010: 12; cf. Gildenhuis, 2004: 83) explains the difficulty of finding a single definition and cites the complexity of, and myriad meanings suggested by scholars for, the concept, because, as he argues, it varies from country to country and is contextual in nature.

I will briefly refer to a few definitions of the term. I want to start with the definition of Transparency International (hereafter TI). According to this, corruption is ‘the abuse of entrusted power for private gain’. Gashumba (2010: 13; cf. Gildenhuis, 2004: 81, 83) argues that this definition is more inclusive than the one above as it could include both the private and public sectors.

Discussing the task of creating a workable definition of corruption, Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 19-21) argue that the most common definitions in Southern African countries are: ‘...the misuse of public powers, office and authority for private gain through bribery extortion, influence peddling, nepotism fraud, speed money or embezzlement’ and also ‘an abuse of entrusted power by politicians or civil servants for personal gain’.

According to Stapenhurst (2000: 1), corruption has to do with ‘the abuse of public power for personal gain or for the benefit of the group to which one owes allegiance’ while Johnston (1997: 2; cited in Robinson, 1998: 2) previously provided a very similar definition: ‘the abuse of public roles or resources for private benefit’.

Mbaku (2000a: 9-11) maintains that there are three basic models, according to contemporary social science. In the first instance, corruption is related to the performance of the duties of a public office (as when someone uses his or her public office for private gain). Secondly, it is related to the concept of exchange derived from the theory of the market (related to studies in non-western societies, where rules and norms regulating behaviour of civil servants do not exist or are not well articulated). Thirdly, it is associated with the public interest concept (which is focused around the activities of political coalitions and interest groups that try to subvert rules in a democratic society in order to redistribute income and wealth in their favour).

Hope (2000: 18) in his attempt to define corruption asserts,

The term corruption comes from a special form of the Latin verb to break, *rampere* – which implies that something is badly broken. This something might be a moral or ethical code or, more often an administrative rule of law. The person who breaks it derives from some recognizable benefit for him/herself, family, tribe, party, or some other relevant group.

The definition of corruption that Hope (2000: 18) provides is related to a ‘moral’ breach or violation, whether committed by politicians or bureaucrats:

...the utilization of official positions or titles for personal or private gain, either on an individual or collective basis, at the expense of the public good, in violation of established rules and ethical considerations, and through the direct participation of one or more public officials whether they be politicians or bureaucrats.

According to Boraine (2014: 92), one definition of corruption in the South African context is, ‘...the use of public resources, bribery, nepotism and political favouritism in order to secure absolute loyalty to the party’.

Gildenhuis (2004: 83) asserts, ‘There are a number of general offences committed by public officials in the course of their employment that can be treated as corruption, for example theft, embezzlement, fraud and other criminal acts. In essence corruption is not only about getting caught with one’s fingers in the till, but also about abuse of power or lack of moral integrity in the decision-making process.’

In the search for a workable definition, I also consulted the definition proposed by Caiden and Caiden (2001: 186). They provide a breakdown of the concept, namely into individual and systemic corruption. According to them, individual corruption occurs when a particular individual ‘strays from a prevailing norm of official public behavior’ whereas systemic corruption exists when ‘a situation where wrong-doing has become the norm, and the standard accepted behaviour necessary to accomplish organisational goals according to notions of public responsibility and trust has become the exception to the rule’. Furthermore, systemic corruption occurs when ‘the administrative system itself transposes the expected purposes of the organization, forces participants to follow what otherwise would be termed unacceptable ways, and actually punishes those who resist’ (Caiden & Caiden, 2001: 186). The Commission for Africa (2005: 68) in its report also refers to ‘systemic corruption’ when it describes corruption as, ‘...a systemic challenge facing many African leaders’. As intimated, this remains a threat and challenge for African and Southern African countries. I refer to some alarming incidents and examples of such corruption in the context of African and South African discourses.

Despite all the contributions from and discussions by scholars on the definition of corruption, it is important for this study to focus on what constitutes corruption in South Africa. In this regard, the South African legislation will serve as an important guideline. The *Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act* (12 of 2004) provides the definition of corruption and prescribes which action will follow prosecution in a court of law in South Africa. Corruption occurs when: a person (A) gives (or offers to give) someone who is in a position of power (B) something to use their power, illegally and unfairly, for the advantage of A (or someone not directly involved). Furthermore, corruption manifests when there is an abuse of a position of authority.

According to the Act, the following elements also constitute corruption:

- When someone gives (or offers to give) to someone in a position of power / or when someone in a position of power receives (or agrees to receive) gratification (which includes money, a donation, a fee, a reward, a status, property, the avoidance of loss, the discharge of a loan, a privilege, and a discount)
- When someone in a position of power uses power illegally or unfairly to endow another with, for example: money, a donation, a fee, a reward, a status, property, the avoidance of loss, the discharge of a loan, a privilege, and a discount.

Furthermore, according to the Act, both parties will be guilty of corruption, unless the person that is on the receiving end refuses to take part; he or she will then be innocent. Corruption also prevails in instances where a person solicits a bribe.

The Act does not necessarily involve money exchanging hands. Gifts, entertainment, property, employment, influence of a vote, discounts, or release from a loan are also viewed as gratification (Corruption Watch, 2016)

The Act also specifies certain offences (sections 4 to 16) which I will briefly quote.

- 'Offences involving contracts: it is a crime for anyone to accept gratification to influence those who get a contract.
- Offences involving a public official: if anyone in the private sector offers a public official any gratification to give them a benefit they will be guilty of corruption.
- Offences that involve members of legislative bodies: it is an offence to offer any member of a legislative authority any gratification to act in an illegal or biased manner.
- Offences relating to judicial officers: it is an offence to offer a magistrate or judge any gratification, including money, to decide a case in a certain way. It is also an offence for a judicial officer to accept any gratification to violate any duty or abuse his/her position of authority.
- Offences that involve tenders: it is an offence to offer or accept gratification in order to influence the award of a tender.
- Crimes that involve corruption regarding foreign officials: it is an offence for any business to attempt to unduly influence an official in a foreign country.
- Offences by any party to an employment relationship: Precca (*Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act 12 of 2004*) makes it an offence for any party in an employment relationship to give or receive any unauthorised gratification in respect of that party doing any act in the scope of the party's employment relationship.' (Corruption Watch, 2016)

Corruption Watch (2016) also refers to other crimes covered by the Act:

- Someone charged with a crime offering money or favours to the police or prosecutor to drop the case;
- Someone interfering with an investigation into corruption;
- Someone assisting a person involved in corruption, either during the act itself, or afterwards.

Finally, Van der Walt (2001: 693) provides useful examples for this study on government corruption and political corruption, which, he argues, include, 'graft, fraud, nepotism, kickbacks, favouritism, misappropriation of public funds or goods'.

2. 4 Corruption in African countries

In 2004, the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (UK), Tony Blair, established a commission consisting of seventeen members to identify key challenges faced by the African continent. A number of these commission members were not government representatives, but, rather, became involved in their personal capacity (Report of the Commission for Africa, 2005: 1). The Commission highlighted a few pivotal recommendations on infrastructure, health and education (Report of the Commission for Africa, 2005: 67). In the Recommendations on Governance and Capacity-Building the report of the Commission for Africa asserts,

Weak governance has blighted the development of many parts of Africa to date. Weak governance can include bad government policies and an economic and political climate, which discourages people from investing. It can also include corruption and bureaucratic systems that are not open to scrutiny and therefore are not answerable to the public. And it includes lack of accountability and weakness in mechanisms to ensure that people's voices are heard and their rights upheld, such as parliaments, the media, and the justice system (2005: 67).

The impact of corruption on the development in African countries is also noted. In this regard, Hope (2000) made a few remarks, arguing (2000: 17) that corruption has an impact on the development in Africa in such a way that it can stop or slow down the development processes in Africa. Corruption in African countries is so pervasive that it is labelled as the 'AIDS of democracy' (Hope, 2000: 17). Hope (2000: 17) further argues that it has a serious impact on the socio-economic development in Africa:

The pandemic of corruption in Africa, and its extremely negative impact on socioeconomic development and the fight against poverty in the region have become a matter of global concern; a number of international organizations are now focusing their attention on the root causes and consequences, as well as on action to control this cancer in society.

Resolving corruption in Africa lies in the hands of the inhabitants of this continent. Hope (2000: 17) contends, '...until Africans themselves decide to react forcefully against the stench of corruption to which they are currently subjected, it [corruption] will remain a societal norm poisoning civil society and splitting it into rent-seeking elites and helpless spectators'.

2. 5 Corruption in South Africa

The history of corruption in South Africa can be traced back to even before 1994. Boraine (2014: 95) alludes to the many benefits that corruption brought in the Apartheid era. Boraine (2014: 95) lists these and states,

...successive governments utilized the institution of corruption very effectively to co-opt and compromise opposition members, weaken the effects of international sanctions against the regime, derive revenues for covert operations against opponents of the regime throughout the Southern African Region, and purchase support for the regime around the world.

The impact of corruption is best understood with reference to the Corruption Perception Index (hereafter CPI) of Transparency International (hereafter TI). TI's (2013) CPI of 2013 reflects that in Sub-Saharan Africa 90% of the countries scored below 50 (0 - most corrupt and 100 - clean). The 2012 CPI report reflected the same percentage. I drafted a table, for the purpose of assessment and comparison on the impact of corruption, from the data in the TI reports since 2011-2016:

Table 1: TI Report on the impact of corruption for the period 2011-2016

Year	Score	Place	How many countries on the Index globally?
2016	45 (100)	64	176
2015	44 (100)	61	168
2014	44 (100)	67	175
2013	42 (100)	72	177
2012	43 (100)	69	176
2011	41 (100)	64	183

Source: Researcher

Boraine (2014: 92) provided the following comments on the 2012 statistics, having already raised deep concern regarding the state of corruption in South Africa. He, (Boraine 2014: 92) provides a solid analysis of the current state of corruption in South Africa in relation to the rest of the world.

The Transparency International corruption perception index ranked South Africa at 69 out of 176 countries. This means that we are better off than many countries and it reminds us that South Africa is not alone in the corruption business, but it also tells us that there are 68 countries that have a better record than we do, so we have nothing to be proud of.

A more recent account of the corruption perception index reflects the deep-seated concern about corruption from 2011 until the recent results for 2016. There does not seem to be satisfactory progress in the eradication of the widespread corruption in South Africa. The latest (2016) CPI statistics show that the perception of corruption in South Africa has worsened to 45/100. This is still worse than the previous five years. In its latest report, TI (2016) even refers to the corruption during the upgrades of President Jacob Zuma's private homestead.

2. 6 Forms of corruption

In terms of the United Kingdom Commission for Africa report, corruption is classified and manifests itself in a variety of ways (Deegan, 2009: 115), being placed in three categories: judicial, political, and economic corruption.

Transparency International (TI) defines judicial corruption as ‘...any inappropriate influence on the impartiality of the judicial process by any sector within the court system’.

Deegan likewise provides examples of what each entails. He (2009: 115 -116) lists a few examples and manifestations of what would constitute corrupt practices in the judicial sphere:

- A judge may allow or exclude evidence with the aim of justifying the acquittal of a guilty defendant of high political or social status
- Judges or court staff may manipulate court dates to favour one party or another
- In countries where there are no verbatim scripts, judges may inaccurately summarise court proceedings or distort witnesses’ testimony before delivering a verdict that has been purchased by one of the parties in the case
- Junior court personnel may ‘lose’ a file – for a price, and judges may hire family members to staff their courts or offices
- Political interference in judicial processes by either the executive or legislative branches of government, and bribery.

In terms of political corruption he refers to the electoral processes of a country, and weak governance (Deegan, 2009: 122). Economic corruption according to Deegan (2009: 122) frequently manifests in the procurement of resources (Deegan, 2009: 124).

Robinson (1998: 3) on the other hand, classifies corruption in terms of individual, institutional (corruption that pervades the entire institution), and systemic corruption (when corruption pervades the entire society, and it becomes part of everyday life).

Gashumba (2010: 13-14) distinguishes between different forms of corruption and argues that it manifests on three levels: at a ‘national and an international level’, ‘petty and grand corruption’ and ‘passive and active corruption’.

Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 21-22) argue that corruption is categorised in relation to its type and magnitude. The distinction is made between petty corruption, which ‘relates to tips, commissions or kickbacks that are usually demanded by junior officials in the public sector from the public in exchange for official services to be rendered and tends to be visible, irritating to the public and readily identifiable because it is personalized’, whereas grand corruption ‘...involves prominent persons in both the private and public sectors who exercise discretionary powers on large public contracts, and this type of corruption is often difficult to detect as it takes place in the disguise of legality’.

Gildenhuys (2004: 84-85) furthermore categorises corruption in terms of criminal corruption (which includes crimes such as bribery, extortion, receiving kickbacks, fraud, falsification, and forgery) and non-criminal corruption. He classifies non-criminal corruption into political (when a politician acts unconstitutionally, ignoring

democratic principles and fraud during times of elections, political nepotism, refusing to accept collective responsibility and accountability, and government ignoring sound economic principles) and administrative corruption (maladministration).

These classifications do not have to be in conflict with one another, but corruption could well function in terms of all the various classifications, even at the same time. For instance, a person might be accused of economic corruption, in terms of individual corruption, and also in terms of a petty form of corruption. These classifications merely help us to explain the complex phenomenon of corruption as it manifests in society.

2. 7 Causes of corruption

Boraine (2014: 99-100) believes that corruption in South Africa occurs for a number of reasons. He argues that many of the people who were disadvantaged and deprived of the 'riches' in South Africa deeply believe that they are entitled to it. A second reason he refers to is the weak administration; after 1994, the state administration was decentralised. Members (of the ruling party) who were appointed to govern the provinces were put in charge of huge budgets and faced with a task that was outside of their experience; they were thus often too inexperienced to work with such large budgets or able to administrate them properly. After making this point he then makes mention of the dysfunctional criminal justice system. Boraine (2014: 100) contends that people get away with corruption because the criminal justice system is corrupt (which includes some corrupt police officers, magistrates and judicial officers).

Furthermore, Boraine (2014: 100-101) refers to the belief within the ANC that corruption actually started in the period when many of its members were in exile, and that the corruption today stems from the state of mind which existed then. The loss of the moral compass has not happened in the last few years, but appears to have occurred a long time ago.

Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 27) refer to the following conditions under which corruption flourishes:

The weak institutions of governance, existence of divergence between formal ethics and informal rules relating to conduct of public officials, inadequate provisions of services and supplies, forcing consumers of services desperate to be served to pay officials to access the services, lack of protection of whistle blowers, a patron-driven political and economic system which favours political allies of the top leadership, lack of rules and regulations to make officials accountable for their activities, and the prevalence of discretionary powers vested in individual officials without corresponding accountability procedures.

Hope (2000: 19-23) refers to some factors that could result in the occurrence of corruption with specific reference to African countries. He asserts that it flourishes in conditions where there is a total exercise by the ruling elite of all power attached to national sovereignty, where economic decision-making becomes centralised and 'public enterprises proliferated'. Further causal factors include the 'lack of the rule of

law', the 'lack of exemplary ethical leadership exhibited by politicians and senior public officials' as well as 'socio-cultural norms in the day-to-day African Life'.³

Gildenhuis (2004: 82) lists what he calls some of the reasons for corruption. It is often the consequences of the concentration of political power, the prevalence of non-democratic and autocratic regimes, a cumbersome bureaucracy and excessive administrative controls and trade restrictions (government licensing). Furthermore, he emphasises government monopolies, a government's concessions for economic, industrial and infrastructure development, a poorly organised and underpaid civil service and a weak judicial system. He also blames a materialist concept of success where power, money, status and ostentation play a leading role, if not the primary one. He adds that the cause of corruption is a result of 'simple human greed'.

However, Gildenhuis (2004: 83) concludes that all the reasons mentioned above actually point to one main cause:

Politicians and public officials with corrupt minds and a complete lack of personal integrity – a complete lack of character! Situations are not really “reasons” for corruption, but people with corrupt minds are. People who were brought up and educated to respect high moral values are not inclined to act corruptly, whatever the situations they find themselves in.

Gildenhuis (2004: 81) regards public corruption as the result of immoral and unethical conduct by politicians and public officials. The moral dimension of corruption is reflected upon by Gildenhuis, especially when he states that corruption is the, '...ignorance of moral values...the ignorance of religious morals that should serve as ethical codes of conduct for the public sector' (2004: 81).

Kim (1998: 92) understands corruption as the cause of government monopoly (over economic activities), widespread poverty (in terms of organisational causes) and as a result of socio-cultural factors. In Kim's words (1998: 92), 'A government monopoly of economic activities, conditions of political “softness”, widespread poverty, socio-economic inequalities and maladministration could be major causes of corruption, especially in developing countries'. He (1998: 92-93) also refers to the organisational causes of corruption which may be due to factors such as:

...inadequate and unrealistic compensation levels of public servants in the bureaucracy, lack of leadership in the bureaucratic system, mismanagement or maladministration of the system, poor recruitment and selection procedures and excessive red tape in administrative procedures for personnel and lack of education and discipline for public servants.

Kim (1998: 93) alludes to the socio-cultural causes of corruption, which '...primarily consists of providing opportunities of [sic] corruption by individuals and may include societal tolerance of corruption and lack of political will to wage a detrimental anti-corruption movement'. Kim (1998: 93) argues that there is no single dominant factor and cause of corruption, but that it is rather a multifaceted, social, political and administrative phenomenon. Therefore, he suggests, we should look for more than one cause if we aim to prevent it.

³ His reference to 'socio-cultural norms in the day-to-day African Life' includes the 'significant loyalties towards one's family, tribe, and friends, where such loyalties are at the expense of loyalty to the state for they often require the contravention of rules and regulations to maintain them'.

2. 8 Causes of Corruption: An African Perspective

Despite the various arguments on the causes of corruption, what follows is crucial for the discourse on this issue in an African context. The understanding of it in the said context is believed to be one of the important reasons that corruption prevails. Gardiner (1993: 21-33) argues that 'different nations have different legal definitions of corruption' yet adds, 'Corruption often has very dangerous effects, but there are some nations where corruption is relatively harmless' (Gardiner, 1993: 34).

Gildenhuys (2004: 82) cautions that 'If the culture of the society does not distinguish between the political representatives' role as private persons, and their roles as rulers, it is impossible to accuse them of corruption in the use of public money'.

Deegan (2009: 112) in his discussion, focuses on another debate - the cultural causes of corruption. He maintains that in certain societies there exists a cultural obligation to give gifts, and that in terms of this family loyalty is placed over the demands of office. He argues that these societies might not consider this to be corruption in a certain environment, for instance the public sector.

The work of the Christian theologian Petria Theron (2013) also provides reasons for what she refers to as the facilitation of corruption within a Sub-Saharan context. Theron (2013: 2) discusses the role of African traditional cultural values in facilitating corruption, contending that in most African states there is no clear separation between officials' private interest and public responsibilities, which is evident in how the receiving of gifts and payments for services rendered became culturally quite acceptable. For African leaders to retain political power, patronage networks have also become quite acceptable.

Theron (2013: 4) points out, 'as a social being, one's relationships with other people and especially one's family are important for one's well-being, but these relations should not cause immoral or corrupt behaviour in order to meet social and other cultural obligations'. In Africa, the values of communalism and the central importance of relationships, looking after one's family (through exchanging gifts) should not undermine the Word of God (*sola scriptura*) or the 'rules of God'.

Van der Walt (2001: 691) states that in the traditional (pre-colonial) Africa 'it was a common feature to offer gifts to people in authority or in some respectable positions in society (social, political or religious) ...and...some of these gifts were bribes in anticipation of a reciprocal favour'.

Gardiner (1993: 35) refers to the attitude with regard to corruption which differs from nation to nation, especially the former European colonies, which suggests that before they were colonised, the practices were not regarded as corruption until they were colonised and the concept of what is now called corruption introduced.

Johnston (1993: 40) urges us to take a step back when we define corruption: we should look at how 'societies arrive at accepted, workable conceptions of duty and limits upon the pursuit of self-interest in politics' only after we consider '...the formation of concepts of corruption as a broad process, we can begin to think in terms of strategies, as well as tactics, for reform'. Johnston (1993: 42) points out that a study on corruption in pre-modern times reveals that there was an ancient rule that 'the King can do no wrong'. In those times, there were also no 'politically-significant

intermediary groups', which meant that there was no 'effective limit to the sovereign's personal power'. However, this situation altered as time went on and modern definitions of corruption emerged, which was based on the idea of 'explicitly public roles endowed with limited, impersonal powers and held accountable to the governed' (1993: 43). In the nineteenth century, there was more development in terms of the notion of corruption, as Johnston (1993: 44) states:

...when the more democratic form of government limited the aristocracy, and the modern idea of the state came into existence, the conception of public office as private property disappeared. The state became considered as a moral entity and the exercising of public authority as a duty.

Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 19) argue that the complexity of defining corruption is a function of...

practices which may be considered corrupt in some countries [but] are part and parcel of the African culture and should not be regarded as corruption, that corruption is externally driven through foreign corporations who offer bribes to officials in Africa for corporate gain, and that corruption is exaggerated in Africa for political and economic gain by the developed countries.

Werner (2001: 194) points out there are those that believe in the differentiation between the welfare of the state and the welfare of the individual. The corrupt act will, according to the former principle, the welfare of the state, be less corrupt as it is less individual. Therefore, the argument here is: if the 'corrupt' act will benefit a large constituency it will not be classified as corrupt or even alternatively be classified as 'less' corrupt.

De Maria (2009: 368) indicates that the understanding of corruption by the West is not compatible with Africa, because Westerners do not take Africa's cultural context into consideration. The ethos of community and kinship is one of the elements that play a key role in how corruption will be perceived in some African cultures. Though money or other resources are often involved in corrupt activities, in some African cultures the emphasis is not placed on the money per se, but rather perceived as a reflection of the way individuals care for and look after their next of kin.

2. 9 Combating corruption

The prevalence of corruption in countries around the world has placed some urgency on governments, international bodies, local institutions and businesses to put measures in place for the curbing and eroding of this endemic scourge. Robinson (1998: 8-9) mentions a few approaches for tackling it, firstly recommending that there should be a focus on those who depend upon economic liberalisation and on curbing the power of the state as a means of reducing the scope of rent-seeking activity. Secondly, he suggests that a pluralistic approach should be followed, which focuses on the creation of watchdog bodies and other democratic institutions. This, he reckons, will effectively control and address the pervasive corruption. Further, he suggests that there be spontaneous public demonstrations against corrupt politicians, and anti-corruption efforts, which are centred on institutional reforms. These anti-corruption efforts could include reforms in the legal sphere, innovations in the government sphere and specific institutional mechanisms (such as creating an anti-

corruption agency, special courts to review corruption cases and asset declarations for politicians and civil servants).

Hope (2000: 27-35) refers to one primary mechanism for controlling corruption in African states: 'Domestic campaigns designed to satisfy a social demand for retribution by punishing wrongdoers to make them public examples for deterrent effect; this is so that others could see the punishment, and learn and be deterred from such practices, because they would clearly see that such behavior is not being rewarded or applauded by the society'.

Cheeseman, Miguel, Frantzen and Nored (2011: 211), in the attempt to provide solutions to the pervasion problem in the police service, offer some suggestions for any criminal justice agency:

Strengthen the leadership; creating and developing policies and procedures that "draw the line" and make it clear to the officers and the community what behaviours are and are not ethical; and emphasise corruption control at the selection and training phase of community correction.

Werner (2001: 203) underlines the participatory role of the community in the tackling of corruption. He argues that the community can best erode corrupt practices and contends,

As the corrupted tend to rationalise their offences by blaming an impersonal system rather than themselves and so neutralising or mitigating the effects of their offences upon otherwise unidentified individuals, community, informal justice may be more effective, because of its internalisation of peer pressure.

The state can also play a pivotal role in the prevention and curbing of corruption. According to Deegan (2009: 126-127), the state could take up the following responsibilities: it could make sure that it makes provision and enforces laws that 'effectively deal with corruption'; it could adopt legislative mechanisms and procedures so that the public will be able to submit complaints related to corruption, as well as ensuring the protection of witnesses and whistle blowers; the state's responsibility would also be to ensure that anti-corruption agencies are autonomous, independent and governed by laws that are effective. The state should consider introducing other oversight institutions, for instance an Inspector-General/Auditor-General; and finally, it should always ensure the independence of the judiciary to ensure that all citizens adhere to the anti-corruption policies, which may also ultimately result in an 'effective parliamentary oversight'.

Johnston (1993: 48) provides a constructive resolution for the curbing of corrupt practices in society. He argues that one's understanding of corruption has to change. He recommends that to reach that end, 'reformers' should first 'reconcile state and society, laws and culture'. In altering the way in which people understand corruption, he further explains that moments of 'teaching, explanation, and justification of new rules and institutions in terms of the people's conceptions of fairness and propriety' should be created.

In this respect the work of TI is noteworthy in terms of the role it plays in the fight against corruption on a global scale. Transparency International (2014) is described

on its online webpage⁴ as ‘a global movement that has the vision to see a world in which government, business, civil society, and the daily lives of people are free of corruption’. It was founded in 1993 when a few individuals made a decision to take a stance against endemic corruption in the world and then established the organisation known as TI. The organisation, with its headquarters in Germany, is now present in almost one hundred countries and strives to stir the world’s collective conscience and to bring about change. So far, it has been able to create international anti-corruption conventions, the prosecution of corrupt leaders and the seizure of their illicitly gained riches, and its insistence on holding companies accountable for their behaviour both at home and abroad. TI makes use of the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), and also the Bribe Payer Index (BPI), which rank the world’s twenty-eight largest economies and determine the perceived likelihood that companies from them would pay bribes abroad (Transparency International, 2014). The strategies of TI are also reaching South Africa though making people aware of the perception of corruption, and it remains South Africa’s greatest corruption barometer.

Ironically the very institution in which corruption flourishes also has a responsibility to root out this scourge. Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 24) argue that the institutions provide an ‘enabling environment’ for corruption to flourish due to their failure ‘to ensure adherence to acceptable ethical norms’. They argue that institutions (whether private or public) should ensure transparency and accountability which ‘acts [sic] as deterrents against corruption’.

Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 24) moreover argue that the aspects of accountability (a process whereby public officials are to be made responsible for their decisions); transparency (which underscores the openness of management processes through which public decisions are made); an integrity system (which embodies ethical values, codes of conduct, laws, institutions and management systems) and good governance (which means that governance is pre-defined, pre-determined, clearly articulated, consistent, transparent) should be part of institutional values that will assist in the fight against corruption.

Common mechanisms that Matsheza and Kunaka (1999: 33) believe could aid the eroding of corruption are: The office of the Attorney General, Parliament and Parliamentary committees, the Judiciary, the Police and Special Anti-Corruption Police Units, Financial Disclosure requirements, codes of conduct, Public procurement and tender procedures, Office of the Ombuds persons, Controller and Auditor General, and Anti-Corruption Institutions.

There are two contributions from a Christian theological perspective that address the issue of combatting corruption. Vorster (2012: 133-147), in an article ‘Managing Corruption in South Africa: The Ethical Responsibility of Churches’, argues that the church can play a pivotal role in the curbing of corruption through raising ethical awareness. He contends that the church should ‘enhance the deeper meaning of self-interest, honesty, fairness, responsibility, compassion, love and accountability’. The church (with reference to the local congregation) should promote a life and attitude of servanthood and stewardship as reflected through the human conduct of

4 See its website at <http://www.transparency.org/>

Christ and should always call for social justice, through reminding the prosperity-driven society about the plight of the poor.

Two other Christian theologians, Theron and Lotter (2012), respond to Christian discourse on corruption and refer to at least two levels on which Christians can play a role in combatting corruption. They maintain that the South African legislation, for instance Act No. 12 of 2004, *The Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act*, is not sufficient to serve as a deterrent for corruption. However, in addition to such legislation, Christians in particular can respond to this scourge through intentional resistance on a personal as well as a public level.

In their article, they argue that Christians should resist corruption on a personal level through practicing the so-called 'golden rule' of Christ (Matthew 7 verse 12) which implies that a person should not do to others, that which he or she does not want to be done to him- or herself. The authors contend that this will indeed 'promote integrity and personal honesty' as well as expose any hint of greed and selfishness. On a public level, Christians should be resisters and fight corruption and moral decay. They should be the salt and light in society. Theron and Lotter use these biblical metaphors (salt and light) to argue in more practical and legal terms that Christian should actively be involved in the public sphere as whistle blowers.

2. 10 Corruption measures: A South African perspective

The corruption strategies in South Africa have increased as this phenomenon challenges and threatens the whole country. In each of the SONAs since 2011, the threat of corruption and the measures that government is taking to curb this phenomenon have been emphasised by the various heads of state in South Africa. The National Development Plan that aims to inform government policies also highlighted the issue in our country.

In the National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2011: 39) certain targets are set in terms of fighting corruption and enhancing accountability. In the report the Commission recommends a high adherence to ethics throughout society and 'a government that is accountable to its people'. It refers to some drastic actions that are needed: to fight corruption including the centralisation of the awarding of large tenders or tenders of long duration; to give more 'teeth' to the tender compliance monitoring office to investigate value for money; to take steps, both legal and political; to provide sufficient insularity from political interference for anti-corruption agencies and to set up dedicated prosecution teams, specialist courts and judges. The Commission also suggests the development of an accountability framework, which will make it illegal for civil servants to operate or benefit directly from certain types of business activity (National Planning Commission, 2011: 39). In their report the abovementioned Commission (National Planning Commission, 2011: 24) also emphasised the importance of political will to combat corruption.

The said Commission (2011: 402) explicitly articulated how it intends to achieve its vision of a corruption-free society. The Commission members believe that corruption can be curtailed in South Africa by building a resilient anti-corruption system (which includes strengthening the multi-agency anti-corruption system, strengthening the

protection of whistle blowers), to increase the accountability and responsibility of public servants and to create an open, responsive and accountable public service.

The National Planning Commission (2011: 402) underscores the importance of the Chapter Nine institutions in South Africa, including the Auditor General and the Public Protector that monitor government institutions in South Africa. There are also other institutions and legislation in South Africa that constitute measures to prevent corrupt activities. Borraine (2014: 102) asserts that in South Africa 'it is estimated that there are about thirty-five organisations whose responsibility it is to prevent corruption, but their rate of success appears to be very low'. President Jacob Zuma in the 2015 SONA said that the South African government has increased its efforts to combat corruption and therefore has established seven anti-corruption institutions and seventeen pieces of legislation intended to combat corruption. This, Zuma argues, demonstrates the concerted effort by government to break the back of this scourge in the country (Zuma, State of the Nation Address, 2015)

I now briefly discuss and refer to some organisations and government legislation, the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international organisations whose intention it is to deter the widespread corruption in South Africa.

2. 10. 1 Chapter Nine institutions

The constitution refers to the Chapter Nine institutions which are established to strengthen and support South Africa's constitutional democracy. These institutions, some of which have just been mentioned, include the Public Protector, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), the Commission for Gender Equality the Auditor General, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities and the Independent Communications Authority.

According to the South African Constitution, in particular Chapter 8, the powers and functions of the Public Protector in section (a) of the Act will be to investigate:

- (i) 'maladministration in connection with the affairs of government at any level;
- (ii) abuse or unjustifiable exercise of power or unfair, capricious, discourteous or other improper conduct or undue delay by a person performing a public function;
- (iii) improper or dishonest act, or omission or corruption, with respect to public money;
- (iv) improper or unlawful enrichment, or receipt of any improper advantage, or promise of such enrichment or advantage, by a person as a result of an act or omission in the public administration or in connection with the affairs of government at any level or of a person performing a public function; or
- (v) act or omission by a person in the employ of government at any level, or a person performing a public function, which results in unlawful or improper prejudice to any other person.'

The Public Protector will therefore assist in enforcing compliance with the Act, and will in such a way combat widespread corruption in South Africa.

The Auditor General also performs regular audits on a national, provincial and municipal level of all the government departments and ensures that they comply with the regulation and performance of proper governance. Any irregularities and

mismanagement of funds are reported and government departments and employees are prosecuted for any irregularities and acts of corruption that are found during the audit of a specific government department. The website⁵ of the Auditor General of South Africa reports about the ways in which the institution takes steps to curb corruption in all government institutions:

The AGSA annually produces audit reports on all government departments, public entities, municipalities and public institutions. Over and above these entity-specific reports, the audit outcomes are analysed in general reports that cover both the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) and Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) cycles. In addition, reports on discretionary audits, performance audits and other special audits are also produced. The AGSA tables reports to the legislature with a direct interest in the audit, namely Parliament, provincial legislatures or municipal councils. These reports are then used in accordance with their own rules and procedures for oversight (AGSA, n.d.).

2. 10. 2 South African civil organisations

Corruption Watch is a non-governmental organisation based in South Africa and was officially launched on 26 January 2012 (Corruption Watch, 2014). It is an online platform which serves as a mechanism through which the public can report corrupt practices, after which the organisation publishes the information on its website.

Corruption Watch reports that it was involved in many activities to combat corruption during 2015. The organisation assisted some parents during the elections of the School governing bodies (SGBs) and ensured that the process was corruption-free. Some of the measures that were put in place were the provision of handbooks to the parents belonging to the particular school, and then providing them with guidelines for the process. It also assisted parents to spot corruption in the management of school resources and functioning of the school. The organisation further reports that it conducted 10 investigations and that in nine of the allegations the principals of the schools were involved in the abuse of resources. These cases were successfully conducted as a result of whistle blowers. In its task to further combat corruption, it launched a youth-centred campaign with the hashtag #MyHandsAreClean that encouraged the youth to make a commitment to 'come clean' and 'stay clean' of corrupt activities. They were encouraged to post selfies⁶ on social media to show their commitment. Another initiative was a writing competition where young people were provided with an opportunity to write a blog or fictional story on the theme 'corruption through my eyes', which was aimed at prompting the discussion on corruption and getting young people engaged. The organisation also sparked much debate in public when it reported on high-profile court cases such as:

- City of Cape Town vs. South African National Road Agency & Others
- Hlaudi Motsoeneng vs. DA & Others
- Corruption Watch vs. Gauteng Department Education & Others
- Corruption Watch vs. CEO of SASSA

⁵ This office's website may be accessed at <https://www.agsa.co.za/About/Ourvision.aspx>

⁶ Wikipedia provides a working definition of a selfie as 'a self-portrait photograph, typically taken with a digital camera or camera phone held in the hand or supported by a selfie stick'. Further information may be accessed at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selfie>

- Corruption Watch & Others vs. President of SA & Others
- EFF vs. Speaker of the House vs. DA vs. Speaker of the House.

Finally, in its undertaking to combat corruption, the organisation made four submissions on the following policy documents in the quest to curb corruption:

- Draft paper on the Police to the Civilian Secretariat for Police (April 2015)
- Draft Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment Bill (May 2015)
- Submissions on the draft code of Good Practice for Whistle Blowers (Sept 2015)
- Submissions on the draft code of Good Practice for Whistle Blowers (Oct 2015).

Hope (2000: 31 - 32) responds to what he believes the purpose of 'watchdog' institutions is. He considers that these institutions should induce 'fundamental changes in the attitudes and behavior of public officials, in order to promote honesty and integrity in the public service'. 'Through their watchdog powers' they could also play a role in disclosing and investigating any suspected act or acts of corruption. They may launch and be involved in 'national awareness campaigns' that 'seek to publicise the negative effects of corruption, the penalties for engaging in corrupt acts, and the type of behaviour that is required of public officials' (Hope, 2000: 32).

Other civil organisations include: the National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF, 2014)⁷ which was established on 15 June 2001 and involves three sectors: business, government and civil society. More institutions within the South African borders include various labour unions; the MRM; the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF); the National Religious Leaders Forum and the Civil Society Network Against Corruption are some of the organisations that form part of this forum (NACF, 2014).

The NACF commits them to certain objectives:

- To contribute towards the establishment of a national consensus through the co-ordination of sectoral strategies against corruption
- To advise Government on national initiatives on the implementation of strategies to combat corruption
- To share information and best practice on sectoral anti-corruption work
- To advise sectors on the improvement of sectoral anti-corruption strategies.

2. 10. 3 Legislation

In terms of legislation, the South African government ratified The Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, No. 12 of 2004 to prevent corruption and promote ethical governance, while it also signed into law the Public Administration and Management Act 11 of 2004 which amongst others prohibits public servants from doing business with the state (Zuma, State of the Nation address, 2015).

According to Corruption Watch (2016) other legislation that assists with the fight against corruption in South Africa includes:

- The Constitution of South Africa

⁷ Further information on their strategies to curb corruption may be found on their website, <http://www.nacf.org.za/>

- The Competition Act
- The Prevention of Organised Crime Act
- The Criminal Procedure Act
- The Protected Disclosures Act
- The Promotion of Access to Information Act
- The Promotion of Administrative Justice Act
- The Public Finance Management Act and Regulations
- The Municipal Finance Management Act and Regulations
- The Companies Act and Regulations
- The Public Service Act
- The Executive Members Ethics' Act
- The Witness Protection Act.

As part of the instruments of the Public Service Commission of South Africa which are put in place to curb corruption, the National Anti-Corruption Hotline provides South Africans and South African society with direct access to expose and report on incidents of corruption in which public service officials are involved. The identity of the caller is protected and the person is able to call without fear that their lives will be in danger or their identities disclosed.

2. 11 Combatting corruption: The role of the media

Although much has been said about strategies to combat the scourge of corruption in the previous section, for this study it is equally important to focus on the role that the media can play in combatting this issue.

Deegan (2009: 128) argues that the media is an effective instrument to put a spotlight on corruption. In similar vein Boraine (2014: 14) contends that the media is in a better position now than pre-1994 under the apartheid state and should use its freedom to expose corruption in the public sector, and government. He (2014: 98) believes that if the media continues to expose and embarrass the government and the private sector it will serve as an effective deterrent against engaging in corrupt activities. He cautions that such a role can only last as long as the society protects the media's freedom of expression. Van der Walt (2001: 701) also observes that in eradicating corruption, a 'Free press' is important to 'investigate and report corruption'.

The same argument is raised by Ayittey (2000: 110). He argues that because exposing the problem is part of the solution, the media's freedom of expression is therefore important. Ayittey (2000:110) further emphasises,

For Africa to find solutions to its problems, Africans must have this (of expression) freedom. Their problems cannot be solved in a 'culture of silence', characterized by intimidation, censorship and intolerance of alternative viewpoints. To expose corruption, human rights violations, economic mismanagement and abuse of political power, the freedom of expression is crucial.

Hence, he proposes that for the media to be effective in its role to fight corruption four steps are needed. Firstly, the media (newspapers, radio, and television) should be taken out of the hands of corrupt and incompetent governments. Secondly, the pervasive array of state controls, which breeds corruption, should be removed. Thirdly, the judicial system should also be reformed to be independent to establish the rule of law. Finally, he proposes the 'strengthening of civil society' so that the media can effectively fulfil its part in the combatting of corruption.

In the run-up to the National Anti-Corruption Summit for 14-15 April 1999 in Parliament Campaign, Simeka Management Consulting was tasked to consult with the various sectors of society and report to the Summit about their initiatives, proposals, actions, and policies to combat corruption in South Africa. The various sectors that were consulted, included:

- The Business and Financial Sector
- NGOs/CBOs and Professional Bodies
- Academic Institutions
- Organised Religion
- Organised Labour
- Media
- The Public Sector.

The consultations with media included the South African Editors' Forum (SANEF), Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), The Public Relations Institute of South Africa (PRISA), The Association of Advertising Agencies (AAA) and the Association of Marketers (ASOM).

Sangweni and Balia (1999: 29-32) report on the role of the media:

- Endorse, support and implement initiatives of government by participating in bilateral discussions and entering into agreements with Government to eradicate corruption
- Publicise and support the blacklisting of institutions which are found to be involved in corruption and unethical conduct
- Implement measures to protect people who expose corrupt and unethical practices from victimisation, including the implementation of the Open Democracy Bill.
- Support and work together with government in creating a media campaign to highlight the issue of corruption and publicise the national integrity strategy
- Impartially monitor and report on acts of corruption in all sectors of civil society.

Stapenhurst (2000: 1-26) in his article 'The media's role in curbing corruption' provides tangible and intangible ways in which journalism is able to play a part in impeding corruption. Tangible methods include instances in which the media can attribute some sort of visible outcome to a particular news story or series of stories; for example, the investigation of corrupt activities at a school or, for instance, the launching of judicial proceedings; whereas the intangible ones refer to 'those checks on corruption which arise from the broader social climate of enhanced political pluralism, enlivened public debate and a heightened sense of accountability among

politicians, public bodies and institutions that are inevitably the by-product of a hard-hitting, independent news media' (Stapenhurst, 2000: 3).

I briefly discuss the tangible ways in which journalism can play a part in impeding corruption as it reflects in Stapenhurst's (2000) discussion. It could happen that through the reporting of the media on the corrupt activities of bureaucrats or public officials, these officials are impeached, prosecuted or even later forced to resign due to the exposure and revelations of their actions in the public domain. Furthermore, the media's reporting may also lead to further investigation into allegations of corruption as part of a story or series of stories published by the media. The latter also strengthens the legitimacy of anti-corruption bodies like Corruption Watch and Transparency International when it disseminates the findings of these bodies. Those who are in power and who are also directly involved in these cases of corruption will also not be able to go on with their work as in the past. The media additionally plays a role when it points out the flaws of various bodies of the state, and corruption in their ranks; for example, the police, or even the Chapter Nine institutions in South Africa, which can immediately check corruption. This, Stapenhurst (2000: 3) argues, could result in the reform of these bodies and the 'long-term effectiveness and potential of the media to act as a counterweight against corruption'.

Concerning the intangible ways, the media can contribute through independent, and aggressive journalism, disseminating knowledge about public decisions and procedures, which would otherwise have been kept within small cliques in society that benefit from corruption. Beneficiaries of corruption would also want to freeze out critics and clients, and therefore the media could approach the people who refuse to be part of the corrupt exchanges or systems and use them as sources, for further investigation, and quote them when exposing and reporting on the illicit activities.

Peters (2002: 55) refers to a few obstacles in the reporting of corruption by the media. He subsequently provides some suggestions for media and journalists to assist them in reporting corruption more easily. He argues that journalists must be paid adequate salaries so that they will not easily succumb to bribes in the field and subsequently influence the slant of the report. They should not be influenced by the advertisers or sponsors, but colleagues should name and shame other colleagues who are influenced through the inclusion of advertisements of certain companies or conglomerates.

2. 12 Conclusion

This chapter provides some conceptual clarity on corruption in the South African context. It examines the various forms of corruption and the prevalent causes of corruption. It discusses the various measures that are put in place in terms of government policies, institutional strategies, government and non-governmental strategies to eradicate this scourge of corruption in South Africa. The spotlight was also turned to the media and its role in combatting corruption.

3. Moral Formation: The Role of Print Media

3. 1 Introduction

Throughout the study it is argued that the media has an influence on the moral attitudes, dispositions and behaviours of its readers and audiences. Therefore, in this specific chapter the focus is firstly to identify the discussions in the field of virtue ethics and secondly, to identify certain ways in which the media plays a role in moral formation.

The chapter commences with a brief account of the classic literature on virtue ethics. The study is situated in the discipline of Christian Ethics and therefore draws mainly on the resources in this field, especially the discussion on the theories of moral formation, and in this regard starts off with a brief discussion on the contribution of Thomas Aquinas. It further succinctly refers to the argument of Alasdair MacIntyre, particularly in his work *After Virtue* (1981), in which he argues for the retrieval of an ethics of being as a contemporary approach to ethics. Subsequently, a brief literature overview is offered. This presents the insights of various Christian scholars and their contributions to the discourse of virtue ethics, as well as the contributions by South African Christian scholars and their responses through various contributions on virtue ethics. The chapter concludes with the role of the media as one of the agents of moral formation.

3. 2 Virtue ethics: Classic contributions

In the following section I briefly discuss the classic contributions of two influential Christian scholars in the field of virtue ethics. The selection here is somewhat arbitrary, with due consideration accorded to their influence in the South African context.

3. 2. 1 Thomas Aquinas

Aristotle in his classic work *The Nicomachean Ethics* discussed the importance of the training of virtues. He emphasised the importance of developing these virtues through habituation (Timmons, 1990: 214). When someone continuously exercises these virtues he or she will eventually become a good person. This approach to ethics is about 'being' a good individual. The ancient Greeks such as Plato and Aristotle focused on traits, virtues, and the character of a good person (Singer, 1993: 251). Aristotle focused on the four cardinal virtues, prudence, justice, temperance and courage, which he regarded as the most important one that would constitute a good person. Hence, Aristotle argues, if we repeat the same actions, we will develop these virtues, and these will make-up our character.

In his influential work, *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (1265-1274) also focuses part of his work and approach on the acquiring of virtues. He similarly comments on the work of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. He, like Aristotle, also focuses on inculcation of specific virtues. He emphasises that habits are important in the practising of virtues, and becoming a good person. He includes the four cardinal

virtues of Aristotle in his account of the important virtues of a good person but adds the three Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love.

3. 2. 2 Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a German theologian who also emphasised the role of the character and the being of the person and their relation to what happens around him or her (Green, 2005). Bonhoeffer is one amongst a number of other scholars (Max Weber, Hans Jonas, Paul Ricoeur and Heinz Eduard Tödt) who emphasised the duty of each person to act responsibly in view of the future. It is important for people to become involved, to act and take responsibility for the future of society. In the chapter, 'History and good' in his work *Ethics* (Green, 2005: 257) Bonhoeffer argues for a responsible life. He defines this as follows:

The structure of a responsible life is determined in a twofold manner, namely, by life's bond to human beings and to God, and by the freedom of one's own life. It is this bond of life to human beings and to God that constitutes the freedom of our own life. Without this bond and without this freedom there can be no responsibility. Only the life that, within this bond, has become selfless has the freedom of my very own life and action. The bond has the form of vicarious representative action in accordance with reality. Freedom exhibits itself in my accountability for my living and acting, and in the venture of concrete decision. This, then, is the framework within which we have to consider the responsible life

This indeed captures the notion of as well as the relation between the action and the responsible life of a person. His reflections that were written in the context of Nazi Germany in order to urge Christians to act with regard to the injustice in society are relevant for this particular study in which the emphasis falls on the moral character of a person.

Bonhoeffer in his work *Ethics* (Green, 2015: 78-80), particularly the section on 'Ethics as formation' rejects the idea that ethics could stand on reason, or that evil can be overcome by good intentions or with principles (Green, 2015: 78). He argues that there is just one form in Scripture: that of Christ. Christians are to take on the form of Jesus Christ to overcome the evil in the world (2015:97). Bonhoeffer argues that formation is not a formation concerned with the world by 'planning and programs, but in all formation is concerned only with the one form that has overcome the world, the form of Jesus Christ' (Green, 2005:93). Bonhoeffer (Green, 2005: 93) argues,

Formation only proceeds from here. This does not mean that the teachings of Christ or so-called Christian principles should be applied directly to the world in order to form the world according to them. Formation only occurs by being drawn into the form of Jesus Christ, by being conformed to the unique form of the one who became human, was crucified, and is risen.

3. 3 Moral formation: contemporary contributions

The section briefly mentions four Christian scholars who contribute to the broader and contemporary discussion on moral formation. It does not provide a comprehensive discussion of each scholar's contribution, but just focuses on contemporary and recent post WWII authors. This section provides context for the discussion on the role of the media in moral formation.

3. 3. 1 Alasdair MacIntyre

Alasdair MacIntyre in his treatise *After Virtue* (1981) critiques the Enlightenment Project. He argues that the latter, based on emotivism and individual preference, was set up for failure due to its failure to provide purpose. MacIntyre argues that the role of tradition in ethics provides it with its *telos*, which moral philosophers such as Kant (the categorical imperative) and Hume, in their account of ethics, fail to provide. In his abovementioned work, *After Virtue*, MacIntyre emphasises the return to and retrieval of an (Aristotelian) ethic of virtue.

MacIntyre discusses the source of moral behaviour based on his discourse on the three central concepts: virtue, narrative and tradition. He defines virtue as ‘an acquired human quality, the possession and exercise of which tends to enable us to achieve those goods which are internal to practices and the lack of which effectively prevents us from achieving any such good’ (MacIntyre, 1981: 191). He explains that narratives provide ‘context’ to our actions. Tradition, he argues, is ‘historically extended’, ‘socially embodied’, and concerns ‘long-standing arguments’. Individuals engage in practice towards the good within communities, in relation to the story of the community to which a person belongs, which is a person’s context. This, he argues, provides the individual with ‘long-standing arguments’ and thus the communities of character and tradition serve as the individual’s moral framework.

Virtue ethics has a long tradition, documented from classic times; MacIntyre argues for its retrieval in a contemporary approach to ethics. After the monumental work of MacIntyre, many contemporary ethicists espoused and made significant contributions to this discourse. The next section therefore provides a very brief overview of a few scholars who contribute to this approach.

3. 3. 2 Stanley Hauerwas

Stanley Hauerwas is an American theologian who has made a significant contribution to the discourse of virtue ethics, and the role that communities play in the formation of virtues. His contributions *Character and the Christian Life: A Study in Theological Ethics* (1975) and *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (1983) are notable. The forming of a person’s moral character by internalising the values and norms as embedded in the community is articulated in the account by Hauerwas (1983), who writes on the formation of character and virtue. He concentrates on how individuals are formed within a community and how their formation is related to the stories and the metaphors that centre on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Hauerwas states that the individual living the moral life outlined in the metaphors and stories of the Christian narrative and tradition will challenge the social conditioning of his or her time, becoming transformed and striving to bring the love and peace portrayed through the life of Jesus to the world.

3. 3. 3 Johannes van der Ven

Johannes van der Ven is a Dutch theologian who also contributes to the discourse on moral formation. His influential book *Formation of the Moral Self* (1998) is well

received in South African discourse on moral formation.¹ In his work he discusses moral formation following a multidisciplinary approach. His work is discussed by various South African scholars and became the source of numerous studies in the field of virtue ethics. It is also notable that virtue ethicists and theologians draw from theories in other disciplines, such as sociology, psychology and philosophy, especially in the contribution of Van der Ven (1998).

In *Formation of the Moral Self*, Van der Ven (1998: 40), speaks of formation as [that] 'which encompasses both informal and formal moral education, and has both transitive and intransitive aspects. The formation of the moral self', he argues, 'is a dialectic process: I am not only formed, I also form myself'. He (1998: 40) states,

The formation of the moral self takes place within the parameters of the developing self, which is intrinsically in interaction with its environment, especially its human environment: family, other primary groups, neighbourhood and congregations as well as the broader pluralistic and multicultural society. As part of this interaction, the self is in communication with all the people it directly or indirectly contacts; and in this process of interpersonal communication, it develops its intrapersonal communication. By actively and passively, narratively and argumentatively participating in this multidimensional communication, the self tells and is told its moral story; it spins and is spun its own web of meanings, from which he says, character emerges.

Van der Ven (1998) identifies and discusses seven modes in which moral formation takes place. The first two are informal processes (discipline and socialisation), which occur in the family, and the community. Whereas the other five modes (transmission, development, clarification, emotional development, education of character) are regarded as formal processes that take place in recognised institutions of learning in society (which include churches and schools) that are set up as educational institutions for this purpose. I briefly explain how these modes are helpful in the process of moral formation.

The mode of discipline, according to Van der Ven, is directed at habit formation. Discipline occurs informally during the practices and interactions in the household. The parents introduce children to societal values and activities and the child is trained to exercise self-control so as to act on these. Van der Ven provides clear guidelines for effective discipline for parents. The parents within the protected environment will train the children to accept the values of the group.

Socialisation is a process that occurs at home, in the family, but also through the community and the church. The child adopts the behaviour when he or she observes and remembers the moral convictions of his or her teachers, parents, friends and role-models. They are inspired and this motivates them to live such a life. In the process of developing their own self they incorporate what they see and what they feel into their own lives as accepted values.

Moral transmission is an external process whereby a 'group' carries over, passes on, transmits and teaches the values of the group to its members. The group might be a

¹ At least two South African doctoral dissertations emanated as a result of his work: N.C. Philander, *Socialisering as Modus van Morele Vorming in die Kerk* (Unpublished Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2008) and H.C. Jack, *Dissipline as Modus vir Morele Vorming* (Unpublished Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2007).

church and through its moral teaching (for instance Sunday school or catechism or through sermons) present what it regards as good, acceptable moral behaviour.

The mode of development refers to the internal thought processes involved in the formation of virtues. It has to do with how a person comes to understand what is 'right' and 'wrong': how people are taught to make clear judgments between moral issues.

Van der Ven argues that a person needs to explain what they believe and why they believe that a certain action or behaviour is right or wrong. This mode is referred to as moral clarification. It is based on a liberal perspective. It is a person's own way of making sense of moral issues. This is not what the church, or other institutions, regard as morally acceptable, but is constructed on the liberal humanist model whereby a person decides on his or her own on what is acceptable moral behaviour.

Emotional formation has to do with the development of healthy emotions. It refers to the experience of each person in terms of specific emotions in becoming good people. The emotions that are particularly important as argued by Van der Ven are: ego-identity, basic trust, empathy and sympathy, a sense of justice, shame and guilt and sex and love. The education of character (seventh mode) rests on the assumption that all the modes as referred to above are linked together to form one's character.

3. 3. 4 Larry Rasmussen

Larry L. Rasmussen is an American ethicist who worked extensively in the field of eco-theology, moral life, and the role that communities play in the formation of virtues. He is known for numerous publications in ethics, which include the work *Moral Fragments & Moral Community: A Proposal for Church in Society* (1993) and his work as co-author with Bruce C. Birch in *Bible and Ethics in the Christian Life* (1989).

Birch and Rasmussen in the latter work argues for good character in decision-making ethics (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 101). They criticise the focus of ethical decision-making in the past, where the focus of western European literature focused on individuals within intellectual traditions. Birch and Rasmussen argue that individuals make decisions (practical reasoning) based on the character of their respective communities. They assert: 'The nature of Christian ethics as community ethics determines the form and context of Christian decision-making and the biblical story and the impact of Jesus determine much of its content' (1989: 103).

Birch and Rasmussen (1989: 105) further explain how people's experiences are bound to a past while still continuing in the present. This, he considers, is indeed the same as the underlying narrative of the Christian community and the impact of the Jesus story on its adherents. The story about Jesus is not static but continuously changing, because of the Christian faith as a living one. The theory of Rasmussen is based on the premise that an individual's character is formed within a Christian community.

Birch and Rasmussen also refers to the factors that facilitate decision-making, and distinguishes between three roles that should be fulfilled by certain members of the

(Christian) community in the process of moral formation. In the first instance, there are those who need to be the vision carriers, those who connect the everyday experiences to the expectations of the community. Secondly, the community should have members that serve as its memory and critics that analyse the resources of the faith. Thirdly, there should be members in the community who act as agents to clarify and provide direction. The Christian community should also be open, critical, encourage open conversation, draw maximum participation (Birch & Rasmussen 1989: 113 -115) and seek a universal ethics, as he argues: '...there is an essential human nature that we all share'.

Birch and Ramussen (1989: 117) explain the formation of character in Christian communities in the following way:

Basic Christian moral knowledge is acquired through intense engagement. It is rooted in the experience of caring and being cared for, or acting and being acted upon in close community. It is filled with the texture of life itself, of touch, voice, gesture and symbol, of eating, drinking, playing, working and worshipping. All the senses are engaged, traditions are honoured, attitudes and dispositions are formed and reformed, outlooks are fashioned and refashioned, decisions are made, and actions taken...It is the ethics of an impassioned story, of God glimpsed in Jesus.

How does the church create a guiding system and internalise a moral vision and qualities for its members? These authors (1989: 121-125) suggest: It does this through moral identity formation. The internalising of virtues takes time and can only be done over the long term. In particular, a collective moral identity of a community is not developed overnight, but over years, and the 'moral formation necessary must be nurtured for generations'. To internalise moral character the community has to perform two tasks, 1) it must 'directly nurture moral capacities (for instance instil people's sensitivity, empathy and courage) with its own indigenous resources (through worship, education, and the Eucharist), and 2) 'be an integrating community' where the outside sources of moral influence are received' (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 125-126).

The church can also internalise a moral vision because of its nature, being a tradition bearer. It is able to provide the individual with a story, a tradition, and roots, which serve as an 'aid for moral development, and a source of content for an ethic, as well as a framework of accountability in the moral life' (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 127). But, as they caution, this 'tradition' is not only a 'settled reality' but it is also a 'dynamic process of handing on itself, of continuous sense-making, and appropriation of the past' (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 128).

They describe the church as also being a community of moral deliberation (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 133). The church as a moral community creates those spaces and conversations where new issues are not only discussed, but are also tabled for moral resolve. The faith community should be the place of learning on moral issues (Birch & Rasmussen, 1989: 133).

In this section, various scholars that made a contribution in the field of virtue ethics were discussed. Within the borders of South Africa, there have also been various contributions, some of which responded to the discourse of an ethics of virtue by

means of various publications in the form of articles, dissertations and books. This next section briefly mentions some of these scholars and their publications.

3. 4 Moral formation: A South African response

At least three² Christian theologians responded to the discourse on moral formation as part of their doctoral research: Russel Botman (1994), Robert Vosloo (1994) and Nico Koopman (2001), all under the supervision of Prof Dirk Smit at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Botman's *Discipleship as Transformation? Towards a Theology of Transformation* (1994) placed a particular focus on the work of Bonhoeffer and his view on discipleship as *Transformitas Christi*. Botman argues for the importance of transformation through discipleship and holds that the emphasis should not solely be on reconstruction programmes. His work speaks directly to the South African context. Smit (1997: 260) responded as follows: The central question of a theology of transformation, according to Botman, is 'the 'who?' question': 'Who is the responsible person in South Africa today?'

Vosloo (1994) in his work *Verhaal en Moral: 'n Ondersoek na die Narratiewe Etiek van Stanley Hauerwas*, argues that stories, role-models, martyrs and saints are important for the formation of virtues. Koopman (2001), in his dissertation *Deugde of Dade? Implikasies vir Suid Afrikaanse Kerke van 'n Modern-Postmoderne Debat oor die Moraliteit*, argues for training in virtue.

Dirkie Smit (1997: 261), the renowned South African systematic theologian already cited, responded to the abovementioned contributions, and in particular to the South African context, as follows:

They share a common moral language, namely the language of an ethics of being, rather than an ethics of doing; the language of saints, the language of community, the language of discipleship, the language of friends. And this is indeed an important point to stress in South African Christian ethics. It is in communities of character that responsible people are to be formed. The challenges facing our society on our way to the 21st century can definitely only be faced in terms of an ethics of being, an ethics of role models and inspiring characters, an ethics of commitment and responsibility, an ethics of mutual acceptance and living with the other. We have a new South Africa. We now need new South Africans. A good constitution will not be enough. We need a good citizenry, transformed people in a civil society.

Besides the doctoral dissertations of these scholars, contributions in terms of books and chapters also made their debut. I want to briefly refer to two such contributions: the chapter by Richardson (1994) in the edited book of Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy *Doing Ethics in Context: South African Perspectives* (1994). In this work, Richardson focuses in his discussion on community ethics. He fosters the approach of Hauerwas and others that emphasise an ethics of being. The book by Koopman and Vosloo

² Others also include N Richardson, *Community and Ethics: The Church in the Ecclesial Ethics of Stanley Hauerwas* (unpublished Thesis, University of Kwazulu-Natal, 1986) J J de W Strauss, 'n Kerk om in te Glo: Die Prioriteit van die Kerk in die Christelike Geloof (unpublished thesis, University of the Western Cape, 1996); Carel Anthonissen, *Die Geloofwaardigheid van die Kerk* (Unpublished thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1993)

(2002) *Ligtheid van die Lig*³ made an important contribution to the ongoing discussion on moral formation.

3. 4. 1 Neville Richardson

In his discussion on the renewed interest in and focus of community ethics, Neville Richardson (1994: 89-101 in Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1994) provides a brief discourse on the latter. He explains that community ethics means that the individual is in the community and, in order to judge whether a person is 'good', they will be judged against the good of the specific community to which that person belongs. This, Richardson argues, was what he gathered from his understanding of Aristotle, in terms of this philosopher's view on *ethos*. Richardson (1994: 93 in Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1994) elaborates:

It is also significant that for Aristotle there can be no way of judging the goodness or otherwise of the person without reference to the particular community in which the person belongs. That which is good must be understood, and the moral decision must be calculated, according to the desirable nature of each community. The description of each community therefore takes on a morally normative dimension and function.

Richardson argues that a person is a member of the community and participates and deliberates in the moral discussions of that community. Richardson (1994: 93 in Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1994) cautions that this does not mean that because the member receives cues in terms of what is right or wrong from the community to which they belong, that all members should automatically conform to the 'good' of that particular society, and become passive, but rather that the person (who is part of that community) will see the community's ethics as a reference point. The *ethos* of the said community is the 'meeting point between description and moral evaluation, between what is the case and what ought to be the case' (Richardson, 1994: 93 in Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1994). He subsequently argues that moral formation takes place in the following manner: 'The community shapes [my] character, and reciprocally, [my] character contributes to the kind of community of which I am a member' (Richardson, 1994: 93 in Villa-Vicencio and De Gruchy, 1994).

3. 4. 2 Nico Koopman and Robert Vosloo

In their work, *Die Ligtheid van die Lig*, Koopman and Vosloo (2002: 8) focus specifically on the role of Christian communities in the formation of an individual's character. These authors (2002:12) emphasise that Christian ethics is one of relationship. Moral orientation, as Koopman and Vosloo (2009: 9) term moral formation, emerges from a relationship with the triune God. It is the light of God (*Ligtheid van die lig*) that gives God's children light.

Koopman and Vosloo (2002: 51-54) discuss the existing tension between the role of God and the role of a person in moral formation. The main reason why the role of a person (in moral formation) receives less attention is due to the main premise of Martin Luther during the reformation: his emphasis that sanctification is not a person's work, but through grace. These scholars maintain that this is one of the

³ This book was awarded the Andrew Murray Prize for Theological Literature in Afrikaans in 2003.

reasons why the church did not give much credit to the role of the individual in the process of moral formation. Their argument is thus that both God and the individual play a role, and that the process is not exclusively about one or the other.

Koopman and Vosloo (2002: 98-127) refer to at least five practices: conversations, the celebration of the Sunday service, baptism, holy communion and Bible reading that serve as means through which the church can create conditions for moral formation to take place. According to them, these practices challenge our perspectives on hospitality, time, identity, our physical bodies and wisdom.

Conversations and hospitality comprise a practice in the church that inspires moral formation. These conversations might take place in small groups, public conversations in and through the congregation. Moments and 'spaces' need to be created in which moral discourse can take place. But more than simply a conversation, to be open in our conversations to the other and their otherness is important.

The assembling of members for Sunday worship and the willingness to make our time available speaks to our character. Through the practice of attending the Sunday celebration service, a person makes time for meditation, and reflects on everyday life, especially in a world that believes in the rush of life. In the backdrop of the economising of time ('time is money'), some practices in church remind us that Christians gain time as they participate in the life of the triune God – the God who has time, and provides us with time (Koopman & Vosloo, 2002: 106). The celebration of Sunday as a day of worship reminds us of the gift of time with which God provides his children, and that we can have joy in our moral life.

The practice of baptism in the church reminds us that our life is about God's choice for us (Koopman & Vosloo, 2002: 113). This has to do with our forgiveness and a new life. We are part of God, the community of believers and part of his mission on earth. Baptism reminds us also of our identity and to whom (God and the community of believers) we belong. This also inspires moral growth.

In the administering of Holy Communion the members of the church do not only remember Christ's broken body, but are also reminded of the brokenness and weakness of those in the community and the world.

In the final instance, the Bible is also a means of forming the moral character of individuals. This means that people should see the Bible in relation to the church, and should therefore also submit to its authority, as the book of the church. Therefore, the Bible should be read in community, in order to for us to hear what God wants us to know. But, as Koopman and Vosloo caution, we should also read the Bible critically, by continually asking the question why we should read a text in a particular way.

After this brief overview of moral formation as it developed and is discussed in Christian ethics, and responses to the moral formation discourse in South Africa, the focus now shifts to the role of the media in moral formation.

3. 5 The media as moral agent

The agents of moral formation are widely discussed in the literature. Such agents include the family. Koopman (2009: 19-26) contends that the family is a role-player in the formation of ethical leadership. In, 'Ethical leadership in and through families' Koopman (2009: 19-26) focuses on the role of families in the formation of ethical leadership for the broader society. He (2009: 23) reflects on the contribution that each type of family (i.e. so called nuclear and extended families; single parent families; second-marriage families) can make towards the upliftment of the moral landscape of a society, irrespective of their weaknesses and the broader challenges they face. Koopman also addresses the argument that the family does not have sufficient resources to assist it in producing moral citizens. He (2009: 25) makes the point: there are still 'wells' (referring to appropriate religious and spiritual sources) that 'families can drink from' to help them as agents for moral formation.

According to Clouse (1985: 19), though the family is a good agent for moral education, not all children are taught by their parents. He considers that the school is the logical choice for moral education. Teachers and educators could use the wealth of ideas available to focus on discussing moral issues and incorporate exercises to enhance moral formation in their schools.

In African cultures, the community in which an individual is born also plays a role in the behaviour and life of that individual. In this regard Bansikiza (2001: 22) discussed moral formation in such a context and argues that it largely consists of the forming of young people in the pursuit of integrating them into a very large network of interpersonal relationships. In his approach to moral formation the aspect of 'relation' with others is crucial for moral formation to be able to take place. He contends that moral formation should teach community members a relational ethos. He also adds that in African cultures, the agents of moral formation include the traditional African family, but also all responsible adults in the community (Bansikiza, 2001: 22). Other agents include ancestors (Bansikiza, 2001: 24) who serve as examples of conduct in African communities, and age sets.⁴

Besides the agents of moral formation mentioned above and the reference of Kendall (2003: 115-120) to the family (who from infancy transmits cultural and social values), the school (which he asserts has a profound influence on children's self-image, beliefs and values), and peer groups, he includes the role that mass media⁵ play in moral formation. He believes that much of the media's influence is underestimated, especially its impact on 'children's attitudes and behaviour'. Grant (1994: 242-248) also holds that the media has the potential to foster 'religious as well as moral growth'.

The manner in which the media has an impact on the lives of people, and contributes to their moral awareness and behaviour, is articulated in the work of various, mostly

⁴ Age sets, according to Bansikiza (2001), refers to those people who are like an individual's blood brother in age.

⁵ Kendall (2003:119) defines the mass media as consisting of large-scale organizations that use print or electronic means (such as radio, television, film, and the internet) to communicate with large numbers of people' and which act as agents of socialisation.

secular, authors. Kendall (2003: 119) argues that the media⁶ functions as a socialising agent in the following ways:

- (1) they inform us about events;
- (2) they introduce us to a wide variety of people;
- (3) they provide an array of viewpoints on current issues;
- (4) They make us aware of products and services that, if we purchase them will supposedly help us to be accepted by others;
- and (5) they entertain us by providing the opportunity to live vicariously (through other people's experiences).

In similar vein, Rossi and Soukup (1994: 209) refer to the manner in which the media shapes the audience's 'early perceptions of good and bad' as well as to constitute a new, separate and powerful dimension of that (moral) formation'. However, they (Rossi and Soukup, 1994: 209-210) also caution about the media's role in malformation;

It is easy to see, moreover, in media presentations that display images and narratives of violence, convey messages eliciting new consumer needs, or frame complex personal and societal issues into simple argumentative polarities some disturbing paradigms of attitudes and behaviour which appeal to the less morally praiseworthy element of our human makeup such as unrestrained power, acquisitiveness, and self-satisfaction. One can legitimately speculate about the extent to which skilfully packaged appeals to these levels of our human reality have the potential for clouding moral vision and disorientating the processes of moral imagination.

The media's role in moral formation is also emphasised by Silverstone (2007). For him the media provides a platform '... for the construction of a moral order, one which would be, and arguably needs to be, commensurate with the scope and scale of global interdependence' (Silverstone, 2007: 7). The media is able to change the moral landscape, bring about social transformation and alter societies on a structural level (Golding, 1981: 63-81). The change in governmental policies does not happen accidentally; instead, according to Golding, wittingly and unwittingly, people's ideas and perspectives are altered on certain moral issues (cf. Ward, 2004: 29). Hoekstra and Verbeek (1994: 212-233) assert that the media provide 'distinctive sources for moral reflection, especially through the dramatic and narrative features of audio-visual media'. Willems (1994: 234 – 241) considers that the media has power to '...unsettle current perceptions and ways of thinking'.

The aforesaid discussion confirms that there is consensus on the agency of the media in moral formation. The next section therefore builds on this and explores the ways that the media directly or indirectly influence the moral perceptions, convictions, attitudes and behaviours of their audiences.

3. 6 Role of the media in moral formation

In an attempt to identify particular ways in which the media plays a significant role in moral formation the following three areas are important: the media's influence through its reporting, its distinct ideology and the personhood of journalists working for media institutions. These are briefly discussed below, drawing on secular and, where available, theological literature.

⁶ Though Kendall uses the plural form for media I mainly use the singular for in my reference to the media in the thesis.

3. 6. 1 Media reporting

It has been established that the media influences the audience through its reporting. Hence, it is provided with clear guidelines, ethical codes and legislation to channel this. In South Africa, the broadcasting media (which include radio and television) is guided by the principles set out in the code of conduct of the Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA). It is expected to report news that is truthful, accurate and impartial and should be presented in a balanced, contextual manner (without distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation or material omission). It is also obliged to make comments that are fair and honest and, when covering controversial issues, make an effort to present divergent points of view (Oosthuizen, 2002: 121). Television and radio personalities also sign the code of conduct, in which they agree that their conduct will be aligned with the BCCSA code.

The print media in South Africa, like the broadcasting media, also has an independent regulator, the South African Press Council, which regulates the ethical conduct of the print media institutions and employees. The said Council drafted a Press Code consisting of rules pertaining to journalists' conduct and reporting, and appoints an ombudsman for a five-year term in office. The Press Ombudsman ensures that the Press Code is enforced and implemented. If anyone (including the public) has a concern or complaint about the actions, behaviour and /or how the print media reports on certain issues, they may report such matters to the Press Ombudsman. The Ombudsman and Press Council work concertedly to ensure that the print media adheres to the ethical codes expressed in the Press Code, which deals with aspects such as the (1) gathering and collection of news, (2) reporting of news, (3) independence and conflict of interests, (4) dignity, (5) reputation and privacy, (6) discrimination and hate speech, (7) advocacy, (8) comment, (9) children, (10) violence, (11) headlines, posters, pictures and captions, (12) confidential and anonymous sources, and also (13) payment for articles. (Press Council, 2014)

Oosthuizen (2002: 122) declares that news reporting is also structured around the principles and values to which a society subscribes. For instance, in a society like South Africa, values such as 'respect for the basic human rights of people', respect for people's 'privacy', and the curbing of discrimination, will be among the values that will guide the South African print media in its reporting.

The next chapter addresses the reporting of news, at greater length. For the moment, it will suffice to draw attention to the influence of newspapers through their news reports.

3. 6. 2 Ideological influence

Newspapers are also able to influence their audience through their underlying ideological dispositions. The notion of ideology is generally understood as 'a set of social values, ideas, beliefs, feelings, representations, and institutions by which people collectively make sense of the world they live in' (Stadler & O'Shaughnessy, 2002: 191). Similarly, Van Gijsen (1993: 19-31) earlier concluded that ideology is 'what the individual and the society see as common sense, their view of reality...'.

One example of the success of the ideological influence of newspapers in South Africa was obvious during Apartheid's 'heyday'. According to the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission's (TRC's) final report (1998), 'It was found that the racist ideologies of the apartheid government also permeated the media – (especially the mainstream newspapers and the South African Broadcasting Commission of South Africa) which helped to sustain and prolong the existence of apartheid'. But, as Van der Spuy (2008: 100) contends, 'Only by exception did the South African media attempt to carry a message different to that of the dominant ideology. One of those newspapers that took a critical stance against the ideology of apartheid was the *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Rand Daily Mail*.

This periodical was an Afrikaans weekly newspaper, one of few, that adamantly challenged the dominant apartheid ideology. The former editor of this newspaper, Max Du Preez, testified at the TRC's media hearings and remarked,

...if mainstream newspapers and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had reflected and followed up on all these confessions and revelations [as revealed by the newspaper] every single one subsequently proved to have been true, the government would have been forced to stop the torture, the assassinations and the dirty tricks. It would have saved many, many lives (TRC Final Report, 1998).

Carvalho (cited in Lester, 2010: 68-69) analysed the *Times* newspaper in 2001 in the quest for the reasons why the newspaper reported just once on the issue of climate change in comparison to other newspapers, and found that there was a clear connection between its ideology and reporting. She (2007: 231; cited in Lester, 2010: 68-69) concludes,

Firstly, ideology has implications for the interpretation of 'facts'. The reliability attributed by the media to scientific 'truth' claims, the preferred definitions of 'facts,' and the quantity of media space dedicated to a given scientific claim simultaneously derive from and sustain a certain ideology. Secondly, the recognized *agents* of definition of scientific knowledge vary as a function of ideological standings. The selection of 'experts' and 'counter-experts' that are given voice depends on and reproduces certain worldviews. Thirdly, the goals associated with knowledge also have an ideological basis. The direct or indirect implications for individual or governmental action that are drawn from scientific claims result from views of the status quo and contribute to consolidating or challenging it.

Van der Spuy (2008: 96-105) is critical to the view of some media institutions that declares that its members just reflect the 'reality of society', 'holding up a mirror to society' (2008: 98) as events occur in the respective communities covered by the media. But, as Van der Spuy (2008: 98) points out, 'the picture reflected by the media is generally only a part of reality, and also only the reality the media perceive as reality'. He goes on to argue that the media's reality starts with the selection of news when 'only a fraction of reality is conveyed to the society' (2008: 98). The media then frame the news, and 'organise reality'. The basic building block of this selective construct of reality is language. However, the discourse used by the media, according to Van der Spuy (2008: 99), 'Can also be used to mask hidden ideologies within the media, which means that the media, as an aspect of society often carries far more meaning in their messages'. In similar vein, Fowler (1991: 10) comments on how the language which is used in the construction of news shapes and plays a role in mediation, and avers, 'anything written about the world is articulated from a

particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium'. Van der Spuy's central point throughout his argument is that one should not only be concerned about what the media presents to society but also the worldview, lenses, and the framework that underlie the reporting.

The lenses through which the media depicts, or frames, its reports, have the potential to become the prisms through which readers, audiences of the various newspapers view the world, and consequently issues of moral concern. It is in this way, I believe, that the media can play a role in moral formation or malformation in South Africa. Media institutions' ideological positions may differ. For instance, various Christian radio stations reflect underlying values, and ethos, throughout their broadcasting, which occurs either wittingly or unwittingly.

Up until this point the way ideology has been discussed was in its neutral sense.⁷ However, three scholars engaged the notion of ideology and took a critical stance against it. I briefly discuss these three theories, developed by Karl Marx, Louis Althusser, and Antonio Gramsci. I mainly use the commentary of Greer (2008) on these critical theories as this is just an introductory discussion, and not an in-depth one.

According to Karl Marx, class difference is important in the understanding of the influence of ideology. An individual's relationship to the means of production, either as owner, or as worker, will determine what kind of political ideas or values they will adopt (Greer, 2008: 47). Greer (2008: 47) explains Marx's view of ideology in the following manner: 'The dominant or most influential ideas of any society are those who work in the interest of the ruling class to secure its rule or dominance'. The people who control the means of production also control the producing and the circulation of the most important ideas in a particular society. The media is in the service of the elite, imposing the discourse that supports their interests; the 'dominant class is thus able to make workers believe that the existing relations of exploitation and opposition are natural, inescapable, and inevitable' (Greer, 2008: 47). The media institutions are dependent on money to function and, according to Marx, will always be controlled by those who are in control of the economic base of any society.

Louis Althusser, a French philosopher, also critically responds to the notion of ideology and argues, 'Parts of society's economic superstructure are relatively autonomous, and operate independently of each other'. He further maintains that class rule is sustained in two ways, by a repressive state apparatus, (which refers to the army, police, prisons, courts etcetera) and through ideological state apparatuses. The ideological state apparatus comprises the education sector, the church, religious bodies, political parties and the family as well as the mass media. The ideological state apparatuses influence people by 'naturalizing assumptions' (Greer, 2008: 49; cf. Fourie, 2007: 313) and also operate as an unconscious force that people live -

⁷ The neutral theory of ideology refers to 'ideology as a system of thought, system of belief, ideas and values of a group or whole society' (Fourie, 2007: 309). This ideology does not criticise any other one, but according to this view all ideologies are equal, and have their own 'selective interpretation of reality'. An example would be an institution like church tradition or a religious worldview such as Islam, or Judaism. Fourie argues that this approach to ideology will look at 'the way attitudes and beliefs are organized into a coherent pattern'.

rather than see. In terms of Althusser's argument, ideology '...is lived, as their "world" itself' while the ruling ideas or ideology are deeply embedded in societies and shared by everyone', and are totally normal; or, as Williams (1977, in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 221) refers to ideologies: those ideas which are perceived as 'natural' and 'obvious'. According to Althusser, ideology is so embedded and obvious that people in society cannot 'have an objective view of reality as there is no way to step out of an ideology to some non-ideological position' (see Fourie, 2007: 313). The media (with the family and the education system) is very important for Althusser, because it has taken over the role of the church and is offering ways of understanding and making sense of the world and ourselves (Stadler & O'Shaughnessy, 2002: 215). He, Althusser, regards the media as a supporter of the dominant ideology in society (whether it is patriarchy, capitalism or apartheid) by presenting ideas and values that are in accordance with the values and ideas fostered by that society.

Antonio Gramsci, the Italian theoretician, proposes that dominant values in society can change, though only through struggle (date, in Greer, 2008: 48). Greer (2008: 48), discussing Gramsci's stance, asserts that social groups are continuously struggling for ascendancy, dominance and power by making use of persuasion and consent as well as force. Therefore, according to Greer, Gramsci argues that the elite are able to rule because they are allowed to do so by the social groups. The media will, for instance, try to persuade society to accept the dominance of the elite. But the power of social groups lies in the fact that they should constantly negotiate, which, Greer (2008: 48) says, makes the media a key player in the struggle. Greer (2008: 48) asserts, '...It is important to note that people are not forced, or tricked into a "false consciousness" [false sense of the reality of the world]. Rather, citizens have their consent actively fought for, all the time – and nowadays this struggle is often exclusively waged through the media'. Goldman and Rajagopal (1991: 20-21) refer to Gramsci's notion of hegemony between the powerful (dominant), and the subordinate groups, which entail, as they refer to it, a 'dialectic of consent and coercion'. There is a type of consensus between both groups, and the media sanctions everyone who violates this consensus. Moreover, these authors refer to hegemony as a relational concept, which does not have a fixed ideological content, but rather focuses on a continuous process between the dominant and subordinate groups, in which they negotiate and interact on an on-going basis.

On the basis of this overview of the notion of ideology and its relevance for newspapers, one may briefly capture the role of ideology in influencing their audiences in the following manner:

To start with, all newspapers are loaded with various ideologies embedded in their reports. Readers and audiences are exposed to the ideology, as represented in the texts, without at times realising it. As Nestor and Schutt (2011: 160) point out, 'Politicians have long perceived mass media, both news and entertainment forms, as sites for the dissemination of ideology'. Therefore, although some people consider they are just reading the newspaper for the sake of information, to update themselves on the latest events, Nestor and Schutt (2011: 161) argue that virtually all forms of media – radio, television, movies, music, and the internet – are standard targets, attacked by politicians from different political perspectives who have little doubt that the media are ideological, selling certain messages and worldviews.

Devereux (2003: 98) in similar vein avers, 'The media is never neutral, however their content is framed from a particular worldview'. These entities provide society with meaning, through their content. This point can be illustrated by the media reports on the 9/11 attacks on the United States of America. Media organisations on both sides (i.e. the United States and the Islamic world) reported differently on the conflict. The organisations that covered the incident did it from their own view of reality, reflected by the way they reported, the images they used, and the language they used to define the 'enemy'. This is just one of the examples that showcase the ideological role which the media fulfils (Devereux, 2003: 97). The way in which the readers of newspapers will perceive the 9/11 attacks is based on what they read in those sources, whose stories are covered, and who seems to be the enemy. This will be ultimately also become their lens and framework, through which those who control the newspapers want them to view the unfolding events. These serve as a window (Tuchman, 1978: 1; cf. Lester, 2010: 63) that might 'distort the view' of the readers, depending on the 'angle and the depth of the vision where one is standing in the room, the clarity of the glass; the breadth of the vision which depend on the window size' (Lester, 2010: 63). Newspapers also serve as 'cultural lenses' (Mills, 1963: 406-507) through which reality is viewed. People make sense of the world collectively, which is why the newspapers, and other forms of media and mass communication, play such a pivotal role.

Chiluwa (2012: 32-33) indicates that ideology surfaces through the language the media uses, to express its value judgments, and that this could have an impact on how people and the public perceive events; evaluating the roles and actions of certain people or groups. The media's ideological position may promote the legitimisation of oppression, or manipulate the news in favour of certain political groups, which is why, in some cases, the media use certain sets of vocabulary or grammatical structures, highlighting certain events, or suppressing certain viewpoints or people's perspectives on the issue.

Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1985: 1) refer to the negative impact of ideology:

We see what we have been taught to see, we believe what we have been taught to believe we understand what we have been taught to understand. We reject anything which does not coincide with our preconceived way of looking at the world, with what seems obvious to us. We put our trust in appearances, commonsense and the self-evident. We dismiss alternatives, counter-interpretations and different opinions and ideas. Each individual thinks that only he or she and other "like-minded" people have the correct interpretation of reality.

Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1985: 2) demonstrate how ideology is a constructed and controlled interpretation of reality and summarise their view as follows: 'It is not a world view based on an independent reality-out-there, but on the way a particular society or part of a society structures its perception of reality as a consequence of the way it organizes itself socially, economically and politically'.

In this study, a neutral denotation of ideology has been adopted. It is, however, the stance of each of the four selected newspapers in this study that is important when analysed. The ideological disposition of each newspaper is not obvious from a mere reading. Therefore, the ideology critique undertaken attempted to unearth their perspectives on the issue of corruption in South Africa.

There are various ways to apply ideology criticism in the task of unearthing the ideological dispositions of the media. The following methods may be helpful in this regard:

- The selection or omission of certain content
- The length and space that is allocated to and provided for a particular issue
- The perspective on important themes
- The 'authoritative' sources that were employed
- The terminology that is employed
- The location and placement of a particular report.

In addition to the techniques I have proposed above, Silverblatt, Ferry and Finan (1999: 6-65) also suggest the following eight approaches when conducting an ideological analysis of the media. In summary,

- An organisational analysis that focuses on the management, owners and those who are responsible for the production of particular messages of the media institution.
- Analysing the worldview of a newspaper's presentation and reporting. As part of this analysis the questions that could assist in this regard are: What is the predominant culture that is apparent in the media presentation of a particular issue? How are the characters presented as part of the issue? Is there a particular stereotypical manner in which this is done?
- One can also conduct a historical analysis with the aim of seeing how particular messages and reports are positioned within a historical context. This approach deals with issues such as the relevance of the specific time and moment when particular events are presented and reported by the media, and also to establish how significant it is for the media to table the particular issue especially during a specific time, not another.
- Analysing the ideological stance of the media and their views by investigating what type of view the media presents or report. What do they promote, and subsequently what are the other opposing views which are not so dominant, and not expressed or promoted by the media?
- One could then also conduct a close analysis of the underlying rhetorical strategies and techniques employed by the media. This can be done, for instance, through searching for euphemisms, labels, metaphors, spin, or redirection reflected in the media.
- Another technique is to make use of a narrative analysis to observe how the event or plot of the newspaper report is structured. This may reveal the ideological position fostered by a particular media institution.
- A genre analysis might also be used, which focuses on the particular genre used by the media in its reporting and presentation of a particular event, issue or story. In most instances, the genre reinforces the underlying ideology of the media.
- Finally, to analyse the production elements, for instance, in a broadcasting programme, one may pay attention to the particular predominant colour, the degree of lighting, the scale, movement, the angle, the music used during the presentation and the juxtaposing or sequence of images used in the presentation of an event.

These approaches by Silverblatt et al. (1999: 6-65) and others should be useful when analysing the ideological positions of various newspapers.

3. 6. 3 The personhood of journalists

The other means of influence exerted by newspapers is through the personhood of journalists. This plays a vital role in the way news is presented. Despite the crucial role that editors and management or even owners of media institutions perform, in acting as gatekeepers in the decision-making process for newsworthy events, journalists themselves are responsible to gather and select news, write drafts, and present these to the news editor for publication. Lombaard (2002: 19) believes that journalists have the largest direct influence on *what* is reported and *how* it is reported. The intersection between the actual events and the publication of the event has a lot to do with who the reporter or journalist, responsible for reporting on the event or issue, is. Their personhood is crucial when unpacking the influence of the media and how it plays out in the public domain.

According to the social constructivist view and a post-modern epistemology of knowledge, any person is regarded as entering a conversation, and speaking from a position, with their own preconceptions, ideas and perceptions, as having a subjective view on reality, and as viewing the world through their own spectacles.⁸ This also brings the contentious issue of objectivity and subjectivity to the fore. Therefore, all journalists, though bound by objectivity as part of the ethical codes of their profession, and the ethos of the institution for which they work, still bring their own subjective feelings, sentiments, and prejudices to the profession.

In consequence, what a journalist brings to the media industry is more than just that which media companies can control through their codes of conduct and the internal media regulators, such as the aforementioned Press Council of South Africa that regulates the print media by means of a press code as well as the said Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) that regulates the broadcast media. The assumption that all journalists will report on the same events, incidents, in the same manner, due to the codes of conduct that they subscribe to, has its shortfalls. Although all journalists must at all times abide by the same rules and regulations, which is intended to create uniformity and the streamlining of news reporting in terms of the ideological dispositions of their media institution, the journalist is often responsible for the small nuances and twists in the presentation and reporting of certain events and issues. I briefly point out through the literature survey which follows that there are certain characteristics, abilities and issues relating to the personhood of journalists which often determine how they will report on a particular event or issue.

The first issue concerning the personhood of journalists is their own ethical framework. There is the emphasis on ethical decision-making, but also one on moral character. Although a journalist is guided by the professional codes of conduct of the media institutions for which they work, what they consider to be right or wrong will also influence their reporting. Frost (2000: 4-9) discusses some ethical theories, or positions that journalists might take, which serve as a guideline and ethical framework when deciding on their own ethical position.

⁸ This theory has a long tradition and can be traced back to the work of Piaget (1967), and subsequent scholars in the fields of philosophy, education and other social sciences who built on it. See the website https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constructivist_epistemology for a brief history.

Despite the given frameworks that journalists may regard as guidelines, the character of a journalist also determines how he or she will report on a particular issue or event. This directs the processes, from the gathering, selection, and writing to the reporting and publication of an issue or event. Their personal values could permeate news reports. The character of a journalist will also determine what and how they will report, but also what they will leave unreported. Her or his character will determine whether he or she has the courage to stand for what is 'right' or whether certain information is omitted because a journalist is afraid and does not want to expose those that are on the 'wrong' side of the issue they will report.

Rivers and Mathews (1988: 39) believe that one of the central virtues that should be part of a journalist's character is honesty. A virtuous journalist is also one who does not 'fabricate the facts', who is 'sceptical about their sources' motives, but also an individual who does not choose the wrong because of pressure (for instance, in the newsroom). Rivers and Mathews (1988: 44-45) therefore argue that journalists need an 'unambiguous voice speaking to them from their professional training, and their human selves'. Rivers and Mathews (1988: 44-45) subsequently declare that because the media's responsibility and moral duty is to report on any wrongdoing, its journalists should respect the same ethical standards that they demand of others. This would mean that for example, journalists should not make themselves guilty of obtaining a photograph through unethical means. To have a good moral character is also to be a person of integrity (Kieran, 1997: 2).

As part of the discussion of what a journalist with good moral character is, Merrill (1974: 165-166) explains, they 'live or try to live by the cardinal virtues that Plato discusses in his famous work *The Republic*. These are people with wisdom which 'largely comes from maturing, from life experiences, from contemplation, reading, conversing and study'. They have courage to resist the temptations which lead them away from the path that wisdom shows. 'They show temperance which helps with fanaticism in pursuit of any goal. They also pursue justice.' He then adds that, 'one sign of virtue in journalism may well be a deep loyalty to truth, which includes all these virtues mentioned'.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 88) refer to the personal attitudes, values and religious beliefs of journalists. They argue that the impact of these on the lives of journalists is that the latter's values often reflect the underlying ideological position that they hold. It might also be the case that, 'journalist's worldviews - their perception of social reality - may influence their work' (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 88). Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 91) assert,

It seems clear that some communicators' attitudes, values, and beliefs affect some content at least some of the time, but such a weak assertion is practically worthless. It is possible that when communicators have more power over their messages and work under fewer constraints, their personal attitudes, values, and beliefs have more opportunity to influence content.

Finally, there is substantial evidence in the literature of the role of a journalist's competencies and skills and its effect and impact on the outcome of a news report. The following discussion subsequently focuses on these areas of the person of the reporter and how it can influence their audience and their reporting.

Christo Lombaard (2002: 23), a Christian theologian, argues that journalists are not ‘...inhuman robots simply spewing out facts but they are influenced by shared judgments on how news should be reported’. This informs their own knowledge base, from which they continue and apply the judgements, actions, and behaviour of their colleagues and mentors in the profession. Other variables, such as their class, status, their race and gender, their personal background and current demographic profile, their knowledge, values and aspirations, play an influential role and will have an impact on what and how the journalist will report. Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 63-100) have more or less the same list as Lombaard but include the evolution of journalists’ careers, their sexual orientation and their education.

The knowledge of a journalist is considered to be another important variable that determines to what extent she or he will be able to report fairly on an event or issue. According to Burrows (1977: 10), a good reporter is someone who has ‘solid experience and training in their craft plus wide knowledge in other areas as diverse as biology, literature, psychology, art, urban politics, and Asian Affairs’, while to report on an event meaningfully, ‘he or she should understand those events that led to it, or that are an integral part of it’. It is notable that the general knowledge of journalists is not the same; therefore the information on what and how an issue or event is reported often varies. This issue can be resolved in part by the journalist, through conducting adequate research regarding the issues that he or she will report before the publication thereof.

Donsbach (2010) and Ivins (1996: 52) emphasise the role that journalists’ competencies, skills, personality and abilities might perform in the way they report on certain issues and events. Ivins (1996: 52) emphasises that journalists should be ‘people’s people’. Donsbach (2010: 44-45) refers to journalism as a ‘knowledge profession’, and therefore aligns the qualities and competencies of journalists from this line of thought. The five competencies he deems important are, firstly, a keen awareness of the relevant history, current affairs and analytic thinking. Journalists should, secondly, possess expertise in the specific subjects about which they want to report. They should, thirdly, also have a scientifically based knowledge about the communication process and fourthly should have mastered the journalistic skills. Finally they should also conduct themselves within the norms and ethics of their profession.

3. 7 Conclusion

As part of answering the research question of the study, ‘What are the rhetorical strategies that the four selected newspapers adopt to influence their audience?’, this chapter serves as background to point out the various theories in the discourse of virtue ethics, and to reflect on the process of moral formation. Moreover, the chapter also showcases the ways in which the media shapes the moral consciences and sentiments and behaviour of people. The media’s reporting, the ideological positioning of particular media institutions and management, as well as the personhood of the reporter and journalist, amongst other factors, influence the intended readers and audiences.

The next chapter concentrates on one of these three ways discussed in this chapter in which the media influences the audience: the ethical framework in which the media operates in relation to its reporting. The chapter discuss certain considerations that media institutions should take into account when reporting on any event or issue. They should consider particular pieces of legislation, the South African Constitution and external and internal ethical codes that govern and regulate the media.



4. The Ethical Framework Governing South African Newspapers

4. 1 Introduction

The various rhetorical strategies of the four selected newspapers are analysed in this study. This particular chapter focuses on newspaper reporting and how it is subjected to an ethical framework. As referred to in the previous chapter, the media's influence additionally lies in the manner in which it reports on certain issues or events. The media in South Africa has its own ethical framework, which it needs to consider when reporting on any issue or event. This chapter makes reference to media codes, regulations and legislations as well as the South African law and societal expectations that govern the media industry.

The ethical framework for journalists involves the laws, journalistic traditions, the influence of their employers, and their institution's code of conduct (Greer, 2008: 102). I briefly examine some of these issues which form part of the normative ethical framework for South African media: the Press Code as drafted by the Press Council of South Africa as well as other policy documents, laws and legislation in South Africa that have particular reference to print media and which provide it with clear guidelines for reporting. In the final part of this chapter, I refer to various contributions in which the role of the media, with particular reference to the South African context, is discussed.

4. 2 Independent Media Regulatory Bodies

In South Africa, there are two independent bodies that regulate the conduct of media institutions as well as that of their employees. The printed media are regulated by the South African Press Council; most of the media houses (including those of the four newspapers included in this study) subscribe to its code of conduct. The second regulatory body is known as the Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA). This was established to regulate the broadcasting media industry. The BCCSA also has a code of conduct which regulates the broadcasting industry (radio and television). A brief discussion on these codes is offered. The focus is largely on the Press Council in South Africa and its code of conduct as the independent body that also regulates the four weekly newspapers included in this study. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) is also a regulatory body with its mandate being to regulate,

...telecommunications, broadcasting and postal industries in the public interest and ensure affordable services of a high quality for all South Africans. The Authority also issues licenses to telecommunications and broadcasting service providers, enforces compliance with rules and regulations, protects consumers from unfair business practices and poor quality services, hears and decides on disputes and complaints brought against licensees and controls and manage the effective use of the radio frequency spectrum as well as protect consumers of these services (ICASA, 2017).¹

1 See <https://www.icasa.org.za/>

4. 2. 1 Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa

The Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) has drafted a code of conduct² for the manner in which broadcasters should report news. These reports should be truthful, accurate and impartial, and should be presented in a balanced, contextual and factual manner (without any distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation, or material omission). Furthermore, it is expected of broadcast media and their employees, in terms of comments, that they be fair and honest. If there are any controversial issues that they would need to report, they should make an effort to present all the views of the parties involved (Oosthuizen, 2002: 121).

4. 2. 2 Press Council

The Press Council of South Africa is an umbrella organisation. The organisations and forums under its auspices include: The Association of Independent Publishers (AIP); The Forum of Community Journalists (FCJ); The South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF); and the Interactive Advertising Bureau South Africa (IABSA) which is representing the online media (Press Council, 2016).

On its website³ the Press Council (2016) introduces the regulatory body as:

an independent co-regulatory mechanism set up by the print and online media to provide impartial, expeditious and cost-effective adjudication to settle disputes between newspapers, magazines and online publications, on the one hand, and members of the public, on the other, over the editorial content of publications. The mechanism is based on two pillars: a commitment to freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, and to high standards in journalistic ethics and practice.

In the preamble of the Press Code the Press Council provides a brief ethical statement regarding journalists:

As journalists we commit ourselves to the highest standards, to maintain credibility and keep the trust of the public. This means always striving for truth, avoiding unnecessary harm, reflecting a multiplicity of voices in our coverage of events, showing a special concern for children and other vulnerable groups, exhibiting sensitivity to the cultural customs of their readers and the subjects of their reportage, and acting independently (Press Council, 2016).

The Press Council appoints an ombudsman who is responsible to ensure that the print media and journalists adhere to the rules and stipulations of the press code. Claassen (2005: 137) explains the purpose of an ombudsman according to the Organisation of New Ombudsmen (ONO) as: a person who

...receives and investigates complaints from newspaper readers or listeners or viewers of radio and television stations about accuracy, fairness, balance and good taste in news coverage. He or she recommends appropriate remedies or responses to clarify or correct news reports.

If anyone, including the public, has a problem relating to the actions of the print media, they can report these, and make a formal complaint to the Press Council.

2 See <https://bccsa.co.za/codes-of-conduct/>

3 See <http://www.presscouncil.org.za/>

There are some reservations about the effective functioning of the South African Press Council. Krüger (2011: 106 -108) cautions that Press Councils, which serve as the self-regulatory body of print media, are not always as effective as they could be. Krüger argues that this is precisely why the ruling party in South Africa (the African National Congress) discussed the establishment of a statutory Media Appeals Tribunal. Krüger (2011: 107-108) therefore suggests the following factors to ensure the effective operation of press councils like the South African Press Council:

All the relevant groups, owners, journalists, and the public should be involved and a Press Council should be representative of the whole media industry, and therefore all news outlets should be encouraged and subjected to the authority of the Press Council. This also includes the member newspapers. All print media organisations should be willing to be subject themselves to the authority of the Press Council. A Press council should also be able to deal with the complaints they receive, effectively. It is also important and crucial that the individuals, who serve on the council, should have a good reputation, in order to receive credibility from the public as well as the government. A Press Council must always be viewed as independent. In all respects, it will be the responsibility of the council to enhance their [sic] credibility in the minds of the public whom they serve.

I now discuss the Press Code of the South African Press Council, which comprises a range of aspects that newspapers have to keep in mind in their reporting of issues, events and persons.

This Code deals with the following aspects:

(1) gathering news, (2) reporting of news, (3) independence and conflict of interests, (4) dignity, (5) reputation and privacy, (6) discrimination and hate speech, (7) advocacy, (8) comment, (9) children, (10) violence, (11) headlines, posters, pictures and captions, (12) confidential and anonymous sources, and lastly, (13) the payment of articles (Press Council, 2016).

For this study, which focuses on the reporting of newspaper on issues of corruption, the section in the Press code - reporting of news - needs some discussion. The assumption was made that the media play a role in the process of moral formation specifically through the way in which they report news. The code therefore provides an ethical framework for newspapers. Journalists are obliged to adhere to the stipulations of the code in terms of reporting of news (2) and should attend to the following as stated in the Press Code:⁴

- 1.1. 'The media shall take care to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly.
- 1.2. News shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner, without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omissions, or summarisation.
- 1.3. Only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the sources of the news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with reasonable regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on facts or is founded on opinion, allegation, rumour or supposition, it shall be presented in such manner [sic] as to indicate this clearly.

⁴ The stipulations of the Press Code are quoted verbatim.

- 1.4. News should be obtained legally, honestly and fairly, unless public interest dictates otherwise.
- 1.5. The gathering of personal information for the purpose of journalistic expression must only be used for this purpose.
- 1.6. Media representatives shall identify themselves as such, unless public interest or their safety dictates otherwise.
- 1.7. Where there is reason to doubt the accuracy of a report or a source and it is practicable to verify the accuracy thereof, it shall be verified. Where it has not been practicable to verify the accuracy of a report, this shall be stated in such [sic] report.
- 1.8. The media shall seek the views of the subject of critical reportage in advance of publication; provided that this need not be done where the institution has reasonable grounds for believing that by doing so it would be prevented from reporting; where evidence might be destroyed or sources intimidated; or because it would be impracticable to do so in the circumstances of the publication. Reasonable time should be afforded the subject for a response. If the media are unable to obtain such comment, this shall be reported.
- 1.9. Where a news item is published on the basis of limited information, this shall be stated as such and the reports should be supplemented once new information becomes available.
- 1.10. The media shall make amends for presenting information or comment that is found to be inaccurate by communicating, promptly and with appropriate prominence so as to readily attract attention, a retraction, correction or explanation.
- 1.11. An online article that has been amended for factual accuracy should indicate as such. In the event of an apology or retraction, the original article may remain, but the publisher must indicate in a prominent manner that it has led to an apology or retraction – and should link to both the apology/retraction and the original article.
- 1.12. No person shall be entitled to have an article which falls short of being defamatory, but is alleged by such person to be embarrassing, removed.
- 1.13. Journalists shall not plagiarise’.

In this specific study it was not possible to comment on each of the stipulations above concerning the reporting of news. Therefore, I have engaged with just some of the central principles in various ethical codes of media reporting in the following section. There are at least three key, and widely acknowledged, principles in almost all media ethical codes discussed by various scholars. I comment briefly on the aspects of truth (stipulation 1.1), balance (stipulation 1.2) and accuracy (stipulation 1.1) as it relates to the reporting of news in the media.

4. 3 Three central codes in news reporting

4. 3. 1 Truthful reports

The Press Code (2016) states in its first stipulation (1.1.): ‘The media shall take care to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly’. The first principle that is widely

acknowledged and needs discussion is the notion of truth as part of news reporting. Smith (2008: 97) comments on the sad fact that some journalists indeed 'fabricate stories, plagiarise, make up quotations, or embellish the facts'. Though it occurs rarely in terms of his observation and research, it is still 'disturbing to those seeking a more ethical journalism'.

The notion of truthful reporting is an important aspect of media reporting and therefore is central to many discussions in media ethics. I will briefly refer to the remarks made by various scholars in this regard.

In the attempt to define what truth means in the context of news reporting Russell (2006: 36) offers a working definition. He argues that truthful reporting is intended to hold up a mirror to society. A journalist is often tempted to over exaggerate than reporting the truth, but as far as he or she can, they must put everything on the table for society. A truthful report is one that includes the voices and versions of what journalists did not see, smell, and hear at all. Although newspapers might not be able to include all the versions, serious attempts should be made to include all angles that would allow the (whole) truth to emerge.

Lambert (1998: 17) argues that one⁵ of the responsibilities of the free press is to provide a truthful and a comprehensive account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning. This is also emphasised in the declaration of the International Federation of Journalists,⁶ to which the South African Union of Journalists subscribes. The declaration states that journalists shall only use 'fair methods to obtain news, photographs and documents; and shall regard the following as grave professional offences: plagiarism, malicious misrepresentation, calumny, slander, libel, unfounded accusations, acceptance of a bribe in any form in consideration of either publication or suppression' (see Oosthuizen, 2002: 123).

The reporting of truth also requires that the media make visible, and 'clarify connections' (Alia, 2004: 43): those that exist from 'policy to practice, country to country, government to corporations, business to labour, profit to health and safety, and so on'. Alia (2004: 43) argues that 'the public only see the superficial effect of far reaching policy and change'. An example would be an advertisement for cigarettes, where their manufacturers fail to share the negatives that nicotine might cause to the human body – that it may cause addiction. According to Alia this is part of the truth telling of reporters and journalists. As part of reporting truthfully, they should make these connections so that the public sees the truth.

Smith (2008: 98) argues that readers are nowadays less forgiving when newspapers invent stories, whatever the reasons for this might be (with reference to the arguments above). This (false) kind of reporting is not always something of which the editors of newspapers are aware and such action might also jeopardise the relationship between the reporter and the editor. Editors often trust their reporters to

⁵ Other responsibilities he refers to are to "serve as a 'forum for the exchange of comment and criticism'; offer a "representative picture of the constituent groups of societies"; present and clarify the "goals and values of society"; and provide "full access to the day's intelligence".

⁶ See <http://www.ifj.org/about-ifj/ifj-code-of-principles/>

establish the facts, and if the latter seem to have inserted false information, this could lead to distrust between the two.

In some instances, the reasons for untruthful accounts and reports are that a newspaper wants to attract an audience. Whenever this is the objective of the media, it will result in a failure to consider first and foremost the truth in the story, which could further result in the audience receiving a 'wholly misleading impression of what has happened' (Kieran, 1997: 32).

Smith (2008) provides examples of situations where the truth of reports is compromised. There are those instances when a journalist interviews a person and the interviewee makes some grammar mistakes, and the journalists need to copy these verbatim. Smith (2008: 103-104) cautions that journalists should not be untruthful by rectifying the response of the interviewee in such a way that it no longer contains the truth of what it originally entailed. Smith (2008: 105) also refers to the cases where 'four-letter' words are used, and the journalist or reporter changes or alters these words, pictures or whatever is offensive to the audience. This is a challenge for such journalists, as they do not want to dilute the truth and what the message was supposed to convey. Therefore, to decide how much of the language will be quoted verbatim, remains a great challenge in this instance, if reporting should adhere to the truth principle. Some newspapers will replace those 'dirty words' in the quotes with more suitable words, but will clearly indicate this so that the readers would know that the word was replaced.

The way in which journalists may manipulate the pictures of the scene in their report, may also distort the truth of the particular report. Smith (2008: 111) contends that this can be easily done: 'computers today can so competently change photographic images that even experts cannot separate the real ones from the fakes'.

There are occasions when a reporter makes use of another journalist's report and information, without any indication of doing so. Smith (2008: 114-116) argues that this amounts to plagiarism,⁷ and that technology makes it much easier to acquire stories from other news organisations. The reporter can, simply by accessing the internet, tie into various databases and use the reports of other newspapers throughout the world.

Journalists may also intentionally violate the truth principle during the process of selecting sources for their report. As Smith (2008: 124-125) argues, they might only select sources which would confirm a certain perspective of the story or issue they want to report. This, he contends, represents 'easy sources' for journalists, because they do not consult the sources which would give a proper context to their stories.

In providing a workable definition for reporters on what truth is in the context of reporting, Shirky (2014: 10-11) argues that truth is not a 'stable thing', it is 'a judgment about what persuades us to believe a particular assertion'. It has to do with the 'consensus among the relevant actors' that persuade people. Therefore, it is difficult to find only one answer and label it as the 'truth'. Shirky (2014: 11) advises that the journalist or reporter should

⁷ This is also a violation of point 2.8 of the South African Press Council's press code which clearly states that a journalist shall not plagiarise.

... describe public expression without using the label truth at all by simply locating any given statement on a spectrum of agreement, running from “the sky is blue” through “inflation is always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon” to “The Earth is flat”. The statements we describe as true are the ones that enjoy operative consensus among relevant actors. As a consequence, any statement presented as true can also be described as an assertion; that people who believe the statement are the people whose opinions on the subject matter [sic], and those who don't, aren't.

Shirky (2014: 11) proposes that the media should shift from ‘reporting consensus to telling the public whose opinions are relevant and whose aren't’. According to Shirky the press itself is an actor in the public conversation and should therefore raise its voice, and cannot stand neutral. The media should tell the public which actors are worth listening to.

Smith (2008: 97-98) refers to times in the past when newspapers manufactured news for their audiences. These fabricated and made up stories, which readers would believe, are not possible in modern times. The reason Smith (2008: 100-101) provides, is as follows: false news could result from a journalist's obsession with money or because it is a simple way to deal with a problem, and therefore serves as a shortcut to success. It might be easy for reporters to lie about a source, if they struggle to find one which could confirm the event or the issue that they wish to report. The reason for fabrication could also be that some journalists are unable to handle competitive pressures, such as competing with other reporters for success or to get a number of stories on the front page. Smith (2008) refers to a few instances where journalists are tempted not to uphold the code. Journalists will also fail to uphold the truth principle when they mix quotations (Smith, 2008: 103). This happens when they make use of ‘cherry-picking’ from the exact words a person used. They might use a few words that the person used earlier in the interview, with other exact words that the person used later in the interview, and then combine those bits, and create one composite quote. Smith (2008: 103) argues that this is also a way in which journalists jeopardise the truth of their report.

4. 3. 2 Balanced reports

The next issue that is emphasised in the South African Press Council's Press Code underlines the principle of balanced reporting. This can be found in its second stipulation (2.2) on the reporting of news:

News shall be presented in context and in a balanced manner (not just taking one person's view into account), without any intentional or negligent departure from the facts whether by distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation, material omissions, or summarisation.

Despite the arguments regarding what a balanced report is not, there are also scholars that provide some clarity on what such a report does entail. A good example would exist when the report shows that every person mentioned and implicated in a particular report or issue is given an equal opportunity and chance to respond in the matter (Greer, 2008: 103). This will demonstrate that all of the parties are treated fairly, and therefore that the journalist or media institution could not be accused of favouring one person over another. This should be reflected in the proportion, weight, and space that are provided to each party (Greer, 2008: 103).

A balanced report also means that the media institutions and journalists are nonpartisan. In other words, that a journalist or media institution does not advocate a particular position on controversial issues. They will also show unbalanced partisanship (applicable to an entire news forum), by avoiding one-sidedness in the range of partisan positions. Journalists and newspaper organisations will, through their value judgments, the choice of their topics and their contents, prove that they do not take sides (Westerståhl, 2007: 396-397).

The balance of a report is compromised when it favours one person or group over another. This also occurs when a journalist 'unfairly prejudices someone or something' (Greer, 2008: 107). Such a report is biased. Bias in news reporting involves the 'unfair, dishonest, self-serving, unbalanced, or misleading slanting of news' (Cohen, 1997: 58). Bias is also defined as '...a tendency to interpret and report on things in a particular way that favors a position with which a reporter is in sympathy or that disfavors a position with which a reporter is out of sympathy' (Jacquette, 2007: 227). Journalists or editors in some instances may believe that a particular group of people or person is better than another group, or person, so that when reporters favour the one group over the other, this may compromise the balance of the report.

Cohen (1997: 58) refers to various forms of biases. These might emanate from 'faulty thinking, devices of news slanting, and organisational biases'. An example of faulty thinking that result in bias manifests when a reporter often relies on eyewitness reports, as if the view of the latter is accurate, so that the perceiver's (or eyewitness's) past experiences and prejudices are not taken into account, but solely the fact that s/he saw the event unfolding before her/his eyes. The journalist then perceives the eyewitnesses' report to be fault-free and without any bias. The journalist may rely on this eyewitness, because he or she supports the outcome which the reporter desires for the story (confirmation bias). The journalist might also rely on an error called the bias sample error. This occurs when she or he makes some generalisations based on inferences from unrepresented samples.

The newspaper institution or journalists' biases and their unbalanced reports are a result of the devices they use to slant the news (Cohen, 1997: 69). Cohen (1997: 69) refers to some examples of such devices. This can be noticed in the placement of a certain issue or event in the newspaper, but also in how much space in the newspaper is allocated for a specific issue. More examples may include often-misleading headlines or even how the story or news report is dislodged from its context. Cohen (1997: 60) argues that factors like these could indirectly direct the audience to believe and perceive a story in a certain light.

The structure of a particular news organisation and institution may also perpetuate certain biases. Cohen (1997: 63) cites Epstein in saying '...if the organisation is "tilted" in its preferences in one direction, news will tend to be distorted regardless of the fairness of the individual newsman'. This is because even the news organisations are 'pressured by time, advertisers, audiences, and affiliated stations' (Cohen, 1997: 63).

A news report is also unbalanced when it showcases and contains only certain sources. Smith (2008: 126) points out that there are those instances where

journalists would sometimes select just those sources with whom they agree. In other cases, journalists might interview sources with whom they do not concur, asking them tough questions so that the report and views of the sources would fit into the slant of their reporting.

Smith (2008: 126; cf. Westerståhl, 2007: 406) refers to those instances where it is very difficult to ensure a balanced report. It might be at times that the reporter or journalist finds it difficult to reach a party (whether it is a person or organisation) who is implicated in the report. It also often happens that the person makes contact after the report has been published. Smith suggests that the person implicated in the case, who might be able to provide another angle to the story, should still be granted the opportunity. The journalist could in the next edition publish a follow-up story or at least mention it in their report. This will at any rate give the audience the certainty that the journalist made serious attempts to ensure that a balanced view of the issue has been sought, and to eliminate any bias.

Russell (2006: 38) cautions that a balanced report, obtaining both sides of the story, 'does not necessarily yield a good story that readers can act upon.' He (2006: 38) cites Jay Rosen who believes that 'stories should not be regarded as polarities, but rather circles, around which the reporter must walk'. Because of the complexity of a story the journalist cannot merely focus on the two versions of the story or issue but should draw out the multifaceted nature of the occurrence, in order for the reader to be able to draw a fair conclusion.

Ronning and Kasoma (2002: 80) explain that to ask for fairness and balance, is to ask that evaluative language be avoided and that the report should not be slanted. The notion of fairness and balance is critiqued for the way in which these notions encourage journalists to take a middle position, so that in most instances controversial views are excluded (Ronning & Kasoma, 2002: 86).

As a final remark in the discussion on balanced reporting, the argument of Ronning and Kasoma (2002: 86-87) is quite useful for this study. They argue that no news report can be balanced or fair. Their main focus revolves around the argument that the media is constructing the events and frames it according to the dominant values of society, and therefore is likely to exclude alternative views. According to them, the media is also 'ideological, carrying a worldview that structures the world and explains it to the audience'.

4. 3. 3 Accurate reporting

The South African Press Council's Press Code states in terms of news reporting in stipulation 1.2: 'The media shall take care to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly'. This is obviously important.

According to Nel (2001: 361), 'Inaccuracy means not paying meticulous attention to details'. Inaccuracy is not equivalent to lack of truthfulness because, 'a story may be true but inaccurate'. Inaccuracy could include the spelling of words, but it might also occur when facts or statements are reported out of context. Journalists may make this mistake when they paraphrase speeches. This might also happen when a reporter does not use the correct words. Nel (2001: 361) cautions that, 'Journalists should use their words carefully and mean what the words mean'. Otherwise, he

argues, 'a situation soon arises where news consumers who are constantly subjected to careless use of words adopt the attitude not to take the words reporters use seriously and engage in guess-work regarding the meaning of the words'.

Greer (2008: 104-105) considers that mistakes and errors in reports are at times the result of exigency, and pressure of time to produce a news report. This often leads to instances where journalists fail to avoid easy mistakes like the misspelling of a name, incorrect quotes, errors of fact, and errors of omission. Those instances affect the accuracy of such a report. Greer further argues that these mistakes could be rectified through a public apology. However, he cautions that these mistakes may also lead to creating public distrust in a newspaper, and therefore they should make sure that they publish the correct information the first time.

Journalists should take the reporting of inaccuracies very seriously, and to this end, they should 'mitigate to whatever extent possible the misleading impressions their false reports may have created' (Jacquette, 2007: 21). The South African Press Council's Press Code also provides clear guidelines in the event of an error in a report. The institution or the reporter should correct this publicly and should set the record straight.

In the quest for accuracy, it is the responsibility of the journalist to be meticulous in his or her reporting. They may contribute to an inaccurate report because of 'sloppy methodology, a failure to check sources and quotes, or lack of critical judgment' (Kieran, 1997:35). However, as Kieran (1997: 35) advises, this could be avoided by journalists through the exercise of 'discipline, honesty, to respect the value of truth, and the respect of certain values and principles which are required to arrive at it faithfully.'

Silverman provides very pertinent insights into the notion of truth telling as part of news reporting. He (2014: 152) asserts that the media and journalists' acknowledgement and correction of errors will create more trust from the public in the media. He believes that each error that the media fully admits, brings it closer to the public.

Many news organisations fail to understand that by publicising their failings, they demonstrate they are worthy of trust. Their failing is in fact one of their best opportunities to forge a stronger connection with the public they seek to serve.

The trust is often broken through the way corrections are made. Silverman (2014: 154) argues, 'Corrections must prove as viral as the errors that spawn them. They must also be clear and honest and offered with sincere regret'. Silverman (2014: 157-160) proposes five elements that the media should remember when correcting errors.

He argues that the media is the one that exposes issues like corruption, and demand, and holds accountable the mistakes of someone in the public, and it is therefore important to treat people and journalists in its own ranks with the same accountability that they demand from others, and that they are transparent.

Silverman argues for the same level of accountability and transparency from the media. It should not shy away from admission but 'embrace failure and vulnerability and take steps to publicly express them in meaningful ways'. The media should make itself more accessible to people who want to report an error or a mistake that might

have slipped into a particular report, and make it easy for the public to find the contact particulars or directions and procedures when reporting an error. Silverman (2014: 158) suggests that the media institutions offer a dedicated online corrections page that is linked to the home page and 'that lists recent corrections, along with contact information to report an error'.

Media institutions should also plan for errors and write up a clear policy and process, so that journalists will know how to handle such cases. He explains: 'A corrections workflow will have clear roles and responsibilities for those involved, and it closes the loop by ensuring the requester of a correction is given an answer and can see any resulting fix' (Silverman, 2014: 159).

When the media responds, and wishes to correct mistake(s) this should be done, as mentioned, with clarity and sincerity (Silverman, 2014: 159). In terms of clarity, Silverman states that the corrections should not be vague or confusing but should be clearly understood by the reader, not written with any hidden agenda, so that these can serve their purpose to 'mitigate damage and blame'. In terms of sincerity, Silverman believes that 'correction is written with the head and the heart'. The tone and language of the report should therefore express that the media understood the impact that the error had or might have had on those affected through the report.

The media should also double its efforts in preventing the spread of errors. It is important that the correct report is close to the corporate 'heart' and should be promoted. Silverman (2014: 160) believes that, 'A basic approach is to match the distribution of a correction to the same channels used to promote the inaccurate content.' Silverman (2014: 160) argues that by doing so, spreading the corrections and promoting them will help the media to turn their failures into powerful engines of trust and connection.

For McQuail (1992: 207) accuracy has to do with the credibility of the media. If the media cannot be trusted for its portrayal and reporting of an event, then this will also have an effect on the other reports. McQuail (1992: 207-210) offers some methods to measure the accuracy of a report. This can be verified against an external, reliable version of the same information, like the original source, or where the original source is not obtainable, with other media's official records; the media can also check with the persons or the organisations that are the subject/s of the error report. McQuail (1992: 208) argues that the media may 'be more influenced by [its] own organisational (and technical) logic and the logic of the "story" or "script" based on earlier events, than by actual "reality" as it occurs'. McQuail therefore recommends that reports should also be verified with eyewitnesses of the event. The audience is another resource that can be consulted to find out how its members perceive the accuracy of the report. Finally, McQuail (1992: 208) suggests conducting an internal process of establishing accuracy by verifying, for instance, the headlines of the report with the content to see if these correspond.

Stein and Paterno (1998: 152) contend that accuracy in reporting concerns the credibility of a newspaper. The blame will be placed on the newspapers and not on the reporter, which means that the journalist should avoid errors at all cost. They advise journalists to check and double check all dubious information, to make sure the names are spelled correctly, to read their copy of the report closely before they

turn it in for publication, and lastly, never to guess (Stein & Paterno, 1998: 153). Moreover, Stein and Paterno (1998: 153) aver, accuracy also has to do with commission and omission. To leave out information is just as inaccurate as the misspelling of names. To include all the pertinent information so that the readers are given a balanced report likewise has to do with accuracy.

The above section provides some discussion and commentary on news reports in terms of truth, balance and accuracy. The Press Code of the South African Press Council is not the only source providing ethical guidelines for media reporting. The next section examines the South African legal framework, which serves as an important source of ethics for media institutions and journalists in their reporting.

4. 4 Government Legislation

The legal framework for media institutions includes the stipulations in the South African Constitution. The Constitution of South Africa is central; in fact, one of the most important guiding documents for all sectors of society, including the media. Therefore, it will be assumed that the media and practitioners will keep to its principles; especially Chapter 2 that deals with the rights of all South African citizens. There are also other pieces of legislation that are applicable to the media and ensure the proper management and functioning of media houses and their employees. The following discussion briefly refers to these legislative documents.

4. 4. 1 South African Constitution: The Bill of Rights

Fourie (2008: 52-53) points to the protection that the constitution provides for the media. It ensures the freedom of expression (Section 16), the access to information (section 32), the right to privacy (section 14), and the limitations of rights (section 36).

The South African Constitution serves as the supreme law in South Africa. All institutions including the media are governed by it. Although all stipulations in the Constitution are important, Chapter 2 of the Constitution is of particular significance for the media, especially because it contains the rights of people and institutions that are protected by the Constitution. In Chapter 2, the Bill of Rights stipulation 16. 1 (a) advocates the, 'freedom of the press and other media'.

This freedom of expression includes the freedom of the press and other forms of media, the freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, the freedom of artistic creativity, academic freedom, and the freedom of scientific research. This is important as the media serves as an intermediary between the government and the people of South Africa. The media acts on the people's right to know as contained in section 32 of the Constitution. Therefore, the media is protected and has freedom through the Constitution to gather and convey the information to the South African public.

However, it is also important to highlight the conflict and tension that exists between freedom of expression along with the public's right to know and the right to privacy. Both of these are protected in the Constitution. Oosthuizen (2014: 83) argues that the constitutional court will be the mediatory body that could test the case and decide whether the 'right to know outweighs the right to privacy' in terms of each case's own merit.

The tension between the public's right to know, and the invasion of a person's privacy, is one of the most deeply debated issues in media ethics, especially to decide whether the invasion of a person's privacy is morally justified (Jones, 2011: 163). Jones (2011: 162-175) addresses this issue by making use of the case study of an incident as it appeared in the *Sunday Times'* exposé of the late South African Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, who they reported to have been charged of theft and corruption while she was a medical superintendent at the Athlone Hospital in Botswana in the mid 1970s. He critically discusses how this case of corrupt activities was exposed, but at the same time people's right to privacy was violated. He addresses the question of how far the media are able to go in obtaining private information, and within which boundaries (which include the legal obtaining of documents, and through honest activities) it can be disseminated. Jones (2011: 174) points to the existing tension between the two constitutional rights, namely that of the freedom of speech (in this case the media) and the right to privacy (applicable to the minister). He conclusively argues that the public's right to know should be balanced to the individual's right to privacy.

In South Africa, this bill allows the print media to report on the events without being censored, and therefore the media will be afforded the space to speak to moral issues of the day. The way in which such freedom is used by the media is still open to discussion; therefore this study will also speak to this matter.

4. 4. 2 Promotion of Access to Information Act 2 of 2000.

This piece of legislation gives the media access to the necessary information needed for its reports. The purpose of this Act is:

to give effect to the constitutional right of access to any information held by the state, as well as information held by another person that is required for the exercise or protection of any right.

The motivation behind the promotion and ratification of this Act is

to foster a culture of transparency and accountability both in public and private bodies and to promote a society in which the people of South Africa have effective access to information to enable them to more fully exercise and protect all their rights.

4. 4. 3 Internal Security and Intimidation Act 138 of 1991

This act was preceded by the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982, which was passed by the apartheid government, and 'empowered the Minister of Justice to ban organisations and publications and to imprison or otherwise restrict people without proof of their membership of the banned South African Communist Party' (Fourie, 2002: 22-23). The Act also restricted the media from freely sharing the ideas of these banned organisations to the general public. This also included, at the time, the African National Congress (ANC). However, this Act was amended and replaced by the Internal Security and Intimidation Act 138 of 1991. According to Oosthuizen (2014: 121) the ratification of this Act has positive implications for the media as it meant the following:

- 'It was no longer an offence to quote communist, members of the ANC, the PAC and other previously banned parties;

- The Minister of Law and Order could no longer prohibit, suspend or warn a publication that it may not publish specific actions or propagate particular views;
- The minister could also no longer compel a publication to pay an amount of up to R40 000, if he was not satisfied that a publication would adhere to specific provisions of the Law;
- The media were no longer prohibited from quoting specific persons on the then consolidated list of prohibited persons; and
- Restrictions on all persons (including journalists) attending gatherings or entering or leaving specific regions were abolished’.

This Act therefore allows the media to also address moral issues without fear or favour.

4. 4. 4 Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977

This piece of legislation is related to the disclosure of information. The state may compel journalists or media institutions to provide the sources from which they solicited the information that assisted them when furnishing their reports. This legislation was tested during the case between the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF), the Ministers of Justice and Safety and Security, and the National Director of Public Prosecutions. Oosthuizen (2014: 127) reports that an agreement had been reached between these parties in relation to the careful implementation of the Act.

4. 4. 5 South African law

In terms of South African law the media is obliged to adhere to the relevant legislation; Louw (2005: 126-127) provides a brief guideline for journalists to consider when reporting:

- If a child is under the age of 18 and a news report could potentially harm the child, there is likely to be a law against the publication.
- The state sometimes protects privacy.
- Laws are passed to protect the administration of justice.
- The constitutional right to freedom of expression can be overridden by the state if it is in the interest of national security.
- The interests of the tax collection system implemented by government are usually protected by statute.

The above discussion included the Acts and Bill in the South African Constitution that have particular reference to the printed media. It is indeed noted that the South African law ensures that the media should not be restricted in any way from reporting on issues that concern society. There are also guidelines on how the media should act responsibly in fulfilling its duties. This is important for this study, especially as regards its particular focus on how the media reported on issues of corruption in South Africa in 2016.

As previously mentioned, other ethical codes, besides the legislation and other laws as part of the South African legal framework (external regulation), are directly

applicable to the print media. In the media profession (internal regulation) there are various other ethical codes that govern it.

4. 5 The Code of Conduct of the South African Union of Journalists

Journalists are members of the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ). According to Fourie (2002: 31), the SAUJ represents over a thousand journalists. These subscribe to the following code of conduct⁸ (Wits Journalism, Code of Conduct of the SA Union of Journalists, 2015):

1. A journalist has a duty to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards.
2. A journalist shall at all times defend the principle of Freedom of the Press and other media in relation to the collection of information and the expression of comment and criticism. He/she shall strive to eliminate distortion, news suppression and censorship.
3. A journalist shall strive to ensure that the information he/she disseminates is fair and accurate, avoid the expression of comment and conjecture as established fact and falsification by distortion, selection or misrepresentation.
4. A journalist shall rectify promptly any harmful inaccuracies, ensure that corrections and apologies receive due prominence and afford the right of reply to persons criticised when the issue is of sufficient importance.
5. A journalist shall obtain information, photographs and illustrations only by straightforward means. The use of other means can be justified only by overriding considerations of the public interest. The journalist is entitled to exercise a personal conscientious objection to the use of such means.
6. Subject to justification by overriding considerations of public interest, a journalist shall do nothing which entails intrusion into private grief and distress.
7. A journalist shall protect confidential sources of information.
8. A journalist shall not accept bribes nor shall he/she allow other inducements to influence the performance of his/her professional duties.
9. A journalist shall not lend himself/herself to the distortion or suppression of the truth because of advertising or other considerations.

4. 6 The ethos of the four selected South African media houses

The media institutions and journalists are also guided by their internal ethical codes, values and institutional ethos. Irrespective of the notion held by the general public that newspapers and media houses are only interested in maximum 'power, or influence' (Kieran, 1997: 22) their own mission statements and ethical codes do not convey this idea. In terms of their respective ethos they are simply reporting news

⁸ This section is quoted verbatim. See <http://www.journalism.co.za/blog/code-of-conduct-of-the-sa-union-of-journalists/> (accessed on 24 August 2016)

without any ulterior motive (for instance the maximisation of profit) or ideological positioning. I am able to present just the *Mail and Guardian's* editorial code of ethics which was the sole one accessible. Therefore, it is assumed that the other three newspapers (*Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent* and *Rapport*) rely mostly on the Press Code. In brief, I discuss and present the four selected weekly newspapers and the ethos of the particular media institution (house) to which they belong, as captured in their mission statements and ethical codes. The purpose is therefore to concisely sketch the guidelines that the journalists, editors, management and the media institutions should consider in terms of news reporting.

4. 6. 1 The Sunday Times

The following note appears on the website of the *Sunday Times*:

The *Sunday Times* is South Africa's biggest-selling weekly newspaper. It's a part of Sunday for South Africans – time to relax and unwind, socialize and interact, and gain knowledge that will help readers cope and give better quality of life. The *Sunday Times* is committed to sharing knowledge that enriches peoples' lives. The *Sunday Times* is a tradition – an experience South Africans have grown to love and trust. Every Sunday it brings families together – sharing the various sections of the paper in a relaxed environment. The *Sunday Times* is the paper South Africans know they can TRUST. It truly is the 'PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE'.

The ethical code of the *Sunday Times* for its staff is found on its website.⁹ Its press code is more or less in line with the South African Press Code. It is the same code that the staff of the *Sunday Times* should adhere to in their reporting.

4. 6. 2 The Sunday Independent

The *Sunday Independent* belongs to Independent Media. The company and all its newspapers subscribe to the South African Press Code, and its values, and codes will be in line with the Press Code. In the absence of a clear editorial statement the words of the editor-in-chief (Jovial Rantao) may be noted:

That [quality] is the one powerful word that is synonymous with The Sunday Independent. We are South Africa's only quality Sunday newspaper, delivering high quality content for the reader. To the advertisers we deliver quality readership. The Sunday Independent is, in its unique way, a powerful vehicle that brings to the advertisers a special group of quality people. People with spending power. We have become identified as the leaders of cutting-edge debates, first in analyses and features and first in providing in-depth international coverage. Although we have one of the smallest editorial staffs in the country we have produced more awards and won more fellowships per capita than any other paper in the country. Our mission is to bring South Africa and the world in one quality package to the reader. We also want to stimulate, provoke, inform and entertain.

Our challenge is to present, explain and analyse the undercurrents in this dynamic society as it charts [sic] a course into the second decade of democracy, closely watched by the world. We believe in vigorous, bold and groundbreaking journalism. We are guided by you, the readers, in everything we do.

⁹ See http://www.sanef.org.za/images/uploads/Sunday_Times_Staff_Policy_Guide.pdf (Accessed on 24 August 2016)

In the statement by the editor-in-chief, not much can be deduced in terms of the ethos of the newspaper. However its purpose, to stimulate, provoke, inform and entertain, provides us with some idea of what the newspaper promises its readers. As stated earlier, it is noted that it has subscribed to the Press Code and therefore does not seem to reiterate it in providing information to the readership.

4. 6. 3 The Mail and Guardian

The *Mail and Guardian* (M&G) posted its 'Editorial Code of Ethics' on its online website:¹⁰

Preamble

As the *Mail and Guardian* and its staff, we commit ourselves to the highest standards of independent journalism. We serve the public's right to know, in line with section 16 of South Africa's Constitution which guarantees this fundamental right in order to allow citizens to make decisions and judgments about their society. We pledge to exercise our role with great care and responsibility to safeguard public trust in our integrity. We salute those in our history who fought racism and oppression and created a democratic order which guarantees this right, and pledge to defend it at all times.

1. Accuracy & sourcing

Our first duty is to report accurately. We will take care to evaluate information provided to us and to cross-check it as much as possible before publishing. We will show readers the chain of evidence we have.

1.1 The more serious and controversial a claim is, the more corroboration will be required before it can be published. A single source will not usually be sufficient. Secondary sources like other newspaper reports will be treated with caution, and clearly identified.

1.2 Anonymous sources will be avoided unless there is no other way to handle a story and there is extensive additional evidence available. Where sources cannot be named, they will still be identified as closely as possible by reference to their organisation, position, relevance to the story or similar.

1.3 Anonymity will only be granted if the source can persuade us that they have sound reasons for the request. It is not available to people peddling rumour, comment or spin. However, once it has been granted, the newspaper will protect the identity of the source.

1.4 We will take particular care with information that is passed on to us in furtherance of a particular agenda, and will seek additional corroboration in the light of the motives and interests of a source.

1.5 Plagiarism will not be tolerated.

1.6 Headlines, captions and posters will fairly reflect the content of articles.

1.7 Special care will be taken with details like numbers, dates, names and words from South African languages other than English.

¹⁰ This code of the *Mail and Guardian* is quoted verbatim. See <https://mg.co.za/page/mail-and-guardian-ethics-and-social-media-policy> (Accessed 29 August 2017)

2. Fairness

We will treat the sources and subjects of our reporting fairly, making sure they have a full opportunity to respond to reporting that may affect them. This means actively seeking out all relevant views and giving people sufficient time to formulate a response. A report can only go ahead without relevant responses if the opportunity to comment has been declined, or if the editor is satisfied that all reasonable measures have been exhausted. In this case, the situation will be explained to readers.

3. Independence

Our journalistic duty to inform the public trumps all other considerations, whether they are financial, political, personal or any other non-professional interests. This includes the business interests of the paper itself. We will avoid conflicts of interest as well as the appearance of conflicts of interest.

3.1 Editorial material will be kept clearly distinct from advertising or any paid-for content. Any outside support for editorial work, such as through sponsored travel, will be declared in the relevant report.

3.2 Gifts, favours and freebies will be handled in accordance to [sic] the newspaper's policy, which is designed to underline that our goodwill cannot be bought through these means.

3.3 Journalists may only take on outside paid work if it does not impact on their primary responsibilities or create a perception of a conflict of interest, and then only with the permission of the editor.

3.4 Journalists will bear in mind that their private activities can impact on their and the newspaper's reputation. This extends to opinions expressed on public or semi-public social networking platforms.

4. Minimising harm

We recognise that the media can have a harmful impact on the subjects of our reports, our sources, our audiences and society in general, and pledge to minimise it. We will take particular care when dealing with vulnerable people and groups.

4.1 We will not fuel racism or racist stereotypes, and respect the constitutional prohibition of hate speech. We will take note of sensitivities arising from our history, but will not shy away from reporting issues involving race. We acknowledge that racial attitudes are often deeply ingrained, and will always be willing to interrogate our news choices and other editorial decisions for any unspoken and hidden assumptions that may be distorting our judgment.

4.2 We acknowledge the multiple layers of disadvantage affecting black people, women and other groups, and our reporting will always reflect this insight.

4.3 We will avoid racial labels unless they are essential to understanding. Similarly, we will avoid other labels that may feed into social prejudices of various kinds, around religion, culture, gender, sexual orientation, HIV status and many others. We will be careful to avoid anything that fuels xenophobia.

4.4 We will take note of social sensitivities around religion, death, the portrayal of nudity, sex and violence, the use of strong language and others. We will not offend these sensitivities gratuitously.

4.5 Any infringement of an individual's privacy - a right guaranteed in the constitution - must be fully justified by a clear and strong public interest. It must be carefully considered, and proportionate to the level of public interest. We recognise that people in positions of importance or who have sought a life in the public eye have a reduced right to privacy.

4.6 We will take great care to avoid the possibility of direct harm to a source. Where this seems possible, extra steps will be taken to make sure the source understands the dangers and gives informed consent, and steps to mitigate the danger are put in place.

4.7 We will take particular care to avoid harm to children. While it is important to seek out the views of children, we will not do anything that may expose them to abuse, discrimination, retribution, embarrassment or any other risk. We will make sure that we consult with a parent or guardian about any impact our reporting may have on the child. We will not use sexualised images of children.

5. Reporting methods

We will use open, honest means to gather information. Exceptions can only be made when there is strong public interest in a story and there are no alternative methods available.

5.1 We will identify ourselves as reporters to potential sources. We respect the law, and our reporters are required to have a good understanding of relevant legal provisions.

5.2 We will respect off-the-record and similar arrangements. Agreements with sources must be clear, and are binding on the newspaper and its journalists.

5.3 We do not pay for information.

5.4 We do not allow sources to vet our reports before publication. Sometimes, however, it is advisable for reporters to check back to ensure the accuracy of technically complex information, quotes and the like.

5.5 We will keep detailed records of all interviews we conduct, either in note form or preferably as a recording.

It is evident in the ethical code of the newspaper above, quoted verbatim from the newspaper's online website, that it is committed to accuracy, and its adherence to high standards of independent journalism. It is apparent in its short and strong stance in terms of ethical reporting that the newspaper also aligns itself closely with the Press Code of South Africa.

4. 6. 4 Rapport

The *Rapport* newspaper is governed by the Naspers Management, which operates a publishing wing covering all the printed editions, Media24. The staff of *Rapport*, a weekly newspaper, also subscribe to the South African Press Code. Although the internal policy documents were not readily accessible, the online website provides us

with a short introduction, 'Rapport is the leading Afrikaans Sunday newspaper and reaches 20% of the Afrikaans market'.

4.7 Four pillars of all ethical codes

In these internal codes of the four newspaper houses, the three principles, truth, balance and accuracy are noted. As Claassen (2005: 136) argues, all ethical codes of the various news organisations are based on four pillars. These are: their quest to seek the truth and report it, minimise harm, to act independently, and to be accountable. These are now briefly discussed:

- 'Seek truth and report it. Journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.
- Minimise harm. Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving respect.
- Act independently. Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.
- Be accountable. Journalists are accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and each other'.

Retief (2002: 44-45; cited in Claassen, 2005: 138) considers the following brief code of ethics as a summary of all the ethical codes he studied:¹¹

- 'Be accurate both in text and context.
- Be truthful, only using deceptive methods in matters of public importance if there is no other way of uncovering the facts.
- Be fair, presenting all relevant facts in a balanced way.
- Be duly impartial in reporting the news and when commenting on it.
- Protect confidential sources, unless it is overriding public interest to do otherwise.
- Be free from obligation to any interest group.
- Respect the privacy of individuals, unless it is overridden by legitimate public interest.
- Journalists should not intrude into private grief and distress, unless such intrusion is overridden by a legitimate public interest
- Refrain from any kind of stereotyping.
- Be socially responsible in referring to matters of decency, obscenity, violence, brutality, blasphemy and sex'.

In the final section I provide a brief discussion on the role of the media in a South African context. Society also has expectations of the media and although these are not captured in ethical codes of newspaper institutions in obvious ways, they underlie the ethos of many of the newspapers' and therefore I refer in passing to current debates and discussion on those societal expectations. The media's role is captured in various contributions; for instance, the responses of Wasserman (2011, 2013), and Fourie (2002). The watchdog (of the Fourth Estate) role is perhaps one of the most common ones in a democratic country like South Africa. In the next section I build on this by discussing the role of the media, specifically in the South African context.

¹¹ The list by Retief is quoted verbatim.

4.8 The role of the media in South Africa

The constitution of South Africa provides sound guidelines for the South African media, to understand its role and function. In addition to those guidelines, a response from South African scholars in the field of journalism and media ethics also contributes to the discourse of what the role and function of the media should be in a democratic, non-sexist, multi-cultural and multi-racial South Africa.

Kieran (1997: 25) refers to the role of the media as the fourth estate. This implies that the media has a role to 'inform the public about the events in the world that significantly affect the lives of the citizens', to 'keep guard over the guardians', and to ensure that 'those in power cannot manipulate their position for their own self-interest at the expense of the public interest'.

Wasserman (2013: 1-18) expresses his position on the role of the media in a post-apartheid, democratic South Africa. He reflects on the media's contribution to the 'good life'. He argues that, 'The emphasis on the mechanisms and codes of media ethics in South Africa has focused so much on "doing no harm", that the question of what the "doing of the good" would be has been neglected'. What an ethical media sector should look like is not sufficiently addressed. He says 'there is a "thin" political agreement on the constitutional values of human dignity, equality and freedom, but disagreement on what exactly those values mean in everyday media practice'.

Wasserman (2013: 18) argues that the role of the media, especially from a South African context, should still be to act as a 'watchdog'. He believes that the same role that the media played during the years under the Apartheid government should not change. The print media should act as a watchdog even under the democratic dispensation. He raises concerns especially over the Broadcasting and Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) which in most instances remains uncritical toward the ruling party (the African National Congress) in South Africa.

The watchdog role which Wasserman presents as an appropriate role for the South African media also has a negative effect or impact on the public. This could happen when the media set up an 'us' and 'them' discourse, and has the possibility of widening the social rift in society.

Despite the changing conditions in South Africa, Wasserman (2013: 18) argues that South Africa media still privileges '...a sectional rather than national interest, and is still biased towards the middle class and not doing enough to overcome the exclusions of the past'. He argues that the media polarises society even further instead of acting as the fourth estate in South Africa.

Wasserman contributes to a crucial shift in the approach of the South African media. He argues that the media's approach should be to, 'take into account the context, and the particular lived experience of media producers and consumers' (Wasserman, 2013: 18). He calls for a cultural approach to normative ethics, 'as it seeks to engage with the shifting, open-ended dynamics of how media engages within the specifics of everyday lived experiences'. A cultural approach to media, 'resembles an ethics of care, in which media practitioners immerse themselves in the life-worlds of the citizens to listen to everyday experience and suspend their own assumptions in order to engage in relationship with communities'. Wasserman (2013: 18) continues his

argument, 'Through such a bottom-up, lived approach to media ethics, facilitated by a media that seeks to listen to the narratives of citizens' everyday life instead of rushing to speak on their behalf,' the public would be able to deal with the issues at stake – in a relational manner. Wasserman contends that such an approach would be more appropriate in a new democracy such as South Africa, which is still a transitional, post-conflict and post-authoritarian society.

Wasserman (2011: 18-19) further explains his assertion of a relational ethics for South African media in a chapter 'Whose ethics are they, anyway?', considering that the media should take into account the context its members are speaking to. This is in stark contrast to the four theories of the press (the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, soviet-Communist theory, and social-responsibility theory), which were aimed at the construction of a global normative framework and are applied to some countries in the world.

Normative theories describe the roles (or the expectations of the public) that the media should play in society. Wasserman (2011: 17) refers to the following roles that the media might adopt:

...monitorial role (often described in terms of a 'watchdog' or Fourth Estate); a facilitative role (promoting dialogue among their readers and in civil society); a radical role (working to root out social injustice, inequality and to promote human rights, eg historically the anti-apartheid alternative press in South Africa) and a collaborative role (eg self-censorship in the national or public interest; for instance, not divulging information about troop movements or anti-terrorism operations).

He argues that in the South African context, which is in a way different from a Western context in which all the other ethical theories emerged, a South African media which subscribes to the notion of *ubuntu* (which can be summed up 'I am because you are') should follow a much more appropriate ethical approach in South Africa than the four ethical theories as mentioned are able to provide.

Wasserman (2013) further describes the media's role as 'an agent for change'. For him, the media provides 'a platform for debates and representation of a wide [sic] variety of perspectives than were ever possible under apartheid'.

Fourie (2002) also contributes to the discussion of the role of the media in South Africa. He (2002: 36) maintains that the media should re-think its role in post-apartheid South Africa.

The original idea and ideals of pluralism to produce a well-informed public opinion that will contribute to democracy have been replaced with market-driven strategies such as liberalisation, privatisation, internationalisation and commercialisation, the impact of which has in many instances been the increasing superficiality, emptiness and meaninglessness of much of the present-day media content.

Scholars such as Fourie and Wasserman posit their particular views on what the role the media should be in society. Their discussion is important for this study which seeks to describe, analyse and assess the rhetorical strategies of four weekly newspapers. It should therefore, through its analysis, contribute particularly to the discourse of the role of the print media in moral formation.

4. 9 Conclusion

The chapter presents the ethical framework within which the South African print media functions. The South African media is regulated both internally and externally, and the applicable regulation and codes of conduct are discussed. The Press Code is presented as the standard code to which all the selected newspapers subscribe. The chapter also includes a discussion on the role of the media, with particular reference to the South African context.



5. The Rationale for a Rhetorical Analysis: Assessing Douglas Lawrie's Model as an Instrument

5. 1 Introduction

In the quest to analyse the rhetorical strategies employed by the four newspapers selected, this chapter explores and discusses the method of analysis that would be most suitable to answer the research question of this study. Various techniques and models for media analysis exist. This chapter examines two such approaches: discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis.

I begin with a brief discussion on discourse analysis as put forward by two influential authors, Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough.

Thereafter, I define the concept 'rhetoric' and the implied 'notion of persuasion', which form the basis for the type of analysis and type of communication that are the central focus in this study. I furthermore provide a concise discussion regarding the historical development of rhetoric from classical times until the twentieth century, with a particular focus on the main theorists of the different periods and their contributions to the field. Following on this, I provide a short overview of the various existing theories on the process of persuasion, especially as it is described in the social sciences.

Subsequently, I discuss the various techniques that are offered by scholars such as Brummett, Durant and Lambrou, as well as Berger. These scholars just suggest appropriate techniques, but have not developed a formal model of analysis; therefore, a next step is needed.

I consequently discuss a few practical methods that will aid this particular study and may serve as an instrument to analyse the various rhetorical strategies of the four selected newspapers. I consider two practical models available for performing a rhetorical analysis, those of Lawrie (2005) and Rybacki and Rybacki (1991). After the discussion, I also evaluate the two models and provide the reason for selecting the former one as the preferred method to analyse the reports on corruption in the said newspapers.

5. 2 Discourse analysis

5. 2. 1 Analysing news discourse

Van Dijk (1988: 1-2) suggests discourse analysis as an appropriate method to analyse news reports. He defines analysis of this type as an interdisciplinary approach to texts. It is 'interested in the various contexts of discourse, that is, the cognitive processes of production and reception and in the sociocultural dimensions of language use and communication'. He further asserts that discourse analysis can be used to analyse the structure of news as well as the complex relationship between news texts and context. Van Dijk (1988: 15) declares that this form of analysis combines 'linguistic, discourse analytical, psychological and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes'.

In terms of the historical background of the origin of discourse analysis as a long-standing discipline, Van Dijk (1985) argues that it can be traced back to classical times, and that its major source could be classical rhetoric, the art of good speaking.

Van Dijk avers,

Whereas the *grammatica*, the historical antecedent of linguistics, was concerned with the normative rules of correct language use, its sister discipline of *rhethorica* dealt with the precepts of planning, organisation, specific operations, and performance of public speech in political and language settings. Its crucial concern, therefore, was persuasive effectiveness. In this sense, classical rhetoric both anticipates contemporary stylistics and structural analyses of discourse and contains intuitive cognitive and social psychological notions about memory organisation and attitude change in a communicative context.

According to van Dijk (1985), the origins of modern discourse analysis are found in the middle nineteen sixties. In his article, *What do we mean by "Discourse Analysis?"* Van Dijk (2016: n.d) explains the main criteria for this form of analysis. Discourse analysis pays attention to the structure of texts, which in the case of news, will be the structure of a news report. It also has to do with the dynamic aspects of discourse organisation 'such as the mental, interactional or social strategies that participants engage in'. These, he argues, include 'strategies of credibility, persuasion, impression formation, derogation, legitimization'. But thirdly, he argues, discourse analysis focusses on processes, which include 'production and comprehension of discourse, the activation of knowledge or opinions during such processing, the way discourse or its meanings are presented in memory, or how mental models of events are formed or activated during production or comprehension'. He contends that discourse analysis is 'an explicit, systematic account of structures, strategies or processes of texts or talk in terms of theoretical notions developed in any branch or field'.

Norman Fairclough (2003), another influential author in the field of discourse analysis (with Teun van Dijk) discusses in the introduction of his work, *Analysing Discourse, Textual Analysis for Social Research*, how language can be analysed as part of this type of analysis. Such analysis has to do with the linguistic analysis of texts as well as the social structuring of texts (Fairclough, 2003: 3). Fairclough (2003: 3) asserts:

I see discourse analysis as oscillating between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I call the 'order of discourse' of the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices.

Van Dijk (1988: 5-16) refers to a few previous studies of the phenomenon of news. According to Van Dijk (1988), earlier studies were mostly anecdotal in nature. Such an approach includes the case approach that provided insight into the everyday affairs and routines of newsmakers. This type of study would also include how reporters gather news: for instance, what kinds of problems they encountered when gathering the news story, and would be mostly written in a narrative style.

There are also different kinds of studies on news, which involve the analysis of the overall management of media institutions. Such an approach would include an analysis of the management structure, the hierarchy of journalists and editors and the daily routines of news gathering. In addition to such an analysis, argued by van Dijk

as being on a macrosociological level, further analysis will not only highlight these processes involved in news production but also the microsociological level which will examine and observe 'how an editorial takes place – who says what and when' and also focuses on the 'activities during the beat or contact between reporters and their sources' (Van Dijk, 1988: 7). A microsociological study would, for instance, include the observance of the 'reconstruction' of reality by news reporters. He mentions another type of study of news that has also been utilised in the past and is still in use; one that has a specific focus on the ideological dimensions of news.

What is entailed in discourse analysis as a method and its application to news discourse in the press, as explicated by Van Dijk (1988: 24-30), is the focus of my discussion that follows.

5. 2. 2 Principles of discourse analysis

Van Dijk (1988: 24-25) argues that the objective of discourse analysis is 'to produce explicit and systematic descriptions of units of language use that we have called discourse. Such descriptions have two dimensions namely textual and contextual'. The textual dimension includes grammar (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic) whereas the contextual dimension involves a description of the socio-cultural contexts. It may include the theme or topic of the news, and an analysis of the macro structures that surround the text (Van Dijk, 1988: 30-31).

Van Dijk (1988: 24) describes how newspaper reporters and the management of news organisations structure news to achieve a desired effect. In order to identify 'the desired effect or effects' a particular newspaper wants to achieve by publishing a particular report, Van Dijk (1988:24) suggests that an analysis of the discourse may be approached in the following ways:

1. 'The analysis can be conducted on different levels (surface structures). The focus in this regard might be on the phonology, morphology, and syntax
2. A discourse analysis might also focus particularly on the different units. This may include a particular focus on individual words (lexical items), various structures of the clause, whole sentences, and sequence of sentences, paragraphs, or whole discourses
3. The analysis may also focus on the various dimensions of a text. This may include a focus on the stylistic variation (lexical choice, word formation, syntactic structures), and rhetorical operations (such as alliteration, parallelism, metaphor, or irony) in the text(s)
4. The analysis may also be focused on the different modes of a particular discourse. The modes may vary from spoken or written word, printed discourse, monologues, and dialogues'.

In this particular study that focuses on the rhetorical dimensions of news reporting, the third approach (dimensions of a text) as mentioned above, in terms of discourse analysis, is indeed relevant. Although I am aware that this is only part of the broader framework of this type of analysis, it is quite helpful to look briefly at Van Dijk's account of such an approach to news discourse. In his work (Van Dijk 1988: 82) *News as Discourse*, he specifically focuses on 'The Rhetoric of News Discourse'. He provides a definition of what rhetoric entails in the context of news reporting:

Rhetoric of discourse has to do with how we say things. Rhetorical structures in the news depend on the goals and intended effects of communication. Stylistic choices indicate the kind of discourse for a particular situation or the presupposed ideological backgrounds (Van Dijk, 1988: 82).

Van Dijk (1988: 84-85) lists a few rhetorical strategies that are apparent in various newspapers and that promote the persuasive process in news discourse:

- (A) Emphasize the factual nature of events, e.g., by
1. Direct description of ongoing events.
 2. Using evidence from close eyewitnesses.
 3. Using evidence from other reliable sources (authorities, respectable people, and professionals).
 4. Signals that indicate precision and exactness such as numbers from persons, time, events, etc.
 5. Using direct quotes from sources, especially when opinions are involved.
- (B) Build a strong relational structure for facts, e.g., by:
1. Mentioning previous events as conditions or causes and describing or predicting next events as possible or real consequences.
 2. Inserting facts into well-known situation models that make them relatively familiar even when they are new.
 3. Using well-known scripts and concepts that belong to that script.
 4. Trying to further organize facts in well-known specific structures, e.g. narratives.
- (C) Provide information that also has attitudinal and emotional dimensions
1. Facts are better represented and memorized if they involve or arouse strong emotions (if too strong emotions are involved, however, there may be disregard, suppression and hence disbelief of the facts).
 2. The truthfulness of events is enhanced when opinions of different backgrounds or ideologies are quoted about such events, but in general those who are ideologically close will be given primary attention as possible sources of opinion'.

He (Van Dijk, 1988: 86) goes on to argue that the real rhetoric of news lies in the first strategy, when news reporters and editors emphasise the factual nature of the event, through direct description and eyewitness reports, the use of sources and quotations as well as the exactness of the numbers used in a report.

In terms of discourse analysis, Van Dijk provides useful conceptual tools which may be employed when analysing the rhetorical dimension of a news report. There are, however, other scholars who provide a more comprehensive, and in-depth account of ways to conduct a rhetorical analysis. I briefly discuss this later in the chapter.

5. 3 The appropriateness of a rhetorical analysis

Medhurst and Benson (1984: vii) in *Rhetorical Dimensions in Media: A Critical Casebook*, explain the reason for conducting a rhetorical analysis on media texts. They contend that a rhetorical analysis is appropriate when a reader wants to know '...how people choose what to say in a given situation, how to arrange or order their

thoughts, select the specific terminology, and decide precisely how they are going to deliver their message'. Lawrie and Jonker (2005: 131) consider that in the context of conducting a rhetorical analysis, a rhetorical critic will ask 'what a text does (or tries to do)', how the texts 'motivate people or give them good reasons to do so'.

The fact that the media knowingly or unwittingly reports in a certain way on an event, means that the reports are rhetorical – this is a purposeful strategy. As Ward (2004: 13) reminds us, 'Critics point out endlessly that journalists do not just report facts, they also select their facts, their sources, and their angle of the story'. The way issues of moral relevance are reported in the newspapers will influence the ethos of the specific society these publications target.

5. 3. 1 A definition of rhetoric

Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 2) define rhetorical communication as:

...a message with verbal and often visible symbols that are deliberately chosen to influence an audience whose members have the ability to change their beliefs or behaviours as a consequence of experiencing the message. Those who create rhetorical communication are called rhetors, and the messages they create are rhetorical acts.

The concept of rhetoric can be equated with the art of persuasion. Borchers (2005: 15) notes, though, that the word persuasion has different meanings for different scholars. He explains that the work of Aristotle on persuasion (or rhetoric) focuses on the sender and how the sender through the use of his or her tools (proof, use of emotion, organisation and style) can bring about persuasive effects in audiences. Other definitions of persuasion focus on the receiver and how the receiver's motives and attitudes affect the persuasive success of a message. A scholar who espouses and supports such a view is Wallace C Fotheringham (1996; 7; cited in Borchers, 2005: 15) who focuses on the psychological effects of persuasive communication.

Borchers' (2005: 15) preference in terms of what rhetoric entails, lies with his understanding of Kenneth Burke in his work, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969b). Burke argues that a definition of rhetoric should include the role of the rhetorician (such as Aristotle) and the receiver's motives and attitudes in the process of persuasion (for instance, Fotheringham), but also include a focus on the power of symbols in persuasive communication. Burke (1969; in Borchers, 2005: 15), includes many of the aspects in the persuasive process. In Burke's approach the receiver and persuader contributes to persuasive process. In Burke's view, it is important for the receiver to be able to identify with the persuader. The persuader will be able to win over the receiver insofar as he or she can 'talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his' (Borchers, 2005: 16). Burke's concept of identification is relevant in this study due to the way the newspapers identify with their readers in order to win them over through the various rhetorical strategies they employ.

5. 3. 2 A brief historical overview of rhetoric

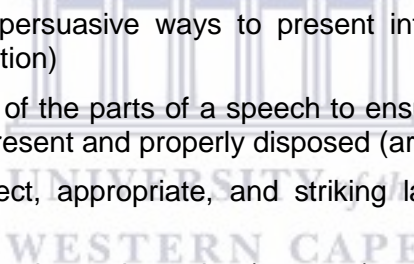
The art of rhetoric, as intimated, had its birth in ancient Greece and developed as a practice over centuries. A brief overview of the historical development of the art of rhetoric as contained in the renowned work of Bizzell and Herzberg (1990) is

provided here. In their discussion, they divide the historical development of rhetoric into six chronological periods: the Classical period, the Medieval era, the Renaissance, The Age of Enlightenment and the twentieth century. The following section examines the approaches and briefly considers relevant contributions that were made to the discourse of rhetoric during these periods. The objective of this section is to provide this study with the basic conceptual framework within which rhetoric functions.¹

a) Classical times

As suggested, the birth of the practice of rhetoric is believed to have been in Greece, existing since at least since the fifth century. Rhetoric entailed the practice of persuasive oratory and speaking as well as construction of a successful speech. During that period, rhetoric was taught as a practical art in various arenas in society; for instance, in legal speeches (courtrooms) political addresses and ceremonial speeches. One of the major contributors to the art of rhetoric was the Greek philosopher, Aristotle (384-322BCE). Other contributors include Plato (427-347BCE), Cicero (106-43BCE) and Quintilian (35BCE-100CE). Although at that time rhetoric was just the act of oratory, including legal speeches in the courtrooms in 5th Century BC, in later times it was also applied to written texts such as legal letters and sermons (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 9).

In classical rhetoric, the process of composing a rhetorical speech comprised five stages:

1. 'The search for persuasive ways to present information and formulate arguments (invention)
2. The organisation of the parts of a speech to ensure that all the means of persuasion are present and properly disposed (arrangement)
3. The use of correct, appropriate, and striking language throughout the speech (style)
4. The use of mnemonics and practice (memory)
5. Presenting the speech with effective gestures and vocal modulation (delivery)'.

Aristotle held that all the stages are necessary since they ensure that the full range of appeals, *logos* (appeal to reason), *pathos* (appeal to emotions) and *ethos* (appeal to the credibility, and character of the speaker) are produced in each of the stages. A brief explanation of the three appeals from the perspective of various scholars is presented next.

Aristotle places *logos* on top of the list of appeals (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 4). An appeal to *logos* is made when the speaker demonstrates a truth or an apparent truth by means of persuasive arguments which suit the case in question (Conley, 1990: 15). *Logos* focuses on the argument, the reasoning and the judgment of the speaker (cf. Cockcraft & Cockcraft, 2005: Chapter 3; Gaut & Barker, 2002: 233). An appeal to *logos* is also demonstrated when the speaker supplies logical proof or a

¹ The work of Bizzell and Herzberg (1990) serves as a secondary source, as do others, to provide an overview of the historical development of rhetoric.

demonstration of a case by means of an argument; they may also employ syllogisms, and other strictly logical procedures or deductive and inductive reasoning (Gaut & Barker, 2002: 234).

Lawrie (in Jonker and Lawrie, 2005: 131) caution that not all reasonable arguments 'follow the formal rules of logic and scientific proof'. Smith (2013: 199) provides some guidance in the examining of an argument. He argues that for an argument to be logical it first needs to contain a proposition (claim). This could be a factual claim, a conjecture, a value or a policy proposition. Secondly the proposition (claim) should be supported by a strong argument and clear proof, which could include either verbal (analogy, comparison, examples, statistics and testimonial or an endorsement) or visual proof (for instance photographs, charts, graphs and diagrams as visual aids in presenting statistical information and technical information) that supports the argument (Smith, 2013: 192-193). Lawrie (2005: 133) in his discussion on analysing arguments, suggests the model of the English philosopher Stephen Toulmin, which besides the two abovementioned items (claim and evidence) includes another component: the warrant. A warrant is the component that links the evidence to the claim (proposition). However, in this regard it is also noted that Lawrie (2005: 131) divided the appeal into *logos* and arguments. He (Lawrie, 2005: 131) argues that an appeal to *logos* 'covers all appeals to reason in a broad sense'.

Aristotle, as mentioned, also referred to the appeal to *ethos*. *Ethos* provides proof of the credibility of the speaker (Cockcraft & Cockcraft, 2005: Chapter 1; cf. Conley, 1990: 15), or proof deriving from the moral character of the speaker and evidence of his or her virtues. According to Smith (2013: 178-183), *ethos* also includes the common ground that is shared by the speakers (or an organisation) and their audiences. For the speaker to be persuasive, he or she should be credible (possessing status, competence, honesty, and expertise), have a good reputation, charisma (referring to a speaker's familiarity, likability, similarity to the audience, and attractiveness) and be able to exercise some sort of control. Lawrie (2005; in Lawrie & Jonker, 2005: 133) argues that people form a certain impression of the speaker. It is therefore one of the duties of the rhetorical critic to ask, "...is this a person in whom I can have confidence?"

As indicated, Aristotle also alludes to the appeal to *pathos*. Such an appeal is directed to the audience's emotions. It speaks of the emotional engagement of the text with its audience (Cockcraft & Cockcraft, 2005: Chapter 2). Conley (1990: 15) argues that this appeal relates to the disposition of the audience towards the speaker as well as the matter at hand. Smith (2013: 196-200) makes a distinction between emotional appeals that are directed toward triggering positive emotions and those that are directed towards negative emotions. Certain texts may trigger positive emotions; for instance: love, virtue, humour and sex, while others may appeal to the negative emotions of a person, such as inducing fear and guilt. Gaut and Barker (2002: 234) argue that an appeal to the emotions of an audience can also include an appeal to the needs and the values of the audience. In addition, people may be convinced as a result of good arguments put forward by the speaker; moreover their feelings, their values and their particular interest also persuade, move and motivate them to change.

In the work of Aristotle, these three appeals are central in his discussion and his work on rhetoric and are also valuable tools for any rhetorical critic in the quest of sorting the 'good rhetoric from the bad' (Lawrie, 2005: 126).

b) Medieval rhetoric

This period can be divided into Early Christianity, and the later Middle Ages. While the proponents of Christian faith did not consider rhetoric as a tool to serve the new faith, Augustine believed that rhetoric was an effective tool to expound the principles of the Christian faith (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 9). Not much has been reported in terms of any significant contribution having been made to the discussion and conceptual development of rhetoric during this time. However, what was reported at length was the practice of rhetoric in teaching, in the art of preaching and the writing of legal letters.

c) Rhetoric during the Renaissance period

During the Renaissance, the focus was placed on the style of writing and the names given to phrases and sentences. Other rhetorical terms that made their debut in this period into the new science of vernacular grammar: colon, apostrophe and comma. Rhetoric also became part of private domains such as the art of personal letter writing, private conversations as well as courtly etiquette, and was not merely an exclusive art and discourse reserved for the monarchs and their advisers. The French philosopher Peter Ramus' contribution and Francis Bacon is acknowledged. He proposed a popular reform of the allied arts of rhetoric and dialectic. He contended that dialectic would serve the purpose of grasping the truth, while rhetoric would offer it to the public. However, Francis Bacon overturned this conception of dialectic offered by Ramus and argued that syllogisms cannot offer anything new. His contention was that the proper distinction to draw is that between inquiry and rhetoric. Inquiry is the work of science, whereas recovery is the work of rhetorical invention.

d) Rhetoric during the Enlightenment period

This period marks the start of reforms in the discourse of rhetoric. John Locke was raising questions about language and whether it served as a conveyer of truth. There seems to be consensus among him and others that language is not a neutral conveyer of the truth. Scholars during the period of the Enlightenment maintained that 'rhetoric relied on outdated deductive methods and that stylistic rhetoric impeded the already-difficult search for truth' (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 11). This made room for a more epistemologically sophisticated rhetoric. It was during this period that Giambattista Vico in the early eighteenth century also challenged the superiority of science over rhetoric. He considers that 'an honest analysis of the function of language will reveal the ways in which language is actually formed, in contrast to the Cartesian's claims - to have the real truth' (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 11).

Friedrich Nietzsche's contribution to the discourse is also widely acknowledged. He challenged the notion of objective, scientific knowledge. He is known for saying, 'What we are pleased to call Truth is a social arrangement, not a glimpse of ultimate

reality'. Language can never be neutral or objective, it is always, 'partial, value laden, intentional – in short, rhetorical' (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 13).

e) Twentieth century

Some of the influential scholars who have contributed to the discourse on rhetoric during this period are Kenneth Burke, Chaïm Perelman and Stephen Toulmin. Kenneth Burke, an American language theorist, argues that any form of communication has a motive attached to it; therefore it is always rhetorical in nature (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 13). Burke studied the nature and power of symbols in human interaction (Smith, 2010: 177).

Burke (cited in Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 13) avers, 'Language is a form of human action: It requires an agent with a purpose, a scene of action, a rhetorical strategy and an actual speech or text. Seeing discourse this way, 'dramatistically'...is to see all language as motivated, hence as rhetorical'.

Burke's central concept of identification and consubstantiality, as well as his notion of tropes (the 'turns' of language: metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy and irony) is well known.

The Belgian scholar, Chaïm Perelman in collaboration with L. Olbrechts-Tyteca in their work *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (1969) focussed on how communicators can capture the attention of the audience through their kind of arguments they use. (cf. Smith, 2010: 178). According to Perelman the use of effective arguments that are based on probable reasoning, experience and established custom can change the mind of individuals. He contends that knowledge emerges through arguments within communities that share assumptions and beliefs (cf. Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 14).

Stephen Edelston Toulmin (1922-2009) was a British philosopher who focused on the development of arguments. He devised a practical model for analysing arguments, as part of the conceptual tools of rhetorical critics (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990: 1104 – 1123; cf. Lawrie, 2006: 149). When analysing arguments, Toulmin suggests that the rhetorical critic searches for three components of an argument: the claim (proposition) that the rhetorician makes, the evidence to support the claim (proposition) and the warrant which qualifies why the evidence supports the claim of the rhetorician.

After the brief historical overview of the development of rhetoric, and some of the major contributions in the field of rhetoric, I now focus on contributions in the twenty first century, in other fields of social science, regarding the process of persuasion.

5. 4 The process of persuasion: contemporary theories

In recent (twenty-first century) discourse, the process of persuasion is understood in various ways. In the paragraphs to follow I discuss some of the theories that exist in the social sciences, in particular the field of social psychology.

5. 4. 1 Persuasion as a cognitive process

The research by Petty and Cacioppo (1981; in Bryant & Thompson, 2002: 158) is an attempt to understand the cognitive processes involved in the process of persuasion. They argue that readers or audiences do not necessarily have to think about the content of the message to be persuaded (Bryant & Thompson, 2002: 158). There are at least two theories which are related to this argument.

One is known as the elaboration-likelihood model (ELM). In terms of this model there are two routes of persuasion. Either it occurs through the central route, when individuals attend to the persuasive message(s) and work through the content systematically, or through the peripheral route, which occurs when individuals process the information after some kind of distraction. If they process the information according to the latter (peripheral) route this implies that they might have been distracted (or having a lack of relevant information), and therefore conveniently choose to take a 'shortcut' (cf. Baron & Branscombe, 2012: 161-162).

The other cognitive theory which attempts to explain the persuasion process is known as the heuristic-systematic model. In terms of this model individuals engage in effortful and systematic processing of information when their capacity and motivation to process the information that is related to the persuasive message is high and when they possess a lot of information about the topic and ample time at their disposal to process the material. However, if individuals do not have enough time and motivation, they often make use of a 'shortcut' (heuristic processing) that requires less effort (cf. Baron & Branscombe, 2012: 161-162).

5. 4. 2 Social judgment theory

Milburn (1991:106-130) explains the social judgment theory of Sherif and Hovland (1961), which focuses on the perception and judgment of the receiver of the persuasive message.

The social judgment theory revolves around the argument that the anchoring process influences the perception of the persuasive message. Milburn (1991: 111) explains the theory using the following example:

When you place one of your hands in a bowl of hot water and the other hand in cold water and thereafter place both hands in a bowl of lukewarm water, the result will be as follows: The hand that was placed in the hot water will experience the lukewarm water as cool, whereas the hand that was placed in the cold water will experience the lukewarm water as warm.

He argues that the reason for this is: The two hands have different comparison points (or anchors). Therefore, his conclusion is that messages which are similar to a person's (audience's) existing position will be perceived as the same and little or no change will take place; the message will be assimilated. Whereas a message that is very different from the person's (audience's) position will be perceived as even further away (the message will be resisted) and will eventually result in little or no change. Therefore, his hypothesis is that the greatest potential for change on the side of the audience (or receiver) takes place when the message is moderately discrepant (cf. Milburn, 1991: 111).

5. 4. 3 The inoculation theory

This theory is based on the research of McQuire and Papageorgi (1961; in Severin & Tankard, 1992: 163). According to this theory, most people hold unchallenged beliefs. However, those beliefs can easily be swayed once they are attacked and if the person is not defending them (Severin & Tankard, 1992: 163). Severin and Tankard (1992: 163) compare the theory to a person who was brought up in a germ-free environment but is suddenly exposed to germs. Such an individual will be more vulnerable to the latter, because he or she has not been able to develop some form of resistance against the germs. She or he can be provided with assistance through a dietary programme, exercise, rest or by inoculation – where the person is deliberately exposed to a weakened form of the germ that will stimulate the development of defences. In a nutshell, according to this theory a person may easily be persuaded (even by bad arguments) if he or she was not previously exposed to good arguments.

5. 4. 4 Cognitive dissonance theory

This theory was developed by Leon Festinger (1957). According to it, individuals seek balance and a consistent relationship between their ideas (cf. Borchers, 2005: 39). However, at times they experience inconsistency between two or more ideas, resulting in dissonance. This can be explained as the difference between what a person believes and what is presented. She or he will have to make a choice to decide between his or her own belief and the one presented. There are five ways to deal with dissonance. Firstly, a person might change his or her ideas and bring them in line with the presented ideas, or secondly, may choose to gather more information in support of one idea. Thirdly, the individual could also choose to avoid or ignore the information brought to her or him, or even reduce the importance of the other ideas. Fourthly, the person could also use a third cognitive element, and reconcile the two dissonant elements. Fifthly, in terms of this theory the last action (attempting to reconcile two relatively different ideas) is most appropriate. Borchers (2005: 39) offers the following illustration to explain the above:

The news media often portray candidates as dishonest, incompetent, or unworthy of office. If you support a candidate who has been portrayed negatively by the media, you experience dissonance. A popular way for candidates to reduce this dissonance is for blaming the media for wrongly characterising them. Thus, they introduce a third idea that allows voters to support them despite negative media coverage.

5. 4. 5 Symbolic convergence theory

Borchers (2005) employs this theory as a lens when he discusses the process of persuasion in a media age and explains how ideas and beliefs are spread by the media throughout the community. Scholars who espouse this approach include: Kenneth Burke, Walter Fisher, George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer, Peter Berger, Thomas Luckman and Ernest Bormann, who pioneered it. In terms of this theory, 'what we know of reality is the result of our interactions with society and other individuals' (Borchers, 2005: 41). Borchers (2005: 43) adduces the example of a person who has a dislike of football to illustrate this theory.

When you entered college, you may have had no interest in the sport of football. You may have avoided going to the football games at your high school because doing so meant sitting in the hot sun (or cold autumn wind) watching players up and down the field for a few hours. The meaning you assigned to football was established through your previous interaction with the sport. As you interacted with your classmates at college, however, you may have come to learn that going to football games had nothing to do with the game of football. Your friends went to the games purely for social interaction. As a result, you went to a game and enjoyed the time you spent with your friends. The meaning of a football game changed based on your interactions with others.

Borchers (2005: 43) explains that according to this theory people constantly adjust the meanings of objects in the world through their encounters with other people.

According to Bormann, a shared culture, the convergence in a group's way of thinking and way of seeing the world, is created through fantasies, and 'creative interpretations of events by group members to fulfil some need' (Borchers, 2005: 43). Borchers (2005: 43) refers to the media as a sector of society that also fulfils this role – providing a platform where stories are told, and where large groups of people start to create a shared vision.

5. 4. 5 Cognitive-response theory

Ross (1985: 88-89) explains that in terms of this theory the basic strategy of communicators is to persuade the audience by (1) evoking favourable thoughts from people, and (2) inducing them to rehearse and remember these favourable thoughts. In terms of this theory, thoughts are evoked while audiences are listening to persuasive messages. An individual selects certain knowledge, emotions and attitudes that best relate to the message and although the message content might not contain persuasive materials, she or he might still be motivated to change his or her behaviour. The reverse is also true. If the person's storehouse of knowledge, attitudes, emotions, evokes unfavourable or conflicting thoughts, the sender may receive an unsatisfactory response, irrespective of the persuasive material in the content of a particular message. In a nutshell, in terms of this theory people persuade themselves through cognitive evaluations.

5. 4. 6 Attribution theory

As Ross (1985: 95-96) clarifies, this theory is grounded in the idea that people will infer certain behaviours, attitudes, and intentions through what they observe or think they know about others and themselves. Ross (1985: 99) believes that this theory may help to 'objectively infer attitudes and dispositions about senders as well as receivers of messages'.

These theories are important in the sense that they cover a range of arguments of how persuasion takes place and serve as important background information. However, the current study reports just on the rhetorical strategies focussing on the evidence in the text (news reports) and also on the authors, news editors and reporters. I did not study the responses of the readers/audiences of the four weekly newspapers as this would have required a different approach to the research.

In the next section I investigate the various techniques that may be at the disposal of a rhetorical critic to analyse written texts, speeches, and documents in order to identify the rhetorical strategies that the four weekly newspapers employ.

5. 5 Techniques for rhetorical analysis

Various techniques which can be used to identify the rhetorical strategies in texts are available. The following section lists a few of these techniques before embarking on a model and instrument that might be useful for this particular study. The proposed techniques of Durant and Lambrou (2009), Barry Brummett (2010) and Berger (2011) are briefly discussed in accordance with their year of publication.

5. 5. 1 Durant and Lambrou

According to Durant and Lambrou (2009: 29) rhetorical techniques utilised by orators can be found on a number of different levels, and skilled orators draw on a rhetorical toolkit to persuade an audience. According to these authors, the devices that skilled orators use are classified into three categories.

The first device is the choice of words. The rhetorician's lexical choices are governed by factors such as: the speaker, the context and the goal of an utterance.

The second device these scholars refer to is the use of tropes or figurative language. This includes elements such as a metaphor or metonymy, as part of the four master tropes identified by Kenneth Burke. According to Durant and Lambrou, tropes may alter and often enrich the meaning of a sentence or a text. In doing so, they might create new and striking perceptions.

In the third instance, these scholars refer to an orator's use of sound patterning. This consists of repeated patterns of sounds such as alterations, assonance and rhyme which bond ideas together and create memorable effects.

5. 5. 2 Barry Brummett

The work of Barry Brummett (2010) in *Techniques of Close Reading* includes some basic techniques which may be quite helpful for this particular study. Brummett (2010: ix) does not make use of one single theory but develops a set of techniques that are able to be used 'across theories and techniques'. He offers techniques that will help one to see what is not obvious within the text, but exists behind it. In his work, he concentrates on three techniques: the form of a specific text, the role of master tropes, as well as the role of arguments.

a) Form of texts

Brummett (2010: 51) argues that the form of texts serves a rhetorical function. He alludes to three approaches that rhetoricians use in their communication. He then provides critics with techniques to analyse the various approaches. The form of text can be approached by analysing the narrative; by focussing on the genre or by analysing the persona as it manifests in the text. Brummett describes narrative as a process of placing facts in a certain logical order. After the facts have been arranged in such an order, this forms a story. Numerous examples are found in newspapers where the staff members can arrange the facts in such a way that they create

'sense', and result in a story. Brummett (2010: 57-62) suggests that as part of analysing the form of the text the critic should search for coherence and sequence (these make sense and take the reader somewhere), tension and resolution, and alignment and opposition. All these elements constitute a narrative, a story. A careful reading of them will help the critic to detect the narrative as it operates in the text.

Brummett (2010: 62) moves on to show that another technique that rhetorical critics can use to identify the form of the text is to pay attention to the genre. He describes genre as a recurring type of text, operating within a larger one. In identifying genres Brummett proposes the description of Campbell and Jamieson (1978; in Brummett, 2010: 62) which regards genre as a recurring kind of textual event comprising three components: style, substance, and situation. These three can serve as a schema to identify genre. He explains the use of a schema by adducing the example of a graduation address. A graduation address will contain all three components (style, substance and situation), and is therefore a perfect example of genre in a text. Such an address will be delivered in a recurring situation. Since universities, at least once a year, hold a graduation ceremony there will be a graduation address at each that will include a standard form of address and text. The graduation ceremony is always a joyous occasion; therefore the style of the text and the speech will be directed towards such an occasion, with some serious overtones for the event. The style and genre for the graduation address will be, for instance, in stark contrast to an address delivered at a funeral (for instance, a eulogy), or an address at a marriage ceremony (for instance, a wedding toast). All these events' addresses and speeches will constitute a different genre.

Rhetoricians also make use of persona in a text, in order to persuade an audience. It is once again the task of a rhetorical critic to take a closer look at a text and identify the persona. Brummett (2010: 65) describes persona as 'a role, much like a character in a narrative that someone plays in connection with a text'. It is a projected image of who one is. Someone may have the persona of a police official when on duty but when off duty projects a different persona. The distinction could be made between her or his official police persona, and home persona. A person might take up a specific role or kind of character in connection with the text. The rhetorician may want the audience to take up certain reading roles, and invite them to step into that role (Brummett, 2010: 68). Brummett (2010: 68) believes that these roles might invite readers, or an audience, to step into a first person role (who the authors are), or a third person role (attributed to others), or even a second person role, when the text invites or calls one into playing the reading role.

b) *Four master tropes*

Brummett (2010: 73) also discusses the four master tropes initially introduced by Kenneth Burke. He discusses ways in which rhetorical critics can identify the tropes as they appear in various texts. In similar vein, Burke argues that the function of these tropes in a text is to eventually 'turn' a word or image in a text.

Brummett (2010: 75) explains that a trope is, 'a category of textual devices in which the literal, ordinary meaning of a sign or image must be turned or altered to arrive at what the sign or image mean'. It can be any word, phrase, or nonverbal sign that will

mean or resemble something other than what it appears to be in a literal sense. Brummett (2010: 76-91) presents the work of Kenneth Burke (1945) in *A Grammar of Motives*. He examines each of the four master tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony.

A rhetorician will use metaphors when he or she wants the audience to see something not as it is (physically), but rather from the perspective of something else. Brummett (2010: 76-77) argues that for authors, metaphors serve an important role in a text, because they urge people to see actions, objects and events from another perspective. A metaphor contains two parts: a tenor, and a vehicle. The tenor refers to the object, or something that the writer wants the reader to see differently, whereas the vehicle is that which the writer wants the readers, or audience, to learn from (in relation to the tenor).

Metonymy is equated with reduction (Brummett, 2010: 83). A rhetorician employs metonymy when he or she wants to translate abstract terms or concepts into a concrete, tangible action. A writer will for instance express an abstract idea and explain or discuss it in terms of something physical or material.

A synecdoche is equated with representation (Brummett, 2010: 83-90). It occurs when a writer refers to a part of something, when he or she means the whole (thing). The opposite is also true - when the writer refers to a whole (thing) although he or she only wants to refer to a part or section of something (Brummett, 2010: 87-88).

Irony is described as the 'little dance' that takes place between the writer and the reader, a kind of back-and-forth dialogue or conversation between them (Brummett, 2010: 90-91). It manifests in the text, when the text begs the reader to 'turn' the event, an object, or an action. It creates a context which signals the reader or the audience that irony is about to be deployed.

c) Ideological Analysis

Rhetoricians also use their ideological dispositions to influence their audience; therefore Brummett (2010: 98) focuses on providing critics with a technique that will uncover those underlying dispositions as they manifest in various texts. Brummett (2010: 98) asserts that the ideological position of a writer is usually present or can be found in their arguments. It is as a result of the latter that the audience might refer to him or her as a conservationist or a religious person. According to Brummett this in itself is a result of what the writer has said or done; therefore such conclusions could be reached and statements made, concerning where she or he stands socially and politically. A careful analysis of the arguments of the author in the text will reveal the underlying ideology. Brummett (2010: 99) declares:

An argument faces in two directions: it tells us a speaker's ideology, but it also urges that ideology upon an audience. It is both a symptom and a creator of ideology. Argument is a process by which speakers and writers, together with audiences, make claims about what people should do and assemble reasons and evidence why people should do those things.

He suggests four questions that a close reader could ask, in their quest to identify underlying ideology as it functions in a text. What does the author require from his or her readers or audience - to think or do? The aim of this question is to determine

what claims or conclusions the text will lead to. An example of such an occurrence in a text is evident when readers of a specific newspaper are, by means of an advertisement, encouraged to buy mouthwash. This may lead the critic or audience to think that proper health and hygiene involve smelling good or in a particular way (Brummett, 2010: 101-102).

The critic should also establish what the text asks the audience to assume (Brummett, 2010: 102). He (Brummett, 2010: 102) asserts, 'Every argument must begin with some assumptions: even the call "Run! The house is on fire!" must be based on such assumptions as the danger of fire, the need to flee to avoid fire, the idea that human bodies cannot withstand fire, and so forth'. It is the task of the critic therefore to aim and establish what the main assumptions of the arguments are that the writer, or rhetorician makes.

In addition it is important for the critic to establish how the author or speaker leads his or her audience to grasp what the text claims. In doing this, the central question that the critic should ask is: How does the audience know this? (Brummett, 2010: 101) and he (Brummett, 2010: 103) advances the following example of how to identify this in a text:

A speaker and an audience may share the assumption that whatever is found in a particular religious text must be true. The speaker and the audience thus share a religious ideology. If that is the standard of proof for that ideology, that points toward the kind of evidence the text will present to lead the audience to knowledge of the text's claims.

Brummett (2010: 104) argues that when conducting an ideological analysis, the critic should also be reminded that the factor of power is always at work to some extent within a particular text. The commentator should therefore try to understand how the text connects to structures and struggles over power. She or he, in relation to this, should ask: Who is empowered or disempowered? Brummett (2010: 104) offers the example of an advertisement. When the organisation or speaker is advertising ready-made soup, the advertisement may in one sense empower homemakers, because they may have more free or leisure time, but in another instance, it may also disempower them because it could constrain their thoughts to focus only on how they should live their lives within their homes.

5. 5. 3 Berger

Berger (2011: 82-83) provides a glossary of common rhetorical strategies that may be identified in texts. He includes the use of allegories, alliterations, comparisons, definition, encomium, exemplification, and irony as rhetorical strategies and gives a short explanation of each:

An allegory is a narrative in which 'abstract, ethical and philosophical beliefs are represented by characters and events - that is, made concrete'. The rhetorician may employ alliteration when he or she uses 'a number of words in a passage that start with the same letter', or which repeat a vowel. Authors also make use of comparisons in a text to reinforce their arguments. This also serves as a common rhetorical strategy. The author might use various kinds of definitions, lexical, simulative, or operational definitions, to persuade an audience or readers towards a particular way

of thinking, and even convince them to act. Another rhetorical strategy is through the use of an encomium. This occurs when an author 'praises a thing (or a person) by dealing with its various inherent qualities' (Berger, 2011: 83). The rhetorician may deploy the strategy of exemplification, in which he or she overgeneralises something or an event to make his or her argument work. An author could apply irony when he or she wants to 'convey the opposite of what he or she literally means'. The orator might include a metaphor and use an analogy to generate meaning or employ association to generate meaning (metonymy). An example of a metonymy occurs [when] 'Advertisers who want to inform their readers or viewers that someone is very wealthy can use big mansions and Rolls Royce automobiles to convey this information.' A further strategy is the use of rhyme in a text. The rhetorician may make use of repetitive words with similar terminal sounds, to attract people's attention. Rhythm which is a patterned and recurring alteration, at various intervals of speech, and other sound elements might be made use of. A simile is a very effective rhetorical strategy that rhetoricians employ. It functions almost like a metaphor, using the words 'like' or 'as'. In the final instance, Berger includes 'synecdoche' which is likewise a rhetorical strategy. It is 'a weaker form of metonymy' in which a part is used to represent a whole or vice versa.

In terms of film and television, Berger (2011: 85) offers other possible considerations when conducting rhetorical analyses. In this regard, he points to the rhetorician's 'use of sound effects, the way actors and actresses speak and use body language and facial expressions, the use of music, the way these texts are edited, and the use of key-in written material.'

5. 6 Models for rhetorical analysis

In this section I discuss two recent models that one could apply to conduct a rhetorical analysis. There are many techniques, but few adequate models that one can use as an instrument in this respect. I selected two instruments for the purpose of assessment and discussion and to select an appropriate model for this study. These works include Rybacki and Rybacki (1991) and a later publication (2005) by Douglas Lawrie that is found as part of a standard textbook for courses in rhetoric at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). For the purposes of searching for an appropriate instrument, these two models will assist in making an informed decision as to which model will be best suited to this study and able to adequately address the research problem.

5. 6. 1 Rybacki and Rybacki's model

In a chapter entitled "*The Process of Criticism*" Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 15-36) clarify how to conduct an analysis on a rhetorical act. I briefly discuss their proposed process of 'completing a finished product of criticism'. They propose a three-step model. In the first step the critic should describe the rhetorical act and its significant and unique qualities. In the second step she or he analyses the rhetorical situation, and characterises the elements of the context as well as the setting that influence the form of the said act. The critic also includes an interpretation and analysis of this act. In the third step he or she would then make his or her judgment and evaluation of the

rhetorical act, offering comments on its quality and consequences. The three steps are dealt with in more detail in the section that follows.

a) Step 1: Describing the rhetorical act

In the first step the critic describes the elements of the rhetorical act. These five elements will include a description of the purpose, structure, arguments and ideas, the use of symbols and the concept of audience.

i The purpose

The critic takes a look at the thesis statement, the central idea, or the argumentative conclusion to establish the purpose of the rhetorical act. This aims to reveal the intention of the rhetorician, whether the purpose is to solve a specific problem or to challenge a certain idea and bring new information to the fore. There might be a myriad of ideas on the part of the rhetorician; this point should be identified, highlighted, and discussed at the onset.

ii The structure

The critic should subsequently describe the ways in which the rhetorical act is organised and also the way in which the arguments and ideas are presented. Some of the common patterns of structure include chronology; the narrative; contemporariness/ newsworthiness; a problem-solution pattern; as cause-effect (or effect-cause) pattern and if the rhetoric contains a climax. A rhetorician would select a certain pattern because he or she wants the audience to experience the act in a certain way; therefore the analysis of the particular structure of a text is important because the structuring of the text contributes to the overall influence of the rhetorical act.

iii The argument and idea development

The critic should thereafter describe the arguments of the rhetorician and the strategies of reasoning and argumentation that the latter uses to convince the audience of the way he or she perceives the issue, the event, or the problem. The critic should therefore describe how he or she does this, by describing the ordering of the argument, the amount of evidence provided in each part of the argument, as well as the types of reasoning that the rhetorician uses to link the conclusion and the evidence. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 19) emphasise that the critic includes the claim that the rhetorician makes, identifies the evidence that is provided to support the claim and then points out the rational process that is employed to link the evidence to the conclusion.

iv The use of symbols

The critic should also describe the symbols that the rhetorician uses to propose his or her arguments or ideas. A symbol is defined as 'a verbal or visual interpretation of an idea, object, place, event, or person' (Rybacki & Rybacki 1991: 20). The rhetorician may use symbols because these will best communicate his or her view to the audience, with the intention that they will perceive matters as the rhetorician does.

The critic should determine which symbol (such as allegory) serves as a declaration of the rhetorician's view of reality. Visual symbols include the use of colours, graphics, costumes or even camera techniques.

v The concept of audience

The critic should also describe the rhetorician's identification with the audience. Two issues should be kept in mind. The first, that this might not be the actual audience which the rhetorician had in mind when conceptualising the rhetorical act and secondly, that the rhetorician may have conceptualised the audience in as many as four ways: ideal, empirical, an agent of change or a created audience (Campbell, 1982, cited in Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 22). It is the work of the critic to establish how the rhetorician identifies with the audience, in relation to the types of audience mentioned above.

b) Step 2: Characterise the rhetorical situation

During this step, the rhetorician will examine the situation that resulted in the rhetorical act. This situation might be a terrorist hijacking or a corruption scandal. The given act is the attempt to solve, challenge or address crises or to overcome the obstacles by the said act. It is therefore the responsibility of the critic to determine whether the response of the rhetorician and the rhetorical act was appropriate. The role of the critic in this step should be to characterise the rhetorical situation in terms of the exigence, the rhetorical audience and the analysis of the constraints of the rhetorician.

i The exigence

Exigence in this context refers to urgent problems, obstacles, or 'something that is not as it should be'. This is indeed the reason for the emergence of a rhetorical act, to provide some sort of remedy, to address the issue through persuasive communication. The exigence could be the challenge of corruption in government departments, the unhealthy lifestyle of citizens, or any other challenge that may exist. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991:24) argue that each rhetorical situation contains one controlling exigence. It is the role of the critic to act as an historian to uncover the exigencies as these are manifested in the text. She or he should also determine what other events preceded and followed the rhetorical act. There might be an ongoing dialogue about the current issue; hence the role of the critic is to analyse the exigence in the context of this dialogue. He or she should also analyse the view of society concerning the particular issue, as well as how the audience perceived the exigence after the rhetorical act. The ethical views of the society and the audience are important and should be investigated by the critic.

ii The rhetorical audience

The critic should also provide information about the audience. This will include those who will be influenced by the rhetorical act and who could bring about change. This critic may perhaps find some evidence in the content of the message, some demographical information such as sex, age, occupation and religion, which may

provide her or him with some information about the attitudes, beliefs values, and norms held by the audience. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 27) maintain that to understand the rhetorical act the 'rhetor-message-audience relationship is very important if you are to render an intelligent judgment about the merits of a rhetorical act'.

iii The constraints of the rhetor

The critic also needs to examine which constraints the rhetorician is able to control, as well as to identify those constraints that were beyond his or her control. These constraints may well influence the rhetorical act. In the analysis of the constraints the critic may focus and consider the sources of the rhetorician's beliefs about society; subsequently also examining the background of the rhetorician in developing his or her ethos, which would point to credibility, intelligence, character, and goodwill towards his or her listeners. The image of the rhetorician is also important and might further constrain the rhetorical act. The constraints on the rhetorical act can be determined by the examination of the rhetorician's 'background, the audience, the social-historical setting, and the message itself' (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 29).

c) Step 3: Evaluating the rhetorical act

After the critic has collected all the information (steps 1 and 2) the critic should select an approach, a methodology - to present his or her case. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 30-35) provide suggestions of a few approaches and methodologies. These include traditional, dramatistic, fantasy theme, narrative, and the cultural approach among others. They recommend that the critic should identify, select and apply one of these approaches that would best suit their purpose. Afterwards, he or she should make a judgment. The rhetorical judgment should revolve around four issues regarding the act: 'Did it pursue ethically desirable ends for society, did it achieve the desired results. Did it present a truthful account, and was it aesthetically satisfying?' (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 30-35).

5. 6. 2 Douglas Lawrie's model

The model devised by Lawrie (2005: 126-138) revolves around the 'questions of motivation: what motivated the rhetorician to choose this argument or that figure of speech (and so on) and how does the rhetorical act provide the audience with motivations to act or think in certain ways'.

He refers to a checklist of the possible questions that rhetorical critics could ask when analysing a rhetorical act. His model focuses on questions of motivation and is divided into eight stages. It starts with the preliminary section, a description of the rhetorical act followed by an analysis of the rhetorical act. After all this has been done (describing and analysing the rhetorical act), the critic reconstructs the rhetorical situation. The emergence of a new rhetorical act will require that the critic judge and assess the rhetorical situation. This in brief is the model that Lawrie proposes for rhetorical analysis. A more detailed discussion follows; Lawrie's model has eight stages that the critic may pursue as part of analysing the rhetorical act.

a) Step 1: Preliminary orientation

Lawrie (2005: 127-128) suggests that the critic starts by obtaining preliminary information about the rhetorical act. At this stage, she or he is not expected to offer an in-depth discussion on the collected information as reflected in the text, but just to get the 'feel' of the event, incident and issue at stake. Lawrie therefore proposes that the critic uses Kenneth Burke's dramatic pentad that will enable them to get a grip on the rhetorical act – in a preliminary way. This pentad, as the name suggests, has five parts, with the rhetorical act at the centre. The rhetorical act is intersected by other 'principles of motivation': the rhetorical agent; the purpose (or more than one purpose) of the agent; the context in which the act is embedded (scene) and the means which the rhetorician uses (whether through flattery, promises or criticism, to name a few examples). It is the responsibility of the critic at this stage to think hard even in situations where the information is not so obvious nor readily available.

b) Step 2: Describing the rhetorical act: Identifying the parts

In the next stage the critic commences with a description of the rhetorical act by identifying the different parts of the act and listing the operations. The said description enables the critic to 'get an overview of the distinct parts that constitute the act, giving it a particular "shape" or structure' (Lawrie 2005: 128). She or he should be able to identify the introduction, the conclusion and the major sections of the text, especially when it is in the form of prose. The form of magazine advertisements might differ, in the sense that the texts may include pictures or images, so that the critic should look for other features in texts like these; for instance, the particular font that is used, the colour and colour contrasts, the spacing and the layout will be some of the features that will assist with identifying the form and structure of the rhetorical act.

c) Step 3: Describing the rhetorical act: Listing the operations

The critic will further describe the act by listing the operations or describing the function (s) of the text or, as Lawrie simply puts it, the 'work' done by the rhetorical text. In this regard, Lawrie (2005: 129-132) poses some questions that aim to assess the function(s) of the rhetorical act. One could ask the following critical questions:

1. 'What is emphasised?
2. What is de-emphasised? (suppressed)
3. What is associated with what and what is dissociated from what?
4. To what does the rhetorical act appeal?'

d) Step 4: Analysing the rhetorical act: Identifying the master tropes

In this stage, the critic moves beyond a mere description of the rhetorical act and conducts an analysis of the latter. Lawrie (2005: 132-133) proposes that the critic make use of the work of Kenneth Burke again, the four master tropes and the model of Stephen Toulmin to identify and analyse the arguments as they manifest in the text and that s/he also conducts a close analysis of the style used by the rhetorician as part of the rhetorical act. These tropes were considered earlier.

e) Step 5: Analysing the rhetorical act: Identifying and analysing the arguments

In order to analyse the arguments as they are presented as part of the rhetorical act, Lawrie (2005: 133) advocates the use of Toulmin's model to analyse the rhetorician's arguments. This is in essence based on three elements that are basic to any argument. The latter, as indicated previously, constitutes a claim, after which there should be some form of evidence for the claim that is made, followed by a warrant that links the evidence to the claim.

f) Step 6: Analysing the rhetorical act: Examining the style

According to Lawrie (2005: 134) the 'style' of the text also does something: whether something of the style impresses or annoys one, or something of the style 'works for [one], has occurred to one or even irritated one, means that the style of the text affected the audience. It might be the choice of words, the tone, the sentence construction, or even the figurative language that is used by the rhetorician. Lawrie (2005: 134) refers to some questions that the critic should ask in his or her analysis of the particular style of the latter:

What precisely bothered or impressed you? What particular aspects of the style carried these impressions? For instance, why was the text 'difficult to read'? Does it have many long, complicated and strangely constructed sentences? Does it use many difficult words? Or are the sentences loosely strung together so that the reader can see no flow?

g) Step 7: Reconstructing the rhetorical situation

Lawrie (2005: 135) refers to the next stage as a reconstruction of the 'rhetorical situation'. In this stage, the critic will now have more information to discuss the rhetorical act in its context, which Lawrie² terms the said situation. Lawrie (2005: 135) provides an outline for the critic to use:

How the rhetorician can be characterised. Who the rhetorical audience is? What the problem is. What the desired effect is, that is, what the rhetorician wants the audience to do. What constraints limit the rhetorician and the audience in their performance? How the rhetorical act attempts to achieve the desired effect.

h) Step 8: Assessing the rhetorical act: Judging scene, purpose, agent, agency and act

In the final stage the rhetorical situation, as described above, should be assessed. Lawrie encourages the utilisation of Burke's dramatisic pentad as a tool. The critic will need to assess and judge the scene, the purpose of the agent, the agent, the means of the agent and the act itself. This will aim to discover the ideological position underlying the particular text. Lawrie suggests the following guidelines in the assessment of the five elements:

The critic should assess the values that are embedded in the scene. Secondly he or she should, in his or her assessment, determine the validity of the purpose of the rhetorician. Thirdly, the virtues of the agent should also be assessed, followed by an

² Lawrie borrowed the term 'rhetorical situation' from Lloyed Bitzer.

assessment of the appropriateness of the means. The critic should finally conclude with an overall assessment of the rhetorical act in its totality. Lawrie (2005: 138) asserts, 'In the final assessment of the rhetorical act the critic has to decide what mode predominates, what elements features strongly and how this influences our view of the act'.

5. 7 Assessment of Douglas Lawrie's model

The model proposed by Lawrie exhibits some strengths, but also certain weaknesses that I briefly discuss in this section. I compare his model with other methods and techniques that are also used with the aim of unearthing the rhetorical strategies of rhetoricians in the task to persuade an audience.

Lawrie's model introduces the various contributions made throughout the rhetorical tradition. His work includes modern, contemporary scholars in the field but also extends its scope to rhetoric in classic times, which in turn was also focused on the style of texts. He consulted all the works and contributions of the various scholars as outlined above.

When Lawrie introduced his model, he (2005: 126) cautioned that it is in no way static, and should not be used in a mechanical manner, but that there should be some freedom in the application of the model. He also mentions that there is no guarantee that all the questions in his model will yield useful answers.

Lawrie's model moves beyond a single approach of analysis to a multifaceted one. He not only includes the three appeals (*logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*) as part of his model but also focuses on the analysing of arguments, as well as the basic grammar, syntax and choice of words, which were dealt with in the section on style. It should be recalled that he also includes in his model an analysis of the four master tropes which will indeed unearth the ideological disposition embedded in newspaper reports.

Lawrie's model embraces a careful analysis of the style of writing, as well as the structure of the texts, which will assist in the analysis of the news reports, because these, as noted, are some of the techniques that newspapers use to persuade their audiences.

The model does display certain limitations. Lawrie's approach is not focused on the reception of the text by the audience, but seeks to identify the motive of the rhetorician, the speaker and the writer. Therefore, it exhibits shortcomings in terms of any sort of reception analysis. However, for the purposes of analysing the ideological positions of newspaper reporter, editors and management, this model suffices.

Although Lawrie does not specifically refer to an ideological analysis, he indeed employs the same questions when he focuses on the arguments of the rhetorician, with the aim of uncovering the underlying ideology in the text.

In his work *Fishing for Jonah (anew)* Lawrie (2005) advocates the use of the appeals identified by Aristotle and discussed earlier as a means to analyse how rhetoricians influence their audience, but goes a little further. According to Lawrie (2005), 'rhetoric itself offers no certainties or guarantees of success' but rhetors '...build up a case as best they can and present it for approval to an audience'.

Lawrie (in Lawrie & Jonker, 2005: 134) considers that besides the three appeals (i.e. *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*) the critic should also focus on the audience. In this regard these authors make use of Perelman, who argues that one should meet the audience with what its members currently accept and move from there. The person who wishes to persuade should look for 'common ground' between him or her and the audience (which includes shared values, beliefs and ideas). Lawrie refers to the point emphasised by Kenneth Burke that 'rhetoricians should identify with their audiences'. He argues that if the audience do not feel that their interests are shared, the rhetorical act will fail.

He takes one a step further and refers to the importance of the context or what the abovementioned authors refer to as the rhetorical situation (Lawrie and Jonker, 2005: 134-135). Lawrie (2005; in Lawrie & Jonker, 2005) asserts, 'Because each rhetorical act takes place in a particular context with its own shared presuppositions and areas of dispute, rhetorical criticism has to make an effort to reconstruct the rhetorical situation in which the text functioned. Lawrie (2005; in Lawrie & Jonker, 2005: 135) describes the rhetorical situation as follows: It consists of the problem, the audience and the constraints (physical realities, or fixed beliefs, respected traditions, but also the rhetorical discourse's elements, the credibility of the speaker, the appeal to feelings, and the arguments). According to him each rhetorical situation 'involves a basis of shared values, premises and conventions', and therefore, he argues, rhetoric has a social basis. The 'broader community provides, as it were, the platform from which rhetorical transaction can take place'. This as he argues, is why ideological criticism and rhetorical criticism overlap, 'because both approaches deal with the social context that influences communication between individuals'(Lawrie, 2005, in Lawrie & Jonker, 2005: 135).

In the quest to identify the rhetorical strategies that newspapers employ, this model is able to provide a general sense of the motives of the newspaper organisation, editors and reports. It is able to address the question of how the newspapers influence the readership of the newspapers as well as answering the broader question on the role of the media in moral formation.

5. 8 Conclusion

The chapter provides a brief overview of the field of rhetoric, and discusses various theories of the process of persuasion. It also presents a number of available, appropriate techniques that rhetorical critics may use when conducting a rhetorical analysis. The chapter then suggests two models that might be used for this purpose. The model developed by Lawrie is assessed as a suitable one for this particular study in analysing the rhetorical thrust of each newspaper's reports on the various cases of corruption.

6. Reported Corruption at President Jacob Zuma's Private Homestead in Nkandla: Rhetorical Strategies of Four Weekly Newspapers

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of four chapters that discusses and assesses the rhetorical strategies of four weekly newspapers and news reports on a particular corruption case. The model developed by Lawrie (2005) was used to identify the rhetorical strategies discussed in this and the other three chapters (Chapters seven to nine). As stated, this chapter describes and assesses the rhetorical strategies, identified during the analysis of the four weekly newspapers on the corruption during the upgrades at the private homestead of President Jacob Zuma in Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The chapter commences with a summary of the findings of the former Public Protector relating to this corruption case followed by a discussion on the rhetorical strategies that each newspaper employs when they report on this particular case. In the concluding section of this chapter the four newspapers' rhetorical strategies are compared and assessed.

The *Mail and Guardian* broke the story in December 2009 that President Jacob Zuma's private homestead had been upgraded for an amount of R65 million.¹ It was later discovered that the amount in fact totalled R246 million for the single project in Nkandla. The newspaper requested that the government comment and thereafter it became a point of discussion in Parliament. A ministerial task team was appointed to investigate and found that nothing was above board concerning the project at Nkandla. The Public Protector also undertook an investigation, which ultimately led to a report with findings and remedial action required by the president.

According to Mathekga (2016: 117) the significance of this case of corruption lies in the following:

Nkandla is a saga that involved too many government institutions, and too many arms of the state. The executive branch of the government (i.e. government departments) and the legislature (parliament) were complicit in covering up the Nkandla saga. Out of three arms of government, only the judiciary refused to play ball. In terms of the number of departments involved, Nkandla attracted more participants than the 1999 arms deal...further, the Nkandla matter has pitted the institutions of accountability against each other in a way that has never been experienced in South Africa before.

Paul Hoffman (2016: 202) in his work *Confronting the Corrupt*, refers to the Nkandla matter as one of the mismanagement of public funds. He set out reasons for the significance of Nkandla as a matter of corruption:

The law allows for security enhancements to the property of presidents at the expense of the taxpayer. This chance was seized, and a massive programme of

¹ The story "Zuma's R65m Nkandla splurge" was written by the late Mandy Rossouw of the *Mail and Guardian*; the article can be accessed online at <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-12-04-zumas-r65m-nkandla-splurge>

works turned the homestead into a badly built palace with many new features that had nothing to do with the security of the President in residence, and much more to do with an abuse of office, maladministration, and 'scope creep' in the course of the project, which was managed by the Department of Public Works.

I turn now to the findings of the Public Protector in terms of the allegations of corruption at Nkandla.

6. 2 Findings of the Public Protector

During March 2014, the former public protector, Thuli Madonsela released the report, *Secure in Comfort*² after an investigation into the allegations of corruption over President Jacob Zuma's private residence in Nkandla. In essence, she found that 'the President unduly benefited from certain installations at Nkandla, namely, the swimming pool, the amphitheatre, the visitors' centre, the cattle kraal and the chicken run' (Mathekga, 2016: 120). In the report, it is also stated that the President violated the Executive Ethics Code because he failed to protect state resources from abuse. The following is a paraphrased version of the findings of the Public Protector in her report:

She found that that the Department of Public Works did not provide clarity on how much the President should pay back for the non-security features at his private residence in Nkandla. This constitutes maladministration and misconduct.

The public protector found that due to the tacit acceptance of the President of all the measures installed and implemented at his Nkandla homestead he should be liable for some of the expenditure that did not form part of the security measures.

The President also violated the ethical code when he told parliament that his family did build their own house, and the state had not built any of it, while this was not the true state of affairs.

She also argued that the President should have asked questions about the scale, cost and affordability of the Nkandla project, as this was his private residence. She argued that the President was responsible for what happens at his private homestead.

The President also had sufficient time after the news broke in 2009 about the alleged exorbitant expenditure at his homestead and could have taken steps to order an immediate inquiry into the situation.

The public protector further found that the President, in respect of the use of state funds in the Nkandla Project, on the only evidence available, had failed to apply his mind to the contents of the declaration of his private residence as a national key point. In particular, he failed to implement security measures at his own cost as directed by the declaration or alternatively, he could have approached the Minister of Police for a variation of the declaration.

² The reports can be accessed online at http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Public%20Protector's%20Report%20on%20Nkandla_a.pdf Accessed on 7 September 2016.

She, in terms of the President and the upgrades at his Nkandla homestead, found that he failed to act in protection of state resources and therefore violated the Executive Ethics Code (paragraph 2) and that his conduct was inconsistent with his office as a Member of Parliament (with reference to section 96 of the Constitution of South Africa).

While taking into account the findings of the public protector on the allegations of corruption in Nkandla (2014), it would be quite interesting to see how each of the four selected newspapers reported on this case during the calendar year of 2016.

6. 3 Rhetorical analysis of the four newspapers

In this section, I report on the distinct rhetorical strategies that each of the four selected newspapers employed in their reporting on the alleged corruption at the private residence of President Jacob Zuma in Nkandla. I commence with some general remarks on the operations of the newspapers in doing so, which include the particular emphases, the various appeals in which the newspapers invite the audience to agree with their reports and perspective(s) on the case, but then also apply the basic forms of Burke, to identify the main thrust and perspective(s) of the newspapers. This is important as it calls attention to how the newspapers ‘turn’ the minds of the audience. After discussing each newspaper’s strategies as reflected through its reporting, I compare them in terms of the similarities and differences in the way each newspaper reports on the case.

6. 3. 1 The Sunday Times

a) Describing the operations

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Sunday Times* on the corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper made to the audience to invite them to accept their views (Lawrie, 2005: 129).

i The emphases

The *Sunday Times* published no less than twenty-two (22) reports relating to this case in 2016. Although this is a relatively adequate number of corruption reports, the quantity of reports is not per se an indication of this paper’s perspective on the case. Notwithstanding, the quantity is a salient feature because it underlines the effort and space that the *Sunday Times* allocated to this particular issue. The placement of the news reports relating to this case speaks for itself. In this instance, the newspaper has seven (7) front page headlines and reports, while the rest of the reports on this case are located between the fourth and the sixth page of the editions.

An important factor that is part of the ongoing debate regarding the Nkandla case is the responsibility and involvement of President Jacob Zuma. The front-page report reflected on the reason ‘Why Zuma flipped on Nkandla’, which the *Sunday Times* reported was the legal advice that he received from a top advocate (Shoba, Gordin,

Hunter & Rampedi, 2016/02/7: 1).³ The *Sunday Times* reports that a longstanding Member of Parliament (MP) argues: ‘...The problem seems to be focused on an individual, the President, and not the actual system’ (Hunter & Ndenze, 2016/04/10: 4). The newspaper also refers to the President’s apology and his laying the blame on the legal advice that he received from his lawyer (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6). By shifting the blame onto the legal advice the President received, the President’s responsibility is rather obscured, and the newspaper therefore suppresses the debate around the accountability of the President for the upgrades at his Nkandla homestead.

On its front page, it also showcases the socio-economic conditions of President Jacob Zuma’s family (Olifant & Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1). Rather than sympathising with the President, by providing insight into the comparative poverty with which some of his family members struggle, instead the *Sunday Times* emphasises the contradiction in the claims of poverty made by a part of his family.⁴ In essence, the newspaper does not see this as a reasonable defence by the President to avoid paying a certain portion of the money spent for upgrades at his private homestead.

The *Sunday Times* also places the sentiments, and the ‘anger’ of the ANC leadership on the developments of the Nkandla matter on the table (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/14: 1). In a front-page report it emphasises that the ANC’s executive committee had much earlier advised the President to take the public protector’s report on review. The newspaper presents an ‘angry’ ANC executive speaking about the way that the President handles the case with reference to the headline ‘go-it-alone’ stance. The *Sunday Times* included the President’s concession to pay back the money and the outrage of ANC members who argued that he was advised to take this report on review and now it reflects negatively on the party – as did his sudden ‘U-turn’ (Ndenze, Hunter, Jika & Rampedi, 2016/02/14: 5).⁵ It seems as if the newspapers’ front page reports place the blame solely on President Jacob Zuma to take responsibility for his actions and for not following advice from the rest of the ANC leadership as well as to deal with the matter, to pay back the money and not seek for any sympathy.⁶ This was followed by another report a month later (March)⁷ by the

³ The *Sunday Times* states in the report, “The legal opinion Zuma received from Gauntlett is behind his dramatic U-turn this week” (Shoba et al., 2016/02/7: 1).

⁴ In the report however, it opens the discussion with, ‘THE Zumas are not wealthy people...’ referring to the words of the younger brother of President Jacob Zuma, the *Sunday Times* in the middle of the report states, ‘The claims of poverty by Michael and Edward are contradicted by the number of businesses several Zuma children are involved in’. This changes the perspective immediately into the ability of the president to pay the money. He also cannot use his family’s socio-economic conditions as an excuse for not paying back some of the money on the security upgrades at his Nkandla homestead. The report goes on, and makes the audience aware of the wealth of President Jacob Zuma’s children.

⁵ The *Sunday Times* refers to the act of the president to pay back the money (before the ruling of the Constitutional court), as a ‘U-turn’ because he had repeatedly claimed that he was not responsible to pay back any money for the upgrades at his private homestead in Nkandla. He then eventually conceded, paying the money even before the ruling of the Constitutional Court.

⁶ This has particular reference to the socio-economic conditions and poverty-stricken conditions of some of his family members.

⁷ A previous front page report ‘ANC anger brews over Zuma’s go-it-alone stance’ also depicts the president as one that ignores advice (from the ANC), while in the item ‘Nkandla fall guy hits out at Zuma’ Zuma is again pictured as the person who should have been informed by the political heads

Sunday Times in which it also refers to repeated cautioning by officials in the (Nkandla) project to their political heads, that the cost was escalating and that President Jacob Zuma would have to pay (Hunter, 2016/03/27a: 1).⁸ It could also not be taken lightly that the newspaper would place a report on its front page about a call for the President to step down (Jika, Joubert & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 1). Some other details in the reports follow in the rest of the analysis. This brief overview is just to indicate the priority events and perspectives that relates to this case, and what perspectives were so important that the newspaper placed these on the front page.

The *Sunday Times* locates some of its reports that relate to the upgrades at the President's private residence in Nkandla towards the back of the newspaper, especially the one in which President Jacob Zuma is given enough space to reply to opposition parties that take issues of corruption to court (Shoba, 2016/01/10: 8).⁹ It reports on the reply of the President in which he comments that regarding issues as involving alleged corruption and taking such people to task through the courts is undermining democracy and the executive.

One of the reports presents what the *Sunday Times* refers to as the 'casualties' in the Nkandla debacle (Van Onselen, 2016/02/7: 4). This report is quite extensive and features on the fourth page, covering almost the entire page.¹⁰ The newspaper focuses on political leaders who demonstrated ethical leadership, and refers to them as 'Nkandla Heroes' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/7a: 4). It mentions the names of the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela (with her damning findings in her report, 'Secure in Comfort'), Lindiwe Mazibuko of the DA (who initially requested the Public Protector to investigate the case), Julius Malema and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)¹¹ (who made efforts to ensure that President Jacob Zuma comply with the Public Protector's report), as well as Paul Mashatile of the African National Congress (ANC) who disagreed with the Minister of Police's Nkandla report. The report 'Nkandla Heroes' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/7a: 4) also appears on the same page of the report 'Casualties of the Nkandla Debacle' (Van Onselen, 2016/02/7: 4). Through highlighting the contrasts, the newspaper emphasises the effects and consequences of the Nkandla case.

The report, 'A triumph of the rule of law...it showed courage' (Joubert, 2016/04/3: 6) is placed on the eight page of the newspaper with a photo of the former Public

which were part of the project on the developments, as this was regularly communicated by those involved in the project.

⁸ I quote from the report by Hunter on comments made by former Department of Public Works deputy director-general Richard Samuel who was also implicated and ordered to pay back a portion of the money for the upgrades: 'Samuel's dossier reveals that officials involved in the project repeatedly cautioned their political heads that Zuma would have to pay a portion of the cost' (Hunter, 2016/03/27a: 1).

⁹ Although the word 'corruption' does not feature in the report, the *Sunday Times* refers to two cases for which the Public Protector made findings: the allegations of corruption at the SABC and the private residence of President Jacob Zuma in Nkandla. The President's response, according to the newspaper, is opposed to these cases; that is, cases of corruption.

¹⁰ Through this rhetorical act, the *Sunday Times* shows its qualitative emphasis (Lawrie, 2005: 129) on the issues and matters relating to this case.

¹¹ This is one of the political parties in South Africa and is currently (2016) under the leadership of Mr Julius Malema.

Protector Thuli Madonsela, showing a 'thumbs-up'. Notwithstanding the position in the specific edition, the report's content is evidently in support of the law against the prevalent corruption.

The *Sunday Times* also emphasises the ANC's admission that the scandals of President Jacob Zuma might have an effect on the local elections, but places its emphasis on the effect the Nkandla 'scandals' have on the 'middle class' in terms of their votes in the metros (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).¹² The newspaper refers to a 'build-up' in the ANC and the formation of an anti-Zuma camp, and reference is made to the Secretary General of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe, who bids farewell to the former public protector at her leave-taking dinner (Mokone & Ndenze, 2016/10/9: 2). It also reports on President Jacob Zuma's response to the Nkandla case, in which he claims ignorance. The newspaper's reporting reflects this as not a good reason for a President who is supposed to know the law (Narsee, 2016/04/10: 2).

One is struck by the way in which the *Sunday Times*, in one of its reports, which is not even related to the Nkandla matter, refers to President Jacob Zuma (Narsee, 2016/04/10: 2). The newspaper reports on an interview of an applicant for a post in the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA), in which he was subjected to the questioning of the portfolio committee in Parliament. The newspaper makes particular reference to one of Julius Malema's questions, in which he alludes to President Jacob Zuma. The newspaper refers to this incident as a move by Julius Malema to '... rub Nkandla salt into the fresh wounds of ANC commissioners'. The newspaper's effort to include such a remark reveals its emphasis on how a political leader (representative of others) from one of the opposition parties deals with the ANC, but also with the President (refuting any claim of ignorance from the President in this case as a defence). It could be inferred that this is not the sole act of the President which brings shame on himself and his reputation, but also on his party when the newspaper makes reference to the effect of the Nkandla case on the 'ANC commissioners'.

ii Antithetical emphases

The *Sunday Times* allows the audience to question the unfairness to the rest of society and other communities who have been overlooked when it comes to service delivery (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2). The newspaper compares the new road passing the Nkandla homestead of the President with roads in other towns that also require rehabilitative work but are neglected.¹³ The strategy of the newspaper is surely to allow the audience to see how unjust it is that government looks after itself first instead of providing service to the rest of South Africans. This is not the only emphasis in the comparison that the newspaper raises, but it also stresses the quick

¹² In the opening paragraph of the particular report it asserts, 'THE ANC has admitted that scandals associated with President Jacob Zuma influenced the middle class to ditch the party, especially in Gauteng metros' (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).

¹³ The *Sunday Times* included the words of DA MPL Rafeek Shah in the report that 'questioned why money was spent on one road in Nkandla when so many others required rehabilitative work' (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2).

response and efficient service delivery regarding a road that it described as still 'new'.¹⁴

The *Sunday Times* makes a comparison between the 'Great Place' of Mandla Mandela and the private residence of President Jacob Zuma in Nkandla. The former President Nelson Mandela's grandson, Mandla Mandela, repudiates the argument that his homestead Mvezo ('Great Place') in the Eastern Cape could be classified as a Nkandla-like corruption scandal (Hunter, 2016/08/14: 2). Although the focus is on the homestead of Mandla, by comparing the two the *Sunday Times* demonstrates why Nkandla was indeed an issue of corruption. The fact that Nkandla was not a 'community based project'¹⁵ but intended to enrich an 'individual' (President Jacob Zuma) also provides some logic for the audience to see the upgrades at Nkandla as a case of corruption (Hunter, 2016/08/14: 2).

iii The associations

The *Sunday Times* associates corruption with negative consequences (Van Onselen, 2016/02/7: 4). These affect people in government who occupy high profile positions and were part of the alleged corruption at Nkandla and who, as a result of this, forfeited their jobs. The newspaper refers to individuals such as Geoff Doidge, Max Sisulu, Bogopane-Zulu and Siviwe Dongwana. The *Sunday Times* also associates the ANC's poor performance during the local elections in 2016 especially among the middle class, as closely linked with the alleged corruption at Nkandla (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).

iv The appeals (logos)

The *Sunday Times* compares what the President would likely be expected to pay back, in relation to the excessive amount that was spent during the upgrades. It shows that even although the President would have to pay back, it would be far less than what was actually disbursed. In essence, it allows the audience to see this as 'damage already done' and that it would not be easy to reverse the misspending at Nkandla (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).¹⁶

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the comments by legal experts who argue that the President is only responsible to pay 'to the extent to which he had been enriched' and not '...the wasteful expenditure incurred by the state...' (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4). This is levelled by the continuous and consistent argument in the report that the

¹⁴ The opening sentence of the report states, 'The road that links President Jacob Zuma's home village in Nkandla with nearby towns has been rehabilitated for R45-million – only four years after it was built' (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2). In the headline, the word new is placed between parentheses to emphasise that a new road has been rehabilitated. The *Sunday Times* quotes the DA MPL, 'A road built only four years ago, should "not deteriorate to the extent which now warrants millions for refurbishment"' (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2).

¹⁵ I quote the words of Mandla Mandela to the *Sunday Times*, 'It is not money misspent. It is spent on a community...' (Hunter, 2016/08/14: 2).

¹⁶ I quote from the report, 'While the public expects Zuma to repay the millions spent on features he personally "unduly benefitted" from, Zuma's legal advice is that the bill to be handed to him would be a fraction of what was spent. Lawyers involved in the Constitutional Court process seem to agree' (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).

president would only be expected to pay back a reasonable percentage of the actual costs. The newspaper reveals the amount that President Jacob Zuma is going to reimburse, but it argues that this is 'not...what [the] public wants' (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).¹⁷ The central argument of the newspaper is that the public will lose, even if the president does pay back some of the money.

The audience is invited to perceive the effect of the alleged corruption at Nkandla and its impact on the results of the local elections (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5). The reason for losing the votes of the middle class is presented as being related to the scandals surrounding the president, which include the matter around Nkandla.¹⁸

The *Sunday Times* provides support for the argument that the president was aware of the developments at his Nkandla homestead. The newspaper reports on Rachard Samuel who was the Deputy Director General of the Department of Public Works (Hunter, 2016/03/27a: 1). According to the *Sunday Times*, he compiled a dossier, which contains invoices that prove that the state paid for some of the features at the president's private residence, and that the president knew about this all along. The caption in the headline 'fall' represents the main argument of the newspaper that Samuel was one of the officials said to have been made the one to take the blame (the 'fall') for the government's overspending on Nkandla. Hunter goes through the president's arguments again. He uses these to support his claim that the president did not pay the money against the latest evidence (the invoices seen by the newspaper) and that President Jacob Zuma is, in fact, lying.

v The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Times* plays on the words 'frustration' and 'irritation' in reference to the president of South Africa. The newspaper reports his 'irritation' that the Nkandla matter has not yet been finalised (Shoba, Gordin, Hunter & Rampedi, 2016/02/7: 1). The 'frustration' refers the ongoing legal costs on his side for his legal adviser Adv.Jeremy Gauntlett QC SC, who charges R50 000 per day. The newspaper reports: 'Zuma has been growing increasingly frustrated that the Nkandla issue has not been finalised'. The president is also reported as being 'furious with some former ministers...' and angry '...at having to face the Constitutional Court case...'. The newspaper showcases the president's deeply emotional state. The *Sunday Times* reports on the impact of the Nkandla case and its toll on the president.

The *Sunday Times* also appeals to the emotions of the audience when it reports on the socio-economic conditions of the family of President Jacob Zuma (Olifant & Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1). The newspaper specifically reports on the socio-economic conditions in which his younger brother Michael and his family find themselves. The newspaper refers to the situation in which they found the younger brother as 'teary'.¹⁹

¹⁷ It lists the cost as enlisted in the public protector's report, and compares it to the percentage Zuma will have to pay back, which is the difference between R1m, what Lawyers (who argued against Zuma on behalf of the EFF) roughly calculate, and the actual cost close to R10-million.

¹⁸ In the opening paragraph, the *Sunday Times* draws the readers' attention to the following: 'The ANC has admitted that scandals associated with President Jacob Zuma influenced the middle class to ditch the party, especially in Gauteng metros' (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).

¹⁹ This is in reference to the state in which the journalist found him and conducted an interview.

The report emphasises that the family is 'not a rich family', and [that the] 'Zumas are not wealthy people' in the context of the Constitutional Court ruling that the President should pay back the money. However, the newspaper ironically reports that although his family is impoverished, Zuma's children are involved in various businesses. This might seek to persuade the audience that they should not easily feel sorry for the president, particularly when taking his children's lucrative businesses into account.

By comparing the construction of a new road at Nkandla with other roads in other towns that have long awaited rehabilitation, and on top of this, by including the huge amount spent for the rehabilitation of the road at Nkandla, this technique could surely serve to raise the anger and frustration of other South Africans for whom the wheel of service delivery turns extremely slowly (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2).

On the other hand, the *Sunday Times* makes reference to the positive attitude of the Public Protector, when it reports on her attitude before she meets with the president to provide answers on the Nkandla allegations. An interesting observation is the newspaper's insertion of the president's legal adviser's opinion and his belief that the president 'genuinely did not know about the security-features'. It could appeal, depending upon the reader, to their being understanding of the president and the strain he is under. It is almost as if the newspaper wants to put on display his suffering and the emotional strain that the president is going through, almost in the hope to gain public sympathy.

vi The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Times* reports on the ethos and virtues of the agents involved in the Nkandla case. It refers to the possible good faith of the president in the words of Constitutional Court's Chief Judge, Mogoeng Mogoeng, 'The president might have been following wrong legal advice and therefore acted in good faith' (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6).

The *Sunday Times* also speaks of a moral chorus in one of its subtitles, 'Party elders join the chorus of struggle stalwarts calling for ANC leader to quit' (Jika, Joubert & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 1). It seems significant as the readership would have a great regard for the elders in the community that were part of the just struggle against an oppressive government. The impression is created in the report of a harmonious group of moral leaders that is already embracing their moral duty and for a moral cause. In the report on the motion for the president to step down, ANC stalwarts, who fought for democracy and laid down their lives for the struggle and the dismantling of apartheid, are included. The *Sunday Times* in its reporting includes people with credibility to speak against the corruption to gain the audience's attention. In a quite strategic move the newspaper refers to Andrew Mlangeni as 'Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialist' and Ahmed Kathrada as the 'Robben Islander' which serves the purpose of linking them to a higher moral goal.

In an attempt to discredit the integrity of the President Jacob Zuma, the then minister of Public Works, Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde and the ministerial task team that was assigned to report to parliament, the newspaper places them under the prejudicial headline, 'Five years of denial, cover-ups and bluster' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/7b: 4).

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Sunday Times* uses metaphors and irony as part of its rhetorical strategies to present the Nkandla case. The newspaper generally presents the Nkandla case from the perspective of Zuma's family, and their financial situation. The newspaper makes the audience aware of their socio-economic status when it reports on the response from President Jacob Zuma's younger brother, Michael Zuma. The newspaper reports on the location of the interview, the 'modest butchery' where they eventually found him, his vehicle being described as an 'old Volvo sedan', but also his geographical area as a 'modest Durban precinct'. It reports on the emotional state of the president, and from that perspective the unfolding events of the Nkandla case is reported. This however is just to make the point that Zuma's wealthy sons are in business, and provides him with the 'handle' to hold on to, not escape or to use his family's poverty-stricken circumstances to pave the way of escaping his responsibility to pay a percentage of the money paid at his private residence.

The audience is intended to see him as a responsible public servant, who has to take responsibility for his actions, but also as one who ignores the advice of his comrades (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/14: 1), and in the end, has to make a "U-turn" (Ndenze, Hunter, Jika & Rampedi, 2016/02/14: 5).

ii Irony

In its reporting, the *Sunday Times* creates the impression that the Director General Lungisa Fuzile is not on the side of President Jacob Zuma's friends and would be someone of integrity (Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6).²⁰ The newspaper presents the Director General as a man of integrity, who wants to assure the audience that the process of determining the amount that the president should pay back would be fair. The audience should believe that the process to determine the amount paid back is credible and in this way the newspaper establishes trust for being fair-minded in its reporting.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* in its reporting presents President Jacob Zuma as the one who is solely responsible for the excessive expenditure and who ignored advice from ANC quarters (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/14: 1). However, while his actions had an impact on the society, the middle class (as the local election attests) and on the poor (with reference to service delivery), others had to take the 'fall' for the president. The call for him to step down from struggle stalwarts is clear, and the damage is already done, and is seemingly irreversible. It is argued that even if the money is paid back it will not include the wasteful expenditure by the state, meaning that even the repayment will not restore the damage being done. But some of the interesting evidence is the 'softness' in the *Sunday Times'* approach to the allegations of

²⁰ The report commences with this sentence, 'The man President Jacob Zuma's backers wanted removed – National Treasury director-general Lungisa Fuzile – will oversee the process...' (Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6).

corruption levelled against the president, for instance the wrong legal advice he had received, as well as the focus on the socio-economic conditions of his family.

6. 3. 2 The Sunday Independent

a) Describing the operations

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Sunday Independent* on the corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper made to the audience to invite them to accept their views.

ii Emphases

I identified fourteen (14) reports that relate to the Nkandla case. The *Sunday Independent* in 2016 includes at least five (5) front-page reports. Other reports are spread between the fourth and eighth pages of the newspaper editions. One report speculates on the president considering stepping down after the Constitutional Court ruling (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/10: 1),²¹ while other front-page headlines read, 'Sorry not enough' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3a: 1); 'Defiant Zuma digs in' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1). Another one reads, 'ANC election 'loss' fallout' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/7: 1).

What do these front-page reports convey to the audience? They indeed suggest the internal support that the President is losing within the ANC, especially after the 'fallout'²² in the August 2016 local elections, but also the assumption of the *Sunday Independent* that the President should have resigned even before the Constitutional Court ruling. This conveys much of the emphases of the newspaper about what the right thing to do is for the President to step down. It does not criticise the ANC strongly but rather critiques the leadership of the majority party (ANC). The *Sunday Independent* exhibits the resistance (defiance) from the President, even after the Constitutional Court ruling (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1).²³

By comparing the selected newspapers, it becomes clear what each newspaper deliberately or unintentionally excluded in their reports. Hence, I am able to make some preliminary assertions. In the report 'More to high cost of Nkandla than the 246m' (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6) little is said about the reason for President Jacob Zuma's agreement to pay back the money, if he actually did so as an admission of guilt, or conceded, and confessed to part of it or, if he simply wants to settle the matter. The president's response is not stated in this particular report. In the front-page report 'Sorry not enough' with the sub-heading, 'SACP joins chorus, and struggle hero urges Zuma to resign' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3b: 2) the *Sunday*

²¹ The Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the public protector's report, as well as finding that the president did not uphold, defend and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. The word 'finally' also refers to other instances in which he did not blink, nor admit any wrongdoing (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/10: 1).

²² This is with reference to the front-page headline 'ANC election "loss" fallout' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/7: 1).

²³ In a front-page headline, the newspaper emphasises the 'defiance' of the president. This reads, 'Defiant Zuma digs in' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1).

Independent provides no response from the President on the outcome of the Constitutional Court ruling, which found that the President was acting unconstitutionally and that he should pay back a certain portion of the money spent on his private homestead in Nkandla. The newspaper does not make any reference to his apology to the nation on national television. Is this already ‘framing’ the President as the guilty one?

In the report ‘Why President Zuma is likely to survive’ (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4) arguments are posed about why President Jacob Zuma will not resign after the judgement of the Constitutional Court, whereas in the report no reference is made to possible mechanisms that are still at the disposal of the public and which could still see the removal of the president from office. It simply emphasises the arbitrariness of the matter: ‘So, removing Zuma will only heighten political theatre drama, but not improve the quality of the arts’ (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4).²⁴ This report seems to concentrate more on what the resignation of the President could do for the country and broader society.

ii The associations

The *Sunday Independent* associates the ANC’s poor local election results with the alleged corruption at Nkandla in which President Jacob Zuma is implicated (Magome, 2016/08/7: 1). The *Sunday Independent* also brings this case of corruption into constant dialogue with the ongoing ANC infighting. This is particularly clearly illustrated in the newspaper’s reference to those who blame the corruption (involving the president) and those that will fight for President Jacob Zuma as a result of the ongoing debate on the alleged corruption at Nkandla.

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Sunday Independent* questions the logic behind President Jacob Zuma’s possible stepping down. It argues that such a move will simply ‘cripple’ the operation of the state (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4).²⁵ The *Sunday Independent* in the same report refers more than once, to the effect such a decision (to step down) will have on the operations of the state and the disruptions it will cause if the ANC recalls the president, or he voluntarily resigns.

The *Sunday Independent* also comments on the effect of the president’s ‘change of heart’. The newspaper focuses on the result for his supporters in the ANC. The newspaper reports that his supporters will be ‘burned’ by his decision (Makatile,

²⁴ The quote is taken from the concluding paragraph of the report ‘Why President Zuma is likely to survive’. Lawrie (2005: 129) argues that this approach is one of the rhetorical strategies rhetoricians employ to place the central idea or focus, which they want to emphasise at the end of a text. The audience is left with the thought after reading the text.

²⁵ The newspaper states: ‘So, removing Zuma will only heighten political theatre drama, but not improve the quality of the arts’ (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4).

2016/02/7: 6).²⁶ The audience is therefore given insight into how the actions of the President will not only affect the society, but also his supporters within the ANC.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Independent* appeals to the emotions of its audience when it argues that while the taxpayer is awaiting reimbursement for wasteful expenditure at Nkandla this is not the end because 'more' will be taken from the taxpayers' purse²⁷ as the legal battles continue (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6). The *Sunday Independent* makes it quite clear how the Nkandla case will affect them economically.

The report on the bank²⁸ which loaned President Jacob Zuma funds to pay for the non-security items at Nkandla, can be read positively or negatively. It could point to an increase in clients since the public became aware of the bank through the media, or perceived in the negative sense since the report is mostly a reply from the CEO of the bank who tries to refute any negative perceptions of the bank (Thakali, 2016/10/16: 8). The newspaper article indicates that it is serious in establishing why the bank was able to provide the President with a home loan, particularly as there were reservations that any bank would be able to secure him a loan for his property.

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Independent* appeals to the audience to join the (moral) chorus against the pervasive corruption, and that an apology from the President was not enough (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3b: 2). The newspaper discusses the plea from the Rivonia trialist, Ahmed Kathrada, for the President to step down. It also points to the 'serious soul-searching' that the ANC says it is doing. The mere use of the newspaper of someone like Ahmed Kathrada who is regarded as a moral example, is significant. The *Sunday Independent* uses the 'voice' of such a moral agent to appeal to others to join the (moral) chorus.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Sunday Independent* reports on the repayment of the money spent at Nkandla by the president (Thakali, 2016/09/18: 4). It showcases to the readership the fierce resistance by the president and his family to accept any assistance for the repayment of the non-security upgrades at Nkandla. It discusses the offers that the family received, but also the refusal of the president to accept such offers. Although the *Sunday Independent* focuses on the repayment of the president in its reporting, it suggests to the readership that if the president steps down it will 'cripple' society.

²⁶ In the report, 'More to high cost of Nkandla than the 246m' the *Sunday Independent* states, , 'The human scalps claimed will forever be reflected in the CVs of the casualties, including the two former Ministers of Public Works, Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde and Geoff Doidge'.

²⁷ In the report it is stated, 'The Nkandla matter is likely to tie up the public protector's office in lengthy, and costly, legal proceedings. In fact, it is not possible to estimate the costs at this stage, but they are likely to run into (even bigger) millions' (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6).

²⁸ The VBS Mutual Bank granted the president a loan to repay his R7.8 million Nkandla debt.

ii The metonymy (reduction)

It is fair to say that the *Sunday Independent* makes less reference to the president's reasons and does not in any way vindicate his case, rather focusing on the impact on society (for instance the poor election results of the ANC). The *Sunday Independent* (2016/04/10: 1) does not present President Jacob Zuma as a person of good moral character, especially when the newspaper describes the Gupta family as friends of President Jacob Zuma.

iii Irony

The *Sunday Independent* reports on the pressure being brought to bear by civil society on the president, for his resignation. This is pitted against the question of what the response of the president would be. In creating this tension, the *Sunday Independent* wishes to emphasise what the President is up against. In the report 'Zuma: Will he finally blink...?' (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/10: 1) the newspaper reports on the pressure that emerges from the grassroots. The question is posed: would this have an effect on Mr Zuma? The allusion in the report to 'more...join the chorus...' speaks of the newspaper's call to a united response from civil society and for the audience to see the desired resignation or stepping down of the president from the perspective that there is some consensus already among the general populace. It refers also to the Nelson Mandela Foundation, which supports such a call. By referencing this Foundation it indirectly pits Nelson Mandela, a man of justice and who would most likely not have tolerated rampant corruption in this society, against President Jacob Zuma. The *Sunday Independent* associates President Jacob Zuma with his 'close friends' as referred to in the report. However, it is striking to note how the author places moral figures on the side of the general populace and President Zuma and 'close friends' on the other side.

It is quite ironic that in the same report in which the *Sunday Independent* writes of the response from the Police Minister on Nkandla, it starts the first paragraph (primary emphasis) by referring to his luxury home, where the minister is staying in Kwazulu-Natal (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6c: 4).²⁹ I find this striking when the Nkandla matter is discussed.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Independent's* reporting is quite different from the other newspapers when it refers in one of its front-page reports to the apology of the President, which is not enough after the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the Public Protector, and that he must pay back the money (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3a: 1).³⁰ The newspaper also focuses very strongly on how the Nkandla upgrades and the alleged corruption affected the rest of society and the public. It reports on the reasons why the resignation of the President will not be such a good idea and beneficial for society. It also refers to the ongoing legal costs taken from the taxpayers' purse as

²⁹ "Nhleko says critics should provide facts, stands by Nkandla report" (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6c: 4).

³⁰ The use of the headline 'Sorry' is not enough' speaks of the frank call for the president to resign as the president of South Africa (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3a: 1).

this case goes on. It refers to those moral voices in society who also raise their voices, and the effect of the corruption at Nkandla on the moral fibre of South African society.

6. 3. 3 The Mail and Guardian

a) Describing the operations

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Mail and Guardian* on the corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper made to the audience to invite them to accept its views.

i Emphases

I identified twenty-four (24) reports that relate to the Nkandla case of which seven (7) of the reports feature on the front page of the *Mail and Guardian*. I offer just a glimpse of the way in which the *Mail and Guardian* reports on the case on its front page, and provide a general sense of the emphases. The following is reported: 'Zuma Inc crumbles'; 'SABC protection stripped, fightback in NEC, Cabinet, Max Sisulu: Zuma must go' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/10/7: 1);³¹ 'Zuma's hit list' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/08/26: 1);³² 'It's payback time. JZ, you're on your own' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/1: 1);³³ 'Accused Number One' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/05/6a: 1);³⁴ 'Speared by the nation' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8a: 1);³⁵ 'Concourt klap: What next for JZ?' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/1: 1);³⁶ 'Watch your back, JZ' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/4: 1).³⁷

The *Mail and Guardian's* focus is on President Jacob Zuma particularly, who is described as the 'Accused Number One' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/05/6a: 1), who has to pay and whose friends and ANC leaders in the inner circle are no longer

³¹ In this report the *Mail and Guardian* points out the reason for its reference 'Zuma Inc crumbles', 'SABC protection stripped, fightback in NEC, Cabinet, Max Sisulu: Zuma must go' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/10/7: 1).

³² The *Mail and Guardian* supports the headline in one of the paragraphs of the report: 'Camp Zuma consolidates control over lucrative deals, and takes aim at all those in its way – starting with Pravin Gordhan' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/08/26: 1).

³³ The headline has a short sentence stating, 'No takers so far to foot the bill for the president's Nkandla upgrades' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/1: 1). The *Mail and Guardian* shows pictures of 'takers' namely, Atul Gupta, Don Mkhwanazi, Nora Fakude-Nkuna, Gwede Mantashe, Vivian Reddy, and Ace Magashule.

³⁴ It refers to the reports in the newspaper from which this headline was drawn, 'Thuli: State resources used for ANC campaign, Spy tapes ruling puts Zuma in the dock, Politics of patronage: Why the ANC can't let go, Zuma travails have SADC's attention' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/05/6: 1).

³⁵ The headline is supported by the sentence 'With opposition parties, civil society groups and ANC veterans clamouring for Zuma's removal, the ruling party is being torn apart as, for the first time, leaders from within the inner circle voice their disapproval' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8a: 1).

³⁶ The *Mail and Guardian* briefly elaborates, 'Damning judgement spark calls for impeachment, mass action and accusations that opposition parties are "CIA agents" – now ANC leaders have some tough decisions to make' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/1: 1).

³⁷ The *Mail and Guardian* provides hints in this regard on its front page, 'SACP leaders call for the president's head', 'ANC: We wanted him to pay all along', and 'Dramatic signs of power shift show there may be more than one Brutus waiting in the wings' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/4: 1).

supporting him. The judgement of the Constitutional Court is reported as not making it easier for the ANC. It is almost as if President Zuma is reported as becoming a liability for those around him. This is quite a general sense of what can be deduced from the front-page headlines.

The *Mail and Guardian* emphasises the negative consequences that people face who support corruption (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2). Although the report 'The heads that will roll' focusses on nine Members of Parliament (MPs) it is representative and speaks of the broader community and communities who are involved or complicit in corrupt activities and could face a bleak future.³⁸

The *Mail and Guardian* emphasises the responsibility of the President to pay back the money when it contrasts two responses, the one of the outgoing Chief Whip and the Minister of Police, in conversation with each other (Letsoalo, 2016/03/4: 3). The report emphasises this by taking the argument like a thread through the report: that the ANC's argument all along was that the President should pay back the money. In terms of the newspaper's reporting, the outgoing ANC chief whip made a 'somersault' and states that Nhleko's report was 'irrelevant', and that Zuma was always willing to pay back the money.³⁹

ii The associations

Those who supported Zuma (in the Nkandla matter) are associated with a bleak future (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).⁴⁰ The *Mail and Guardian* brings the 'Nkandla scandal' into dialogue with the then upcoming local elections and its impact on the polls (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9). It tests the sentiment of the members of the ANC on how the outcome of the polls will look.

It also becomes clear in the reporting of the *Mail and Guardian* that the underlying assumption is that the Nkandla issue amounts to a 'scandal' (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9).⁴¹ This might be overlooked in the reporting, the way it is so woven in as part of its

³⁸ I quote from the report, 'Should he [president] resign or be impeached, it could affect the future of some of his loyalists – although the ANC isn't likely to throw them out in the cold because they were part of the group effort to protect Zuma, and because many in the party still remember how divisive the attempts at revenge were after its 2007 conference. The names are Police Commissioner Nathi Nhleko, Public Works minister Thulas Nxesi, ANC MP Mathole Motshekga, ANC Youth League President Collen Maine, the Premier League, speaker of Parliament Baleka Mbete, Water and Sanitation Minister Nomvula Mokonyane and other "Nkandla" MPs' (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).

³⁹ Letsoalo (2016/03/4: 3) states, 'Sizani said he did not understand why people say Zuma made a U-turn regarding the Nkandla matter because Zuma had always said he was prepared to pay back the money. The only time there was a division was when one minister of police [Nhleko] released a report, which contradicted our position that the president must pay back a reasonable amount of the money spent on nonsecurity features in Nkandla'.

⁴⁰ This is based on the main thrust of the report 'The heads that will roll' in which the newspaper report on those ministers who face an uncertain future because they supported the president in the Nkandla matter. I quote the following from the report, 'Should he [President Jacob Zuma] resign or be impeached, it could affect the future of some of his loyalists' (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).

⁴¹ I quote from the report, 'The ANC's head of elections and campaigns, Nomvula Mokonyane, says she is confident the Nkandla scandal will not affect the ANC negatively in the local government elections on August 3' (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9).

reporting that it could create the normalcy of talking of the Nkandla matter as a 'scandal'.

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Mail and Guardian* presents the view that the president cannot be trusted (De Wet, 2016/02/5a: 4). The newspaper line-up over the six years that President Jacob Zuma has been in office showcases his "blatant deception" in each year (De Wet, 2016/02/5a: 4).⁴²

The *Mail and Guardian* provides reasons for how President Jacob Zuma's actions caused others, especially those who supported him, to pay for his actions (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).⁴³ The reasons for him to resign are also reported from inside the President's party (ANC) and the SACP, and suggest that they also have good reasons why the president should resign (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/4: 1). The newspaper further provides reasons why ANC stalwarts, such as Ronnie Kasrils, petition for his resignation and disapprove of the president's actions (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2).

The *Mail and Guardian* presents the readership with an analysis by certain law experts of the Constitutional Court's ruling on Nkandla, giving good reasons why President Jacob Zuma is guilty of unethical conduct in relation to the Nkandla case (Pilane, Letsoalo & Bezuidenhout, 2016/04/8: 2). Through doing this, the newspaper makes the point that the president could be prosecuted in terms of the Constitutional Court judgement made against him in relation to the upgrades at his private homestead. The newspaper includes the response of Dr James Grant who argues that there exists a possibility that President Jacob Zuma might be charged with theft for the upgrades at his private residence.

Letsoalo's (2016/04/1: 3) report is structured in such a way that it starts with the other reasons why the president's comrades 'really' support him; this is what is more important than the *Mail and Guardian's* later reference to the 'not so honest' reasons of the Constitutional Court ruling. The newspaper refutes all arguments that support the idea that the President is not liable for some of the cost at his Nkandla homestead (Letsoalo, 2016/03/4: 3). Throughout the report, the response of the chief whip is employed to repudiate others who might use the same arguments as the minister of police, in this way the *Mail and Guardian* is providing the audience with good reasons to put such arguments to rest.

The *Mail and Guardian* makes it easy for the readership to understand and grasp exactly what Zuma would have to pay back for the upgrades at his Nkandla

⁴² The opening sentence of the report avers, 'President Jacob Zuma's bald statement that the public protector never found wrongdoing on his part continues a long tradition of blatant deception on the issue of Nkandla...' (De Wet, 2016/02/5a: 4). The report then lists from 2009- when the story first broke in the *Mail and Guardian* until 2015- all the statements that point to the president's 'deception' as it reflects in the public statements he made.

⁴³ This is based on the main thrust of the report, 'The heads that will roll', in which the *Mail and Guardian* report on those ministers who face an uncertain future because they supported the president in the Nkandla matter. I quote the following from the report, 'Should he [President Jacob Zuma] resign or be impeached, it could affect the future of some of his loyalists' (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).

homestead (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/08/5: 6). This is an effort by the newspaper to get the public involved and participating in the developments of the Nkandla saga.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Mail and Guardian* is reporting on the unwillingness of President Jacob Zuma's friends to assist him to pay back the money for the nonsecurity upgrades at his private homestead in Nkandla (Segodi & Letsoalo, 2016/07/1: 2).⁴⁴ The authors are trying to make an impression on the audience by showing how difficult it is for President Jacob Zuma to obtain the money while also demonstrating that he is now on his own.

It reports on a growing (moral) 'chorus' which calls for the resignation of the President (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2). The 'chorus' includes 'ANC veterans, struggle stalwarts and civil society leaders' as part of such an initiative. But what is striking is the *Mail and Guardian's* reference to its backing by some senior members in the National Executive Committee (NEC) as 'the highest decision-making body in the ANC' to indicate the serious support this initiative is gaining.

The word 'deafening' in the headline, 'Chorus of ANC disapproval becomes deafening' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2) is also striking. It places emphasis on the voices of disapproval on the Nkandla case and implies that such a voice 'has become so loud that it becomes impossible to hear anything else'.⁴⁵ The *Mail and Guardian* refers to those inside the ANC and NEC members in the report, which calls for the resignation of the president (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2).⁴⁶

The question: Did the president act in good faith in terms of the Nkandla case? Or bad faith? Is it the incorrect legal advice that should be blamed for the dragging of the Nkandla matter? These are the rhetorical questions the *Mail and Guardian* poses in one of its opening paragraphs and which are argued in one of its reports (De Wet, 2016/02/12: 10).⁴⁷

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses a great deal on the president's struggle to pay back the money, as well as the support he is losing from within his own party (the ANC). Could this perhaps evoke sympathy from the readers? This should also be placed within the context of the newspaper's report on the 'deafening' of those voices that disapprove of the behaviour of the president.

⁴⁴ The *Mail and Guardian* reports, 'But this week, as a R7.8-million invoice landed on the desk of president Jacob Zuma, the *Mail and Guardian* could not find a single one of his friends willing to commit to helping him pay the state back some of the money spent on his Nkandla home' (Segodi & Letsoalo, 2016/07/1: 2).

⁴⁵ The word 'deafening' is defined in the *South African Concise Oxford Dictionary* (2007: 298) as, 'extremely loud'.

⁴⁶ I quote from the report, 'NEC member Enoch Godongwana said ANC members "must occupy streets and don't leave it to others" Shaka Sisulu, grandson of the ANC struggle icon Walter Sisulu, also backed calls for Zuma to step down' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2).

⁴⁷ This question has been asked in the report 'Zuma: Defy and rule' and phrased in the following way, 'Did president Jacob Zuma knowingly and wilfully flout the Constitution, or was it all a big mistake?' (De Wet, 2016/02/12: 10).

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the guilt of the president, and his failure to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).⁴⁸ The views of experts on the Nkandla matter are quoted so as to construe the involvement and actions of the president as theft (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2, 3).⁴⁹

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the comments by the former deputy president of the ANC Youth League on the actions and character of President Jacob Zuma, ‘...any rational man will say we cannot continue in this tragedy’ referring to the matter at Nkandla, the involvement of the Guptas and the tragedy of Marikana (Pilane, 2016/04/1: 9). The newspaper reports on the current leadership under President Jacob Zuma as focussed on ‘self-enrichment’, which is different from the ANC and its values of ‘selfless leadership’ under its former leadership. This is to allow the audience to assess the ANC and its downward moral spiral.⁵⁰

b) Burke’s master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Mail and Guardian* allows the audience to see President Jacob Zuma as complicit regarding the upgrades at his private homestead. In terms of the newspapers’ reporting, there are indeed some in the party and leaders outside the ANC who think likewise. The newspaper allows the audience to perceive this Nkandla matter as a ‘scandal’ (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9) but also as part of Jacob Zuma’s family ‘spree’ (De Wet, 2016/02/5b: 4).⁵¹ The ANC should not be taken as being fully supportive of the president, especially in instances where the opposition parties wish to take the call for the president to step down – to the streets and they oppose such action (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).⁵²

⁴⁸ The *Mail and Guardian* states, ‘Delivering the judgement, Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng said that by failing to comply with the public protector’s recommendations to repay a portion of the money spent on security upgrades to his home, Zuma had failed to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the land (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).

⁴⁹ The headline of one of the newspaper’s reports serves as evidence, ‘Zuma could be charged with theft, say experts’ (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2, 3).

⁵⁰ Reporting on Lamola is an attempt to reflect on the current values of the ANC and allow the audience to make an assessment of the current leadership with special reference to the events of Marikana, Nkandla and the Guptas’ Waterkloof landing. The *Mail and Guardian*’s report employs the voice of Lamola to, in particular, hark back to the values of the ANC under the leadership of Oliver Tambo. Lamola is quoted, saying ‘We need to return to the ANC of OR Tambo, who was an embodiment of the movement – he subscribed to its values of selfless leadership, which were not rooted in self-enrichment’ (Pilane, 2016/04/1: 9). This might be an attempt by the newspaper to allow the audience to compare the current values with the values of the ANC from its birth, which were reflected in its former leaders. This is to compare the ANC under the leadership of President Jacob Zuma, with the ANC under its former leaders.

⁵¹ In the report ‘JZ conjures up new Nkandla story’ (De Wet, 2016/02/5b: 4) the newspaper states, ‘Working on the basis of a proclamation by Zuma himself, the Special Investigating Unit found that the state had spent about R11-million on the Zuma family: R4-million on airconditioning in private residences, R4.5-million for two roads exclusively used by the family, and R3.3-million on landscaping around private residence’.

⁵² In the report, ‘ANC rallies around Zuma’ the newspaper indicates the underlying discontent of the ANC in the president, but the party’s desire not to show it to the opposition parties. I quote from the

ii Metonymy

It is quite apparent in the *Mail and Guardian's* reporting of what it believes to be the essence of this case (that the president is guilty), especially when it gives so little voice to those who argue otherwise (that the president is not guilty). This is in particular striking in the report of De Wet (2016/02/12: 10). The *Mail and Guardian* only gives a presence in the report to the view of lawyers and their analysis on the fate of Zuma's deviance to the constitution. I miss the voices from Zuma's stronghold (Kwazulu-Natal ANC branches) which would have outright rejected the arguments of the law experts. It is apparent what the *Mail and Guardian* wants to present as its bottom-line – the guilt of the president in the Nkandla case.

iii Synecdoche

The *Mail and Guardian* presents the praises of the people as being representative of how most South Africans feel about the ruling of the Constitutional Court (Du Plessis, 2016/04/1: 4).⁵³ The particular report by Du Plessis has to be understood against the background of the Constitutional Court ruling; it is not a report that discusses the merits of the case, since its emphasis is on praising those that were adamant that the president should apply his mind to the public protector's report, whilst it does not discuss any of the arguments of the case itself.

In the report of Segodi and Letsoalo (2016/07/1: 2) the audience is manipulated to perceive whether all Zuma's friends were consulted on their assistance toward the amount the president should pay back for the upgrades at his private homestead in Nkandla. The authors emphasise the unwillingness of some of the president's friends to assist him in paying back the money for the upgrades at his Nkandla homestead. The authors, without consulting the said friends of the president, create the impression that the *Mail and Guardian* exhausted all means to get some of his friends who were willing to assist him in his situation. This is to make the point – he is on his own and should take personal responsibility to pay back the money.

iv Irony

The *Mail and Guardian* employs 'irony' when it reports that the president has not much to lose, but rather to win and put money into his pocket (De Wet, 2016/07/1: 12). The newspaper uses the town Nkandla as part of its reporting on the upcoming election and asks in the headline "DA-led Nkandla?" (Whittles, 2016/07/29: 6). This is quite ironic: who would think of the DA winning an election in the town which is so repeatedly publicised for its association with the president's private homestead.⁵⁴ This is therefore quite ironic, and would also lead to other questions. Does the

report, "The ANC Youth League also rejected calls from opposition parties – and, more discreetly by some leaders in the ANC – for Zuma to resign" (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).

⁵³ The *Mail and Guardian* makes reference to the word 'sea' to amplify the crowd of people that met the DA leader outside the court after the ruling, 'A sea of reporters greeted Democratic Alliance leader Mmusi Maimane outside the Constitutional Court, where he said the party would renew its efforts to get the president impeached' (Du Plessis, 2016/04/1: 4).

⁵⁴ It refers in the report, 'but by far its [DA] most audacious battle in the August 3 local government elections will be its attempt to take control of President Jacob Zuma's hometown of Nkandla' (Whittles, 2016/07/29: 6).

president's own hometown not get enough service delivery, apart his house on which millions were spent? Why does the ANC not win elections, but rather other parties like the IFP? Why is the ANC not able to win with an outright majority in the president's home town? The only motive behind such a report as this would be to imply the minimal support of the president and his party in Nkandla.

c) Conclusion

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses particularly on the president, his responsibility, and also his way of manipulating those around him, and how those around him experience dire consequences if they break ranks with him. The newspaper emphasises the effect of the president (not the effect of Nkandla as in the case of the *Sunday Independent*) on those around him. But in some cases, the *Mail and Guardian* also reveals his struggle for finance to reimburse the money, and that he does not have friends who will help him.

6. 3. 4 The Rapport

a) Describing the operations

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Rapport* on the corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the *Rapport* made to the audience to invite them to accept their views.

i The emphases

The *Rapport* includes ten (10) reports that relate to the alleged corruption at the President's private homestead at Nkandla. The newspaper publishes only one (1) front page report relating to the Nkandla case, which is indeed a concern for a case that has received so much coverage in other forms of media throughout the year of 2016. The single front page report of the *Rapport* emphasises a war within the ANC (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3a: 1).⁵⁵ It reports on a meeting between top officials of the ANC and President Jacob Zuma as well as making a reference to his apology on national television.

The *Rapport* emphasises the calls for the resignation of President Jacob Zuma after the Constitutional Court found that he was violating the constitution, for not complying with the public protector's report of claims of corruption at his Nkandla homestead (Rooi, 2016/04/3: 2).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The *Rapport* states in the opening paragraph of the report, 'President Jacob Zuma se weiering om Vrydag te bedank ondanks pleidooie deur die ANC se ander topleiers het 'n tweestryd in die party verskerp wat nog maande kan duur en moontlik eers na die plaaslike regeringsverkiesing tot sy bedanking kan lei' (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 1).

⁵⁶ In the report 'DA se mosie kan nie Zuma kantel' the newspaper asserts, 'Die EFF het Donderdag, ná die konstitusionele hof se uitspraak waarin Zuma en die NV erg geroskam is, aangekondig dat hy die nasie wil mobiliseer en gaan probeer dat Zuma weer die parlement betree' (Rooi, 2016/04/3: 2).

I identified about three⁵⁷ items in which the *Rapport* extensively reports on the development around the unfolding process on the “pay back of the money” by the president. The *Rapport* makes an effort to keep the audience updated on how the president intends to pay back the money for the upgrades at his Nkandla private residence (Stone, 2016/07/30: 2). In this regard, the newspaper shows its uncertainty when using the word “blykbaar” (apparently) in reference to whether the president indeed obtained a loan from VBS Mutual Bank. The newspaper reports on its uncertainty as to whether such a loan really exists after the Presidency announced that the president paid for the upgrades after obtaining a loan from that bank (Schoeman, 2016/10/2: 2). The newspaper reports that it could not find a bond registered at the deeds office for the president on his Nkandla homestead. In its quest to verify with the bank whether such a loan really exists it reports on the unwillingness of the bank to divulge such detail.⁵⁸ It leaves the audience with the question: how could it happen that there is no deed registered for the Nkandla property on the name of the president? Is there no corruption involved in this transaction? Can either the bank or the president be trusted? This might create a feeling of mistrust in the president.

In ‘Woede binne ANC oor bollemakiesie’ (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2) *Rapport* underscores the president’s arrogance after the release of the public protector’s report and the findings made that implicate him. The audience is also frequently reminded of the opportunities that President Jacob Zuma was given to settle and abide by the remedial actions as presented by the public protector. The president is portrayed as the villain while his colleagues are the ones who were always committed to the ‘truth’. It is also striking that in the same report the newspaper makes no reference to any efforts by the president to attend to the case. It is as if it is not necessary to report or mention these efforts in this report.

ii The appeals (logos)

The newspaper reports on the ‘fault lines in Zuma’s arguments’. *Rapport* desires to demonstrate that since 2009 President Jacob Zuma actually lied and therefore he is indeed guilty of corruption and should abide by the public protector’s findings and remedial actions (*Rapport*, 2016/02/21: 6).

Rapport presents the conduct of the president in relation to article 89 of the Constitution to argue that the president was breaking his oath of office (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 2). The newspaper argues that this means that the president could be charged for breaking the law.

Rapport also goes to great lengths to report on the means of the president to pay back the money as instructed by the public protector. The newspaper reports that there is no trail of the president’s home loan for his Nkandla homestead. The

⁵⁷ These three reports include, ‘Nkandla: Zuma kry banklening’ (Stone, 2016/07/30: 2) ‘Geen teken van lening aan Zuma’ (Schoeman, 2016/10/2: 2) ‘Bank wil nie sê oor Zuma se lening’ (Schoeman, 2016/10/9: 4).

⁵⁸ See the three newspaper reports on the story ‘Geen teken van lening aan Zuma’ (Schoeman 2016/10/2: 2); ‘Bank wil nie sê oor Zuma se lening’ (Schoeman, 2016/10/9: 4); ‘Só leen Nommer Een geld vir Nkandla’ (Schoeman, 2016/11/20: 4).

newspaper speculates on the matter and reports that he could have taken out a personal loan which is a high risk for the bank, should this indeed be the case (Schoeman, 2016/11/20: 4).

iii The appeals (pathos)

The newspaper reports on Zuma's colleagues' feeling of being abused. The *Rapport* in one of its reports (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2) focuses on the shame the president brings to his own colleagues as a result of the Public Protector's findings. The fact that Zuma could have spared them this humiliation is emphasised throughout the report.

The *Rapport* also constantly highlights the tension within the ANC (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).⁵⁹ It furthermore reports on the loyalty and commitment of some ANC members to the party. The newspaper reports on those in the ANC who are willing to fight for the president, but also those who are not in favour of him, but for the sake of the local elections have made a decision to form a united front.

The mistrust in the president is taken further when the newspaper reports on an allegation that Zuma and the Guptas might have received money from Russia to secure the nuclear deal and that the money is alleged to be in a bunker at the president's private residence at Nkandla (Stone, 2016/11/20: 4).

The *Rapport* might possibly further stir up anger of the audience when it reports on the way in which the president deals with those (ANC members) close to him and who are part of the Nkandla committee.⁶⁰

iv The appeals (ethos)

The *Rapport* in its reporting questions the integrity of the president (*Rapport*, 2016/02/21: 6).⁶¹ It argues that the president was supposed to do the right thing and take the opportunity that he was accorded to abandon the ship of corruption. The newspaper depicts President Jacob Zuma as a person who is cavalier and could have come out with the 'truth' much earlier and committed himself to honouring the law. In the newspaper's version of events it is strongly stated that if the president had considered his colleagues and listened to them, he might have gained credit from them.

⁵⁹ *Rapport* makes reference in the report 'Woede binne ANC oor bollemakiesie' to this tension. I quote, 'President Jacob Zuma se bollemakiesie in die konstitusionele hof toe hy ingestem het om tóg gedeeltes van die Nkandla-koste te betaal, maak ANC LPs woedend...'. In the same report 'Hierdie ding verneder die ANC. Ek bedoel die hele party' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).

⁶⁰ 'Hulle is afge***, almal van hulle, ook die lede van die (parlementêre) Nkandla-kommittee. Mense voel asof hulle gebruik en misbruik is, het 'n senior ANC-bron in die parlement uitgelap' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).

⁶¹ The *Rapport* presents what it calls the three lies of the president, 'Drie klaarblyklike leuens van mense rondom hom, én bontpraterij van die president self, spring navore: dat staatsgeld nie aangewend is vir die opgraderings nie; dat die president nie van die opgraderings bewus was nie; en Zuma se ontkenning dat hy geweier het om te betaal' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/21: 6).

The president is reported as one who breaks his oath of office and might be charged for violating the Constitution (*Rooi*, 2016/04/3: 2).⁶² He is reported as being 'lawless' using the words of the Chief Justice (Mogoeng Mogoeng) during the Constitutional Court hearing on the Nkandla case (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 1).⁶³ The newspaper depicts the president as a person who wants to take those that seek honesty, and compliance with the law, on a road of moral degeneration with him (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).

The conduct of the president is being equated with the disrespect of values; therefore, throughout the newspaper's reporting the president is pictured as one that wilfully and intentionally refuses to be accountable. In the report 'Dis Oorlog in die ANC' (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 1) the newspaper shows how difficult it is to remove the president, and how the vulnerable are being hurt in the process.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

In the report 'Woede binne ANC oor bollemakiesie' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2) the newspaper makes sure that the audience understands that even the president's own colleagues do not have any control over him, and that he is not easily brought to book by his own party. The audience is made to see how those in power are easily getting off the hook with corruption charges. This act of the president is looked at from the perspective of insiders in the party; the newspaper showcases their anger towards what is playing out in the public domain.

The colleagues of the president are referred to as vulnerable, powerless, against the 'wolves'. The newspaper quotes some in the ANC saying that the 'ANC [het] ons vir die wolwe gegooi' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2) [the ANC threw us to the wolves]. This is to create an analogy between sheep that are vulnerable and powerless against the mighty wolves, and the audience is invited by the newspaper to see the colleagues of Zuma from that perspective.

c) Conclusion

The *Rapport* uses the president as its central figure in its reporting. However, it mostly focuses on the responsibility and the guilt of the president in relation to the corruption that transpired at his Nkandla homestead. The facts that he did not listen to his colleagues, that he had enough time to abide by the public protector's report, as well the newspaper's report on the fault-lines in his arguments in parliament regarding the reasons why he could not be held accountable for the alleged corruption at his homestead, are central in its reporting. He is depicted as uncaring, without integrity, lawless (in breaking his oath of office), and that he disrespects the values enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa.

⁶² The newspaper quotes the words of the DA leader, 'Jy kan nie iemand in die parlement hê wat nie die grondwet beskerm nie' (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 2).

⁶³ In the report, the newspaper refers to the words of the Chief Justice, 'Openbare ampsdraers ignoreer hul grondwetlike pligte op eie risiko. Dit is só omdat grondwetlikheid, verantwoordbaarheid en die oppergesag van die reg die skerp en magtige swaard is wat gereed is om die aaklige kop van straffeloosheid van sy stywe nek af te kap' (*Rapport*, 2016/04/3: 1).

6. 4 Comparative assessment

In this section, I compare the four selected newspapers in terms of the rhetorical strategies they employ in reports on the alleged corruption associated with President Jacob Zuma's private homestead in Nkandla.

I firstly report on the emphases in the reports, in particular the placement of the reports and the frequency of reports during the calendar year of 2016. Secondly, I discuss similar themes that the four newspapers discuss, as well as some differences in their reporting.

6. 4. 1 A Quantitative assessment

The *Mail and Guardian* reports more frequently than the other three selected newspapers, (24 articles) on the matters related to the alleged corruption during the upgrades at the private residence of President Jacob Zuma in Nkandla. The *Sunday Times* has the second most reports (22 articles) and *Rapport* the least (10 articles).

Although all the selected newspapers have located at least one report on the front page, the *Sunday Times* has most (5 articles) of its reports (22 articles) on the front page. *Rapport* has the least (1 articles) of the four newspapers in terms of front page headlines and reports.

6. 4. 2 A Qualitative assessment

The four selected newspapers reported on some of the same events throughout the calendar year (2016), which is obvious, although there are some minor differences in the way each of them reports on those events, persons, and issues. I refer briefly to those as well as point out the differences of the newspapers' reporting on the allegations of corruption during the security upgrades at President Jacob Zuma's private residence at Nkandla.

a) *The call for the resignation of President Jacob Zuma*

The *Sunday Independent* (2016/02/7a: 4) and the *Mail and Guardian* (2016/04/8b)⁶⁴ as well as *Rapport* (2016/04/3b: 2) reported on the call from civil society for President Jacob Zuma to step down after the Constitutional Court ordered the president to adhere to the recommendations made in the Public Protector's report, that he pay back some of the money for the upgrades at his private homestead in Nkandla. It was just the *Sunday Times* that does not place too much emphasis on such a call (for the president to step down), but rather shows how this issue is irritating and frustrating the president. The other newspapers report on this as a call from civil society. The *Sunday Times* places more emphasis on the internal tensions of the ANC as well as the bank loan to the president to pay back a portion of the money spent for the upgrades at his private homestead.

The *Sunday Independent* focussed on why the president is still likely to survive (and not have to step down). Nevertheless, it is striking how the reporting also focuses on the negative consequence to the country if he did resign – 'heighten political theatre

⁶⁴ It appears in at least two reports: 'Watch your back, JZ' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/4: 1); as well as 'Chorus of ANC approval becomes deafening' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8: 2).

drama, but not improve the quality of the arts' (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4). The *Sunday Independent* allows the audience to see the various calls from society that the president should resign. The *Sunday Independent* asks the rhetorical question: 'Will he finally blink?' (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/10: 1). The *Sunday Independent* reports on the front page 'Sorry is not enough' (2016/04/3a: 1).⁶⁵ The inclusion of the Mandela foundation that is also calling for the resignation of the president is noteworthy.

The *Mail and Guardian* specifically focusses on the calls from the ANC and the SACP (2016/03/4) as well as the ANC Stalwarts such as Ronnie Kasrils (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2). It speaks of those that call for his resignation as a 'chorus', which includes ANC veterans, struggle stalwarts, civil society leaders as well as some senior members in the ANC. The *Mail and Guardian* (2016/04/8: 2) is also very distinct in the way that it refers to this chorus as having become 'deafening'.

The *Rapport* is not dissimilar to the other three selected newspapers in their reporting on the calls for the resignation of President Jacob Zuma (Rooi, 2016/04/3: 2).⁶⁶

b) The President to pay back the money

Although all four of the newspapers report on the responsibility of President Jacob Zuma to pay back a portion of the money, the *Sunday Times* does not place emphasis here, while *Rapport* focuses on how he intends to pay back the money. *Rapport* publishes some follow-up reports on the means with which the president will pay the money back and subsequently reports on the conversations and interviews it had with VBS Bank (which the president claims assisted him with a loan). *Rapport* has more than one report and even one in which it states that there is no trail of the president's home loan. The *Mail and Guardian* (2016/08/5: 6) also goes as far as illustrating, in a simplistic, an easy-to-read report, how much the president should pay back.

The *Sunday Times* includes the president's concession to pay back the money (Ndenze, Hunter, Jika & Rampedi, 2016/02/14: 5) and the outrage of ANC members who argued that he was advised to take the public protector's report on review and now it reflects negatively on the party after his sudden 'U-turn'.⁶⁷ It seems as if the *Sunday Times*' front page reports place the blame solely on President Jacob Zuma to take responsibility for his actions, for not following advice from the rest of the ANC leadership⁶⁸ and that therefore he must deal with the matter alone and not seek any

⁶⁵ The use of the headline "'Sorry' is not enough' speaks of the frank call for the president to resign as the president of South Africa (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3: 1).

⁶⁶ *Rapport* states, 'Die EFF het Donderdag, ná die konstitusionele hof se uitspraak waarin Zuma en die NV erg geroskam is, aangekondig dat hy die nasie wil mobiliseer en gaan probeer dat Zuma weer die parlement betree' (Rooi, 2016/04/3: 2).

⁶⁷ The *Sunday Times* refers to the act of the president to pay back the money, as a 'U-turn' because he had repeatedly claimed that he is not responsible to pay back any money for the upgrades at his private homestead in Nkandla.

⁶⁸ A previous front page report 'ANC anger brews over Zuma's go-it-alone stance' also depicts the president as one that ignores advice (ANC), and in the one 'Nkandla fall guy hits out at Zuma' Zuma is again pictured as one that should have been informed by the political heads who were part of the project on the developments, as this was regularly communicated by those involved in the project.

sympathy.⁶⁹ This is followed by another report a month later (March) by the *Sunday Times* in which it also refers to officials' repeated cautioning about the escalating costs of the project to their political heads and the warning that President Jacob Zuma will have to pay (Hunter, 2016/03/27: 1).⁷⁰

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the irreversible damage – that the amount the President will have to pay back will never compensate for the damage done to the country (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).⁷¹ The distinctive feature is also the *Sunday Times'* referral to the socio-economic conditions of the family of President Jacob Zuma (Olifant & Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1). The *Sunday Times* assures the audience that the process of the president paying back the money will have integrity, because the Director General Lungisa Fuzile that will steer the process is not on the side of his friends (Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6).⁷²

The *Sunday Independent's* reporting is quite different from the other three newspapers when it refers in one of its front-page reports to the apology of the president, which the newspaper suggests is not enough after the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the Public Protector, and that he must pay back the money (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3a: 1).⁷³ It also does not give the president a right of reply after the Constitutional Court ruling.

The *Mail and Guardian* focus in its reporting on the ANC's argument that apparently argued all along that the president should pay back the money. It also quotes them saying that it was Nhleko's report which was 'irrelevant' and not President Jacob Zuma who was always willing to pay back the money (Letsoalo, 2016/03/4: 3).⁷⁴

The *Rapport* updated its readership on its investigation into the home loan that the president used to secure his private homestead and reported three times in different editions of the lack of evidence of such a home loan. In one instance, it even reports that there are no trails of the bond (Schoeman, 2016/11/20: 4). *Rapport* is focused on

⁶⁹ See my discussion earlier on the reports of the *Sunday Times*, and its focus on the socio-economic conditions and poverty-stricken conditions of some of his family members.

⁷⁰ I quote from the report of the *Sunday Times* on comments made by former Department of Public Works deputy director-general Richard Samuel who was also implicated and ordered to pay back a portion of the money for the upgrades: 'Samuel's dossier reveals that officials involved in the project repeatedly cautioned their political heads that Zuma would have to pay a portion of the cost' (Hunter, 2016/03/27: 1).

⁷¹ I quote from one of the *Sunday Times'* reports, 'While the public expects Zuma to repay the millions spent on features he personally "unduly benefitted" from, Zuma's legal advice is that the bill to be handed to him would be a fraction of what was spent. Lawyers involved in the Constitutional Court process seem to agree' (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).

⁷² The report commences with this sentence, 'The man President Jacob Zuma's backers wanted removed – National Treasury director-general Lungisa Fuzile – will oversee the process...' (Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6).

⁷³ The use of the headline "'Sorry" is not enough" speaks of the frank call for the president to resign as the president of South Africa (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3: 1).

⁷⁴ The *Mail and Guardian* reports, 'Sizani said he did not understand why people say Zuma made a U-turn regarding the Nkandla matter because Zuma had always said he was prepared to pay back the money. The only time there was a division was when one minister of police [Nhleko] released a report, which contradicted our position that the president must pay back a reasonable amount of the money spent on nonsecurity features in Nkandla' (Letsoalo, 2016/03/4: 3).

how exactly the President intends to pay back the money, implying that the president's actions cannot be trusted.

c) *The tensions within the ANC*

All four of the selected newspapers report on the various camps within the ANC regarding the Nkandla debacle. The *Mail and Guardian* in particular shows how those who are seen as breaking ranks with the president face dire consequences. The tensions within the ANC and the so-called Zuma-camp are items in which the *Mail and Guardian* refers to the tensions with the ANC.

The *Rapport* emphasises the ANC MPs' disappointment in the president's sudden '*bollemakiesie*' (somersault) believing that he is throwing them to the 'wolves'. In the report, it is not focussing on any one camp, but rather on the tensions of the supporters of the president. The reference in the *Rapport* to the president's '*bollemakiesie*' is almost equatable to the *Sunday Times*' reference to a 'U-turn' (Ndenze, Hunter, Jika & Rampedi, 2016/02/14: 5) that he made. In this case, the two newspapers have reported in an almost similar manner. The *Sunday Times* refers to the build-up in the ANC, as well as the formation of an anti-Zuma camp (Mokone & Ndenze, 2016/10/9: 2).

The *Sunday Independent* in one of its reports quotes the words of Ahmed Kathrada, the ANC has 'serious soul-searching' to do (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3b: 2). The *Mail and Guardian* (2016/05/6a: 1) also points out in one of its front page headlines that 'JZ [has to] watch [his] your back' and that his friends and ANC leaders in the inner circle are no longer supporting him. He is also depicted as someone that made it difficult for the ANC to resolve the matters around Nkandla, and has become a liability for the party (ANC). The *Mail and Guardian* adds also a different aspect that is omitted by the other three newspapers when it reports on the 'heads that will roll' meaning ANC members that might lose their jobs (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).⁷⁵ These are some of the reasons the *Mail and Guardian* considers to be the cause of the tensions.

Rapport (2016/02/14: 2) also points to the constant tensions within the ANC.⁷⁶ In focussing on the instability of the ANC, caused by the issues around the allegations levelled at President Zuma, this newspaper does report significantly differently to the other three newspapers. *Rapport* focuses on the loyalty and commitment of some ANC members to the party. In addition, *Rapport* put the spotlight on those in the ANC

⁷⁵ I quote from one of the reports of the *Mail and Guardian*, 'Should he [president] resign or be impeached, it could affect the future of some of his loyalists – although the ANC isn't likely to throw them out in the cold because they were part of the group effort to protect Zuma, and because many in the party still remember how divisive the attempts at revenge were after its 2007 conference. The names are Police Commissioner Nathi Nhleko, Public Works minister Thulas Nxesi, ANC MP Mathole Motshekga, ANC Youth League President Collen Maine, the Premier League, speaker of Parliament Baleka Mbete, Water and Sanitation Minister Nomvula Mokonyane and other 'Nkandla' MPs" (Du Plessis, 2016/02/12: 2).

⁷⁶ The *Rapport* makes reference in one of its reports 'Woede binne ANC oor bollemakiesie' to this tension. 'President Jacob Zuma se bollemakiesie in die konstitusionele hof toe hy ingestem het om tóg gedeeltes van die Nkandla-koste te betaal, maak ANC LPs woedend...' In the same report 'Hierdie ding verneder die ANC. Ek bedoel die hele party' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).

who are willing to fight for the president, but also those who do not favour him, but who, for the sake of the local elections, made a decision to present a united front.

d) The local elections (2016)

The three newspapers: the *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent* and the *Mail and Guardian*, make a clear connection between the matter of Nkandla and the local elections. They link the developments in this issue and the response of the society through the ballots (during the local elections).

The *Sunday Times* in particular reports on the 'middle class' votes that the ANC will lose as a result of the Nkandla 'scandal' (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).⁷⁷ The *Sunday Independent* blames the president's disrespect of the Constitutional Court ruling⁷⁸ as well as the loss of his internal support in the ANC on the result of what it refers to on its front page as 'ANC election "loss"' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/7: 1). What is different from the *Mail and Guardian's* reporting (compared to the other three) is the irony in its reporting when it focuses on the words of Nomvula Mokonyane, who says she is 'confident the Nkandla scandal will not affect the ANC negatively in the local government elections on August 3' (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9).

Rapport highlights the pragmatism of certain ANC members who made a decision to present a united front for the sake of the local election.⁷⁹

e) The apology of President Jacob Zuma

Both the *Mail and Guardian* (Tolsi, 2016/04/8: 12) and the *Sunday Times* (Narsee, 2016/04/10: 2) report on Julius Malema who refers in his questioning at Zuma. It particularly focus on his attempt to allude to the president, and his argument that the president was aware of what he was doing and acted wilfully and intentionally against the constitution.

It is the *Rapport* (2016/04/3: 2) who refers to the apology of the president on national television as well the *Sunday Independent* (2016/04/3a: 1) states that the president's apology of the president is 'not enough'. The latter is particularly reported from the quarters of the South African Communist Party. *Rapport* emphasises that there was an expectancy from South Africans that the president would announce on national television his resignation, because it argues – the Constitutional Court's ruling was unambiguous when it found he disrespect the constitution. This it states would have been the right thing for him to do, because he should be measure by high moral standards as the first citizen of the country. The reports differs because the one report (*The Sunday Independent*), features the response of the DA that will table a

⁷⁷ In one of the opening paragraphs of the *Sunday Times*, the newspaper states: "THE ANC has admitted that scandals associated with President Jacob Zuma influenced the middle class to ditch the party, especially in Gauteng metros' (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5).

⁷⁸ In a front-page headline, it emphasises the "defiance" of the president. The headline reads, 'Defiant Zuma digs in' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1).

⁷⁹ The *Rapport* makes reference in one of its reports 'Woede binne ANC oor bollemakiesie' to this tension. 'President Jacob Zuma se bollemakiesie in die konstitusionele hof toe hy ingestem het om tóg gedeeltes van die Nkandla-koste te betaal, maak ANC LPs woedend...' In the same report 'Hierdie ding verneder die ANC. Ek bedoel die hele party' (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2).

vote of no confidence (*Rapport*), whereas the other is the sentiments of the ANC alliance partners, namely the South African Communist Party.

6. 5 Conclusion

Although there are many similarities in the newspapers' reporting, the *Sunday Times* with the second most reports, and the most front-page reports on the issue, made a strategic move in its reporting to put a premium on the emotions of the president, which is quite distinct from the others. The other three selected newspapers do not focus on his feelings, but rather on the impact of the issue on society (*Sunday Independent*) as well as the role of society in the debacle. It is striking that the *Sunday Times* would give more of a voice to the President, than the *Sunday Independent* (2016/04/3b: 2) especially after the Constitutional Court's ruling that he must pay back a proportion of the money spent for security upgrades at his Nkandla homestead. *Rapport* contains many reports on the ANC and the president, but compared to the other three selected newspapers it does not focus to the same extent on the role of society in combatting the effects of this scourge of corruption on itself.



7. Reports On The Gupta Family's Corrupt Relationship with Public Officials and State Institutions: Rhetorical Strategies of Four Weekly Newspapers

7. 1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the rhetorical strategies of the four selected weekly newspapers and their news reporting on the alleged corrupt relationship between the Gupta family, public officials and state-owned enterprises. I start with a short introduction to the case, then offer a summary of the findings contained in the report of the Public Protector on this case. The next section discusses the rhetorical strategies that each newspaper employed: the *Sunday Times*, *The Sunday Independent*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport*. I thereafter discuss the similarities and differences between these strategies.

Khumalo (2016: 42-46) captures the business history of the Gupta family and their involvement with state institutions quite well, and makes reference to a few events after their arrival in 1993:

In 2007, the son of the current president Jacob Zuma, Duduzane Zuma, was asked to join the board of Sahara Computers. In 2009, the company received a tender for a government-subsidised supply of laptops to 300 000 teachers. In 2009, a pan-African magazine named *The Thinker* was launched. The magazine's editor was Dr Essop Pahad, Mbeki's long-time friend, ANC comrade and erstwhile minister in the presidency. Dr Pahad's magazine was funded by the Gupta family. In June 2010, *The New Age*, a daily newspaper that openly declared its partisanship with the ANC, was launched – and funded by the Guptas.

Besides this information, there were certain events that were more fully in the public domain and also raised some eyebrows, causing public anger. One event that was widely published in 2013 was the arrival of some of the wedding guests of the Gupta family at Waterkloof Air Force Base in Pretoria, on 30 April 2013. This caused havoc regarding who precisely had given the Gupta family permission to land at the airport. Later, in 2014, Eskom's deal to sponsor the Gupta's newspaper's (*New Age*) breakfast shows, which the auditors of Eskom found to be irregular, also came to light. Another exposé was the Tegeta-Eskom contract when a senior Eskom executive during an interview on *Carte Blanche*¹ admitted a pre-payment to the Gupta-owned company Tegeta which showed some preferential treatment over the previous coal supplier, Glencore-owned Optimum Coal. This led various civil organisations to request an investigation by the Public Protector.

Before venturing into the report by the latter and listing the findings in brief, it would be important to clarify what is meant by state capture. The International Monetary Fund (2001) defines state capture as "...the efforts of firms to shape the laws,

¹ This is an investigative journalism television programme that is broadcast on M-Net on Sunday evenings at 19h00.

policies, and regulations of the state to their own advantage by providing illicit private gains to public officials”.

7. 2 Findings of the Public Protector

On 14 October 2016, the former Public Protector released the *State of Capture*² report in which some damning findings are made against President Jacob Zuma, certain ministers, public officials, state-owned entities and their relationship with the Gupta family. This came after the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mcebisi Jonas, revealed in a statement that he had been offered the post of Minister of Finance by the Gupta family, and shortly before the axing of the then Minister of Finance, Mr Nhlanhla Nene and the replacement of his successor, Minister Des van Rooyen. This brought the long and simmering public suspicion to the fore – that the Gupta family exerts some kind of influence over President Jacob Zuma, but also state-owned enterprises, and other public officials. The Public Protector commenced with an investigation and compiled her report using the following evidence:³

- 5.1. The Gupta family, originating from India, arrived in South Africa in 1993. They established businesses in South Africa with their notable business being a computer assembly and distribution company called Sahara Computers. The family is led by three brothers Ajay Gupta who is the eldest, Atul Gupta and Rajesh Gupta who is the youngest. Rajesh is commonly known as “Tony”. According to a letter submitted to my office, total revenues from their business activities for the 2016 financial year amounted to R2,6 billion, with government contracts contributing a total of R235 million of the revenues.
- 5.2. They later diversified their business interests into mining through the acquisition of JIC Mining Services, Shiva Uranium and Tegeta Exploration and Resources, Optimum Coal Mine and Koorfontein Coal Mine. They also started a media company called TNA Media, which publishes a newspaper called The New Age and owns a television channel called ANN7.
- 5.3. The Gupta family members are known friends of the [sic] President Zuma. President Zuma has openly acknowledged his friendship with them, most notably during a discussion in the National Assembly on 19 June 2013 where he admitted that members of the Gupta family were his friends. Mr Ajay Gupta (“Mr A. Gupta), also admitted to being friends with President Zuma when I interviewed him on 4 October 2016.
- 5.4. President Zuma’s son, Mr Duduzane Zuma (“Mr D. Zuma”) is a business partner of the Gupta family through an entity called Mabengela Investments (“Mabengela”). Mabengela has a 28.5% interest in Tegeta Exploration and Resources (“Tegeta”). Mr D. Zuma is a Director of Mabengela.

² http://www.pprotect.org/library/investigation_report/2016-17/State_Capture_14October2016.pdf

³ This is a direct quotation taken from the public protector’s report. It is important to note that her report does not contain any findings, because of the time frame and the expiring of her term in office, but the evidence should serve before a commission of inquiry who would then be able to present their findings. The evidence that is listed is taken verbatim from the Public Protector’s report, namely *State of Capture*.

- 5.5. Members of the Gupta family and the President Zuma' son, Mr D. Zuma, have secured major contracts with Eskom, a major State owned company, through Tegeta. Tegeta has secured a 10 year coal supply agreement ("CSA") with Eskom SOC Limited ("Eskom") to supply coal to the Majuba Power station. The entity has also secured contracts with Eskom to supply coal to the Hendrina and Arnot power stations.
- 5.6. Eskom CEO, Mr Brian Molefe ("Mr Molefe") is friends with members of the Gupta family. Mr A. Gupta admitted during my interview with him on 4 October 2016 that Mr Molefe is his "very good friend" and often visits his home in Saxonwold.
- 5.7. The New Age newspaper has also secured contracts with some provincial government departments and state owned entities, most notably Eskom and South African Airways ("SAA").
- 5.8. The Gupta family recently purchased shares in an entity called VR Laser Services ("VR Laser"). VR Laser has major contracts with Denel SOC Limited ("Denel"), a State owned armaments manufacturing company. VR Laser has also partnered with Denel to apparently seek business opportunities abroad.
- 5.9. During March this year, Mr Jonas issued a media statement alleging that he was offered the position of Minister of Finance by members of the Gupta family in exchange for executive decisions favourable to the business interests of the Gupta family, an offer which he declined. The Gupta family has denied the allegations made by Mr Jonas.
- 5.10. At the time Mr Jonas is alleged to have been offered a Cabinet post as Minister of Finance, Mr Nene was occupying the post. Mr Nene was removed from his post on 9 December 2015 by President Zuma and replaced with Minister Van Rooyen. Minister Van Rooyen was replaced by Minister Gordhan on 14 December 2015 as Minister of Finance, 4 days after his appointment.
- 5.11. Following Mr Jonas' statement, Ms Mentoor also issued a statement to the press alleging that she was also offered a Cabinet post by members of the Gupta family in exchange for executive decisions favourable to their business interests, an allegation denied by the Gupta family.
- 5.12. The former CEO of Government Communication and Information System ("GCIS"), Mr Themba Maseko also issued a statement alleging that members of the Gupta family pressured him into placing government advertisements in the New Age newspaper. Mr Maseko further alleged that President Zuma asked him to "help" the Gupta family.

7. 3 Rhetorical analysis of the four newspapers

In this section I report on the distinct rhetorical strategies that each of the four weekly newspapers employs in its reporting on the alleged corrupt relationship between the Gupta family, public officials and state-owned enterprises. I start off with some general remarks on the operations of the newspapers in their reporting, which include their particular emphases, the various appeals in which the newspapers invite the

audience to agree with their reports and perspective(s) on the case; subsequently I also apply the basic forms of Burke, to identify the main thrust and perspective(s) of the newspaper. This is important as it showcases how the newspapers 'turn' the minds of the audience. After discussing each newspaper's rhetorical strategies as reflected through its reporting, I will compare the newspapers and discuss the similarities and differences in the way which each of them reports on this case.

7. 3. 1 The Sunday Times

a) *Describing the operations*

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Sunday Times* on this corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper made to the audience to invite them to accept its perspective.

i Emphases

During the calendar year of 2016, I identified fifty-eight (58) reports including headlines that related to the influence of the Gupta family on public officials and state-owned enterprises. As part of these reports, the case features twenty-two (22) times, either as a headline or full-blown report on the *Sunday Times*' front page. The position of the case in the newspaper editions reflects the high premium that the newspaper places on this issue.

I want to make brief references to some of the twenty-two (22) front page reports and their emphases. The front-page reports emphasise the lack of political will from the ANC to investigate the influence of the Gupta family and the failure of Gwede Mantashe, the secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC), to request an intelligence report from the Inspector General of Intelligence (compiled in 2009) which would have been of great help for the ANC's own investigation (Jika & Hunter, 2016/06/5: 1).⁴ This is one of the cases which featured on the *Sunday Times*' front page. But it also focusses on the ANC's alliance partners who, the *Sunday Times* reports, were angered by the failure of the ANC to resume an investigation into the allegations of state capture by the Guptas (Jika & Hunter, 2016/06/5: 1).⁵ In a report on the new bill which will ensure more oversight over South African banks, President Jacob Zuma is presented as someone who is reluctant to sign the bill, which the

⁴ In the report "Mantashe 'ignored' spy report in Guptas' influence" (Jika & Hunter, 2016/06/5: 1) it specifically uses the word in its headline "ignored". This points to some form of reluctance from the side of the ANC. I quote from the report in its opening paragraph: "ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe ignored advice from top spy bosses that he should request an intelligence report on the Gupta family's state influence from the inspector-general of intelligence".

⁵ In the report "Mantashe 'ignored' spy report in Guptas' influence" (Jika & Hunter, 2016/06/5: 1) the newspaper refers to the response from the SACP, "Mantashe's announcement this week triggered an angry response from one ANC alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, which called his investigation a whitewash".

news item maintains will, among other results, assist in curbing money laundering (Jika & Skiti, 2016/07/10: 1).⁶

In a front-page report the *Sunday Times* emphasises the revelation by the former general secretary of Cosatu, Zwelinzima Vavi and his account of a meeting that took place in Equatorial Guinea between the president and the Guptas, while the delegation was there for other (not Gupta-related) business (Hofstatter & Wa Afrika, 2016/03/27: 1).⁷ It also emphasises the ongoing investigation by the former public protector and already speculates on the outcome of such an investigation which would “strengthen” calls for Zuma’s early departure from office (Hunter & Wa Afrika, 2016/09/18: 1).⁸ The *Sunday Times* emphasises the interview between the president and the former public protector and the questions he would not answer (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/16a: 1), the court application by Pravin Gordhan to show the real reasons why the Guptas companies’ bank accounts were closed (Skiti & Jika, 2016/10/16: 1), and also presents the president and the former public protector as rivals (*Sunday Times*, 2016/09/18: 1).⁹

The *Sunday Times* refers to the “scrambles” of the ANC to ensure loyalty from “unhappy ANC MPs” (Mokone, 2016/11/13: 4). It reports on the president and his deputy who flew to Cape Town to meet with ANC MPs to ensure that they did not vote in favour of a motion of no confidence in President Jacob Zuma. This rhetorical strategy of the *Sunday Times* to place such a report is indeed intended to illustrate the current divisions and uncertainty within the ANC around the leadership of President Jacob Zuma (Mokone, 2016/11/13: 4).¹⁰

There are ample reports on the front page that suggest a relationship between the Gupta family and President Jacob Zuma and some ministers. These include “How Guptas shopped for new minister” (Jika, Hunter & Skiti, 2016/03/13: 1); “Gupta ministers’ in secret trips to Dubai” (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/10: 1); “Van Rooyen visited the Guptas...” (Wa Afrika, Skiti & Jika, 2016/10/30: 1, 2) and “Zuma told me to help Guptas” (Hunter & Shoba, 2016/03/20: 1). These front-page headlines make associations between the Guptas, President Jacob Zuma as well as Minister Des Van Rooyen, and other ministers, such as Mosebenzi Zwane. In other reports the *Sunday Times* refers to “allies” of Zuma who “...raise alarm on Gupta ties” (Jika,

⁶ In the report “Guptas lobby Zuma to halt bank bill for the rich”, it is stated that the bill “...has been with the president for some time...”, and that the “...controversial bill has been gathering dust in Zuma’s office for two months” (Jika & Skiti, 2016/07/10: 1).

⁷ In the opening paragraph of the report “Vavi reveals Zuma aid for Duduzane, Gupta” it is asserted, “Former union boss Zwelinzima Vavi has spilt the beans on how president Jacob Zuma orchestrated a secret ‘business meeting’ between his son Duduzane, a Gupta brother and Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, the president of Equatorial Guinea” (Hofstatter & Wa Afrika, 2016/03/27: 1).

⁸ In the report, “Protector’s parting shot at president: Who’s running things? You or the Guptas?” (Hunter & Wa Afrika, 2016/09/18: 1) the *Sunday Times* declares, “The outcome of the investigation could strengthen calls for his [president Jacob Zuma] early departure as it could cause further damage to the already dented image of the ANC ahead of the 2019 general elections”.

⁹ The *Sunday Times* makes the contestation clear in its front-page headline “Thuli vs. Zuma”. This creates the image of a battle or of a wrestling / boxing match.

¹⁰ In the report “ANC scrambles to ensure loyalty” (Mokone, 2016/11/13: 4) the *Sunday Times* asserts that the ANC’s uncertainty exists because of rumours that opposition parties lobbied some ANC members to vote in favour of the no confidence motion in President Jacob Zuma.

Rampedi & Shoba, 2016/01/31: 1). This is merely a brief overview of the types of reports the newspaper decided to place on its front pages.

In determining what is emphasised Lawrie (2005: 129) suggests that the rhetorical critic looks at what is missing in the text and therefore de-emphasised. Lawrie (2005: 129) argues that this could be done deliberately by the rhetorician, in order to illuminate something else.

In the analysis of the *Sunday Times*, I identified a few such instances. In one report and headline the newspaper did not in any way actually report on the connection between the president and the Guptas (Jika, Rampedi, & Shoba, 2016/01/31: 1). In the item the newspaper, however, gives the impression that President Jacob Zuma's allies are revolting against the Guptas, but it is quite strange that none of the objections made by the ANC's alliance partners repudiates the President's conduct. Although it could perhaps feature in other reports where the *Sunday Times* presents the president as one who rejects the claims of state capture outright, this particular report would have been more balanced if it had also contained the voice of Zuma. As it stands, the item "Zuma's allies in revolt against Guptas" (Jika, Rampedi & Shoba, 2016/01/31: 1) incriminates President Jacob Zuma.

When the *Sunday Times* reports on a contract in which the Gupta family is involved, it does not give President Jacob Zuma any "presence" (Lawrie, 2005: 129) in terms of the allegations made (Hunter & Shoba, 2016/03/20: 1). It is also striking that in a report which involves the president and the outcome of the investigation of the public protector, the former is given no voice, or right of reply, whilst he is being painted as the one that "dented" the image of the ANC (Hunter & Wa Afrika, 2016/09/18: 1).¹¹ In a front-page report (Shoba, 2016/05/15: 1) reference is made to President Jacob Zuma and his response, "people are talking about small issues and making them big issues". However, this is given very little space, whereas the overarching report revolves around the comments of the former public servants who requested the president to step down. It could therefore easily be deduced and assumed from the "operations in the text" that the *Sunday Times* wants the audience to see the president as one who is in a corrupt relationship with the Guptas.

In terms of antithetical emphasis (Lawrie, 2005: 129), the *Sunday Times* makes a bold and sharp contrast between those who are doing wrong (corrupt behaviour), which the newspaper reports to be the Gupta family and President Jacob Zuma and his son Duduzane, and the person who is doing what is right (who stood up against corruption), reported to be Mcebisi Jonas (Deputy Minister of Finance) (Jika, Hunter & Skiti, 2016/03/13: 1). The *Sunday Times* emphasises the 'right' doing of the deputy minister of finance when it refers to his refusal as well as the fact that he "stood up and left the room" after the Guptas allegedly offered him the post of Minister of Finance (Jika et al., 2016/01/31: 1).¹²

¹¹ Reference is made in the report to this, "The outcome of the investigation could strengthen calls for his [President Jacob Zuma] early departure as it could cause further damage to the already dented image of the ANC ahead of the 2019 general elections".

¹² In the front-page report words are quoted from a source to illustrate the reaction from Jonas when the Guptas offered him the post of finance minister, "Jonas after the offer was made by the Guptas, stood up and left the room".

ii The associations

In its reporting the *Sunday Times* makes reference to the Guptas as “close friends of Zuma” (Jika et al., 2016/03/13: 1).¹³ There is a clear distinction in the newspaper between those who take a stand against corruption (Vytjie Mentor and Mcebisi Jonas) as well as those who are corrupt (Joubert, 2016/03/20: 4). The newspaper makes an association between the Guptas’ persecution of Gordhan and the allegations of state capture (in which the Guptas are alleged to be involved) (Hofstatter et al., 2016/08/28: 1).¹⁴

The deputy president, Cyril Ramaphosa, is associated with the curbing of corruption (Msomi, 2016/02/14: 4). The *Sunday Times* reports on his proposals for the corporate and business sector to do away with the perceptions of ‘state capture’: “...instilling a code of behaviour in all public institutions that ensured good corporate governance and rooted out the practice of dishing out business contracts on the basis of political connections”.

The *Sunday Times* also associates those who stand with President Jacob Zuma (in the state capture case) and those who support the minister of finance, Pravin Gordhan (in his charges of corruption) (Hunter, Mokone & Skiti, 2016/10/16: 2). In the front-page headline “Thuli vs Zuma” (*Sunday Times*, 2016/09/18: 1) it is clear that the president and the former public protector are not on the same side. In one of its reports the newspaper also directly associates three state-owned enterprises, Prasa, Eskom, and the SABC, with cases of corruption (Mokone & Hunter, 2016/12/18: 4).

iii The appeals (logos)

The Gupta family’s companies’ bank accounts were closed by some of South Africa’s major banks, which gave rise to suspicions as to the real reason for such an action. The *Sunday Times* then presented a report where it emphasises the ‘real reasons’ as the Guptas’ involvement into “dodgy bank transactions” (Skiti & Jika, 2016/10/16: 1).¹⁵ In another report the newspaper supports its argument (of the ‘real reason’ for the closing of the Gupta companies’ bank accounts) when it presents the response from one of the banks (Skiti, 2016/12/4: 2). The reason given by FirstRand Bank serves as confirmation of the reasons that Minister Pravin Gordhan provides, namely money laundering. The *Sunday Times* reports on “dodgy” transactions, mentioning an amount of R6.8-billion. This was believed to be, according to the newspaper, one

¹³ In the report it states, “The London-based Financial Times reported this week that the Guptas – close friends of Zuma – met Jonas before Nene was fired, to tell him they wanted him to be next political head of the National Treasury”.

¹⁴ Reference is made in the report to President Jacob Zuma’s allies (alluding to the Guptas) and the case of Pravin Gordhan. I quote the opening paragraph, “As South Africa flirted with the prospect of economic meltdown this week, with President Jacob Zuma’s allies moving yet again to neutralise Pravin Gordhan, the finance minister made a dramatic vow: that he is prepared to die to save the country from thieves”.

¹⁵ In the report it is stated in the opening paragraph, “Billions of rands in dodgy bank transactions by the Gupta family business empire have come to light in a dramatic court application by Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan, showing for the first time why the banks shut the accounts”.

of the reasons why the position of Minister of Finance was so important for the Gupta family.¹⁶

The *Sunday Times* also presents the forty-two (42) questions that the public protector posed to the president relating to the Guptas' influence on public officials and state-owned enterprises to give the audience an idea of which queries President Jacob Zuma would not answer (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/16a: 1). This report is placed on the front page, and therefore serves as important information to the audience. The report puts at its centre the question why President Jacob Zuma never expressed concern about the allegations of improper involvement of the Guptas, and therefore the answer is also not given any response, which plays into the narrative of the President shying away from answering, as if he has something to hide.¹⁷

The *Sunday Times* reports on the investigation of National Treasury into the dubious partnership between the Guptas and the state weapons manufacturer Denel (Hofstatter, 2016/08/28: 2). It reports that Denel went into a partnership with the Guptas without permission of National Treasury, as required by the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA). The report also speaks of the suspicion that exists concerning an application by Denel to National Treasury on 10 December that involves Gupta-linked companies (Hofstatter, 2016/08/28: 2).¹⁸ The suspicion emerged because the application was made at the same time as the president's appointment of the new minister of finance Mr Des van Rooyen. The *Sunday Times* places emphasis on the alleged corrupt relationship between the Gupta family and Denel, as well as Minister Des van Rooyen.

The *Sunday Times* provides more reasons to be suspicious of the Gupta family, public officials, ministers as well as the president, as part of building its case of corruption. It reports on an interview with one of the former drivers of the Guptas to allow the audience to draw conclusions of a possible corrupt relationship. The driver gave evidence (from his personal diary) in a report of all the state officials who visited the Gupta family's compound in Saxonwold (Wa Afrika & Hofstatter, 2016/11/6: 1, 7). His evidence includes visits by President Jacob Zuma, Eskom CEO Brian Molefe, Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa's spokesman, AU chairperson Nkosazana Dhlamini-Zuma, Home Affairs Minister Malusi Gigaba and the Minister of Water and Sanitation, Nomvula Mokonyane.

The newspaper also provides reasons why Minister Des van Rooyen could be a "Gupta-link", and could allow access for the Guptas to state coffers (Wa Afrika, Skiti & Jika, 2016/10/30: 1, 2). The *Sunday Times* reports of a meeting between him and the Guptas seven days before his appointment as the Finance Minister. It also goes

¹⁶ The report avers in its first paragraph, "FirstRand has revealed for the first time that the Guptas' bank accounts were closed over suspensions that they were used to launder money".

¹⁷ I quote from the report after some of the questions that were posed by the Public Protector were referred to: it states, "Madonsela noted there was no evidence of Zuma ever having expressed concern over alleged improper involvement of the Gupta family in the appointment of ministers or directors in state-owned enterprises, or use of his name to solicit favour by the Guptas".

¹⁸ The report refers to government sources concerning this application by Denel and its timing, "...government sources said the timing of Denel's application to the Treasury was suspect. It was submitted on December 10, the day Des van Rooyen was appointed finance minister. Four days later he was replaced by Pravin Gordhan".

further and reports on some of the reasons why Minister van Rooyen wanted to block the release of the *State of Capture* report, such as his cellphone traces at the home of the Guptas in Saxonwold as well as an e-mail between him and his adviser Ian Whitley and Trillion Capital partners' CEO Eric Wood. The newspaper reports that this happened in the same week that van Rooyen visited the Guptas.

The *Sunday Times* supports a case of corruption against the Guptas when it reports on information received from a whistleblower that could provide good reasons why it is not far fetched to believe that the Guptas were involved in the axing of the former finance minister, Mr Nhlanhla Nene. It also reports the elaborate plan by the Guptas' associate Salim Essa "to secure a number of lucrative contracts from National Treasury, including the nuclear deal" (Jika & Skiti, 2016/10/23: 1, 2). As regards other contracts such as with Transnet the whistleblower explains that the company Trillian received payments for a contract for which it did not perform any work. It reveals the whole of the manoeuvring of the Guptas behind the scenes to take hold of the Treasury and benefit from some state-owned enterprises. It reports in detail about the affidavit of the whistleblower in the form of a bullet point list. Though this information should still be tested in a court, the *Sunday Times* through its reporting still provides the audience with good reason to believe that the Gupta family has access to lucrative state contracts.

It goes into detail about the affidavit by the deputy minister Mcebisi Jonas, in which he refers to a "black plastic bag" of cash that the Guptas offered him (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/23: 2)¹⁹. This speaks directly about the corruption of the Guptas. The newspaper also publishes the version and affidavit of Mr Mcebisi Jonas in which he claims the Guptas wanted him to "push for the approval of the nuclear procurement programme" (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/23: 2).

The *Sunday Times* reports on those that are implicated in the Public Protector's report,²⁰ particularly the Eskom-Tegeta contract (Hofstatter, 2016/11/6b: 6). The newspaper emphasises the conflicts of interest of some members on the board of Eskom when this particular contract was approved. The newspaper gave them an opportunity to respond, in which all of those involved, Muhamed, Noor Hussain and his wife Kuben Moody, as well as Mark Pamensky, denied any conflict of interest.

The *Sunday Times* also clarifies and explains the purchase of the Optimum Coal mine by the Gupta-linked company, and the involvement of Eskom (Skiti, 2016/10/23: 2). It reports on the former CEO (Nazeem Howa) of the Gupta owned company Oakbay, who could be interrogated in court for alleged corruption on the purchase of the Optimum Coal mine. It records that Eskom allegedly made a pre-payment for coal of R578-million to Tegeta Exploration (an Oakbay subsidiary) to help purchase the Optimum Coal Company. This reported 'suspicious activity' is linked in the same report on the current investigation of the former Public Protector into the influence of the Guptas on public officials, and state-owned enterprises.

¹⁹ In the report the opening paragraph asserts, "Ajay Gupta allegedly offered Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas R600 00 in cash in a black plastic bag at his family compound in Johannesburg last year, on the day he offered Jonas the job of finance minister".

²⁰ The *State of Capture* report was released on 14 October 2016.

The *Sunday Times* also reports on an improper relationship between the Guptas and the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi (Hofstatter, 2016/07/31: 2). It furthermore reports on the Guptas' involvement at the SABC and Muthambi's attempts to approve a bid by the Guptas for a 24 hour "free-to-air" news channel (Hofstatter, 2016/07/31: 2).²¹

The *Sunday Times* wishes the audience to be aware of the ongoing support of President Jacob Zuma by the ANC despite those in that party who might have their doubts and who were also not sure whether it would be a good idea for him to step down as president (*Sunday Times*, 2016/03/20: 4).²²

In the report "Gupta ministers in secret trips to Dubai" (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/10: 1) the newspaper questions the visits of Ministers Mosebenzi Zwane and Des van Rooyen who were both in Dubai at the same time that the Guptas were there. The authors provide convincing reasons why it seems possible that these ministers could have visited the Guptas. The main point of argument in the reports is: Minister Zwane was not accompanied by an official of the embassy in Dubai and also not by the ambassador, which was the norm and protocol for any minister. The newspaper further questions the reason given by van Rooyen – that he went on a day visit to Dubai – particularly because it does not make sense to undertake an international visit for a single day. The newspaper discredits these two ministers and allows the audience to regard them as being in cahoots with the Guptas.

In another front page report the *Sunday Times* also depicts the relationship between the Guptas and President Jacob Zuma as a corrupt one (Jika & Skiti, 2016/07/10: 1). It mentions that the "Guptas have run" to the president to persuade him not to sign a bill that will: "tighten[s] the screws on corruption and money laundering".

The *Sunday Times* places on its front page the ranking of one of the Gupta brothers, Atul Gupta, as the seventh-richest South African according to the Business Times Rich List (Tsamela & Skiti, 2016/12/11: 1). The newspaper reports that his personal wealth is valued at R10-billion, and above all he is described as South Africa's top black billionaire. The newspaper compares him with other black business persons whose presence is waning on the top 100 list. It also points to the Guptas' presence in South Africa and their improper dealings as worsening the project of transformation as it applies to other blacks in South Africa. In another report on the same matter (describing one of the Gupta brothers as the richest black man in South Africa) the newspaper places the matter in the context of the majority of Africans who still live below the poverty line, and the decline of black wealth, while on the other hand the Guptas' wealth is growing (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/11: 16). It reports on the slow performance of BEE pioneers. The *Sunday Times* asserts that this is intended to emphasise how patronage (of Zuma's friends) is destroying South Africa and also

²¹ The opening paragraph avers, "Communications Minister Faith Muthambi allegedly tried to pressure former Icasa acting chairwoman Vuyo Batyi into approving a bid by the Guptas to launch a free-to-air 24-hour news channel".

²² The report states, "A recall was always going to be a long shot for President Jacob Zuma's opponents in the ANC's national executive committee. Although confirmation that members of the Gupta family had offered Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas a cabinet post as finance minister shocked and angered many in the leadership, not all of them went into this weekend's meeting convinced that sacking Zuma was possible or even desirable for the party".

to affirm the *State of Capture* report which observes the close proximity of the Guptas to the president and how they unduly benefit to the detriment of other South Africans.

The *Sunday Times* furthermore reports on the Hawks²³ that allegedly launched an investigation into the conduct of the deputy minister of finance, Mcebisi Jonas, whom they believe contravened the Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act (Precca) by not reporting the matter of bribery to the police, as well as the two men, Zweli Mkhize and Gwede Mantashe, whom he told of the incident (Hunter, 2016/11/6: 1, 4). The newspaper places this in the context of the two senior officials in the ANC, Mkhize and Mantashe, who had fallen out with Zuma, and supported Pravin Gordhan in defending his being charged for fraud. The newspaper leaves much room for speculation, especially in its headline, "Hawks gun for man who blew the whistle on the Guptas". But the report also alludes to the different factions in the ANC: those who support President Jacob Zuma, and those who are seemingly opposed to him but who are consequently being prosecuted by the institutions of the state such as the NPA.

The *Sunday Times* leaves the audience with some suspicion over the relationship between Mr Molefe and the Guptas when it mentions that the former left one question posed by the former Public Protector unanswered: "What is your relationship with the Guptas?" as well as noting his failure to respond and provide clarity to the question by the media regarding the phone calls between him and Mr Ajay Gupta (Hofstatter, 2016/11/6c: 6).

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Times* reports on the frustration of the former Public Protector in her attempts to elicit answers from the president in order to finalise the *State of Capture* report (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/16b: 4). In the report the word "pleaded" is used to demonstrate her frustration, as well as emphasise how President Jacob Zuma frustrated the former Public Protector deliberately, knowing that her term of office was at the time coming to an end (on Friday 14 October 2016). This word plays on the feelings of the audience, persuading them to perceive the president as not acting in good faith where this matter is concerned.

²³ The Hawks is described on its online website as, 'The Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation has been established as an independent directorate within the South African Police Service in terms of Section 17C of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 as amended by the South African Police Service Amendment Act, 2008 (Act 57 of 2008).

The Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation is now responsible for the combating, investigation and prevention of national priority crimes such as serious organized crime, serious commercial crime and serious corruption in terms of Section 17B and 17D of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 as amended.

The South African Police Service Amendment Act, 2012 (Act 10 of 2012) introduced the reporting procedures as provided in Section 34(1) of the Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004 which stipulates that reporting should be made to any police officer. In terms of the latest amendment, all such offences must now be reported to a member of the Directorate of Priority Crime Investigation'. See further information on their website <https://www.saps.gov.za/dpci/index.php>

The *Sunday Times* in its reporting ridicules Mr Molefe, concerning his cellphone calls that were traced (during the investigation by the former Public Protector) in the vicinity of Saxonwold, which he claimed could have been at a shebeen in the area. This remark by him led to ridicule on social media, which the newspaper included in one of its reports (*Sunday Times*, 2016/11/6c: 7). Though this might have been in a light-hearted spirit it also appeals to the audience not to take the former CEO seriously.

A further appeal is made to the emotions of the audience when the *Sunday Times* in a front-page report uses the descriptive phrases, “growing hostility” and “growing irritation”, to refer to the mood of some of the ANC leaders towards an alleged corrupt relationship between President Jacob Zuma and the Guptas (Jika et al., 2016/01/31: 1).²⁴

Joubert (2016/03/20: 4) describes the emotional state of Vytjie Mentor in one of the newspaper’s reports. He notes how she “broke down” in an interview when she described her situation after she stated that the Guptas approached her to make an offer of a ministerial position. She was concerned about her safety, her pension, as well as her future economic position. The newspaper gives the audience some insight into the life and emotional state of a whistleblower.²⁵

The fact that the Guptas had flourished, and other black persons’ economic ranking diminished, is placed in the context of Zuma’s leadership (Tsamela & Skiti, 2016/12/11: 1). This might also appeal to the emotions of black businesspeople when they are brought to the realisation that they have been negatively affected by the various contracts the Guptas received from state-owned institutions.

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Times* illustrates the moral character of the president when it reports on the Guptas’ illegal movement of money out of the country (Jika, Skiti & Shoba, 2016/06/12: 1). The response of the president towards these allegations is described as follows: “Zuma sat quietly on Monday as SACP leaders told him how unethical it was for the Guptas – who are in business with his son Duduzane Zuma – to continue milking government contracts”. The newspaper reports on the strategies of the president to rescue himself out of the ‘deep end’ concerning his involvement amid allegations of the influence of the Guptas in state affairs. Some of the strategies include his pressure on the new Public Protector, Busisiwe Mkhwebane, to charge her predecessor for leaking the interview between him and the previous protector, Thuli Madonsela, as well as the strategic manner in which he manoeuvres himself

²⁴ The *Sunday Times* refers to the emotions of some members of the ANC in stating, “President Jacob Zuma’s closest political allies this week broke ranks with the president over his close ties to the influential Guptas, in a move that has isolated Zuma and laid bare growing hostility in ANC circles to the family. Although there have long been whispers about the family’s close ties to Zuma and some of his ministers, this week Cosatu and SACP leaders went public with their growing irritation at the influence the Guptas are said to have on some leaders”.

²⁵ I quote from the report, “Asked about her safety, she said: ‘I do not care so much about my own safety. I chose to do what I chose to do. But my children did not. ‘I have enough of a pension to buy bread and milk. But my children should not be in danger’. It was at this point that Mentor broke down”.

out of questions in Parliament over his relationship with the Guptas, and the *State of Capture* report. When the Minister of Mineral Resources, Mosebenzi Zwane, came under fire for his lie that the cabinet took a decision to seek a probe into the closure of the Gupta company accounts, the reaction of the president is reported as, “distancing the cabinet from Zwane’s announcement” amidst “pressure [mounting] on President Jacob Zuma to take action against him” (Hunter & Jika, 2016/09/4: 2).

At the end of 2016 the newspaper provides an overview of the expressions and words from the “bench” that gained prominence in the year (Capazorio, 2016/12/18: 4). It reports that expressions which stood out included words like “Zupta” with reference to “the bromance between President Jacob Zuma and the three Gupta brothers” as well as the expression “sleepiest” with reference to Economic Freedom Fighter Member of Parliament (EFF MP), Mbuyeseni Ndlozi’s remark when the Minister of International Relations Maite Nkoana-Mashabane was allegedly sleeping during parliament proceedings. Other phrases were, “I don’t recognise you” (Mbete’s words, mainly to EFF MPs), “JZ783” with reference to the speech of a DA member of parliament Denise Robinson, when she alluded to President Jacob Zuma’s initials as well as the criminal charges he had faced before the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) withdrew these in 2009.

The newspaper also reports on the Secretary General of the SACP, Blade Nzimande’s, “scathing attack on President Zuma’s administration” (Hunter, 2016/12/18: 4). His mention of some ministers as being part of a ‘Gupta-network’ and his accusation of his fellow ministers operating outside of ‘cabinet discipline’ features in one of the newspapers’ reports. The report reflects negatively on the moral character of the president as well as of ministers in his administration.

The unethical conduct of Minister Des van Rooyen is positioned on at least two front page reports. One describes correspondence between him and a Gupta associate (*Sunday Times*, 2016/11/20a: 1), while another records him leaking a confidential document to a Gupta associate (Jika & Skiti, 2016/11/20: 1). This presents him as unscrupulous, and not acting ethically.

The newspaper also reports on the unethical behaviour of the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi. She is reported to have pressured ICASA’s acting chairwoman Vuyo Batyi to approve a bid in which the Gupta family would have unduly benefited (Hofstatter, 2016/07/31: 2).

The former CEO of Eskom, Mr Molefe, is also suspected of unethical conduct, especially in a report where the newspaper argues that he is not eligible to receive a bonus, but is nonetheless likely to be given an R9.5m bonus (Jika, 2016/11/20: 4). It is striking how the newspaper includes in the same report the reasons for his resignation as well as his name, mentioned in the former public protector’s *State of Capture* report. The fact that the newspaper also reports on the ridiculing on social media – and that there is not a shebeen in Saxonwold – does not sit well in terms of the moral character of Mr Molefe (*Sunday Times*, 2016/11/6c: 7).

The Guptas are also presented as a family which is deeply involved in corrupt activities (Skiti & Jika, 2016/11/20: 2). They are reported to be in another case in which they want to benefit, and using the same strategy as with the Glencore-owned

Optimum mine: however this item covers their strategy to oust the Oppenheimer family from an airport which the latter wanted to develop into an international one (Hofstatter, 2016/11/13: 2), which they were renting from Denel. The newspaper reports on the strategy of the Guptas to oust the Oppenheimers (in the same way they cut Glencore out of the contract with Eskom) so that they could acquire the property for developments. The newspaper implies the Guptas are dubious and corrupt.

The newspaper presents the ethical character of two ministers quite differently. Minister Mosebenzi Zwane' is portrayed as one who has no integrity (Hunter, 2016/09/18: 4),²⁶ who lied (*Sunday Times*, 2016/09/18: 2)²⁷ about who took the decision that the South African Banks be probed on the closing of the Gupta companies' accounts (Hunter & Jika, 2016/09/4: 2). The newspaper also reports on his poor performance²⁸ in official duties, and on his interest in the closing of the Gupta companies' bank accounts (Hunter, 2016/09/18: 4). The newspaper describes him as a person who "mised" cabinet, lied, and angered Luthuli House (Mokone, 2016/09/11: 4).

However, the deputy finance minister, Mcebisi Jonas, is presented as a person with moral stature. A report records a meeting between Zizi Kodwa as ANC spokesperson and Mcebisi Jonas, and that the latter "stood his ground". Jonas is quoted saying that what he did [to spill the beans on the Guptas' offer for the position of minister of finance] was a matter of conscience (Hunter, 2016/03/20: 5). The newspaper reports the exorbitant amount of cash that was offered by the Guptas (up to R600-million), and that Jonas declined the offer (*Wa Afrika*, 2016/10/23: 2). Mr Jonas was also requested to work with them, to "push for the approval of the nuclear procurement programme", which he also declined. This speaks to his moral character. The newspaper also makes an appeal to the virtues of the audience in its referral to Mcebisi Jonas who did the right thing, and stood up for what is right (Jika, Hunter & Skiti, 2016/03/13: 1). The newspaper in its reporting uses the action verbs, "stood up" and "left the room" in which it describes the manner in which Mcebisi Jonas declined the offer to participate in such a form of corruption.

The chief whip of the ANC in Parliament, Mr Jackson Mthembu, is also reported to be in favour of an investigation into the access to government which the Guptas enjoy. The newspaper describes him as a new broom in his latest position as chief whip (Hunter, 2016/03/27b: 4). The newspaper regards him as the person who will "get parliament to tackle the apparent stranglehold the Gupta family has on President Jacob Zuma and his government".²⁹

²⁶ The *Sunday Times* states in the report: "Since his appointment, Zwane has been embroiled in one scandal after another, particularly related to his proximity to the Gupta family".

²⁷ In the report the newspaper declares: "Mineral Resources Minister Mosebenzi Zwane went to ground yesterday as pressure mounted on President Jacob Zuma to take action against him for lying about a non-existent cabinet decision to probe into the closure of Gupta company accounts".

²⁸ I quote from the report, "If Mineral Resources Minister Mosebenzi Zwane's performance could be rated by the one organisation he ought to be working the closest with, and it would give him one out of ten".

²⁹ It is also important to note how the newspaper already assumes that the Guptas have an influence on President Jacob Zuma.

Another previous member of parliament (MP) Vytjie Mentor is also characterised as taking a moral stand against the Gupta family and other three ministers (Joubert, 2016/06/19: 4).³⁰ She is reported to have filed corruption charges with the police.

The newspaper also reports on a few former public servants who include Mr Mo Shaik and Rev. Frank Chikane. They request a probe into the claim that the Gupta family was using their friendship with President Jacob Zuma to pressure public officials to make decisions that favour their interests (Shoba, 2016/05/15: 1, 2).

The newspaper reports on the responses of twenty ministers on what their input would be after in the next NEC meeting after the release of the *State of Capture* report (*Sunday Times*, 2016/11/6b: 4). In terms of those members' responses on what should happen to the president, some were unsure; others did not give their input, while some did not even comment. This report hints at the ethos of the members of the NEC, because not many did speak out directly against the damning findings in the report.

The integrity of the investigation by the Hawks is questioned (Joubert & Hunter, 2016/11/6: 4). The newspaper reports on the claim of the Hawks that they found it difficult to track down a previous member of parliament, Vytjie Mentor, as part of their investigation into the charges she laid against the Guptas. The newspaper records Mentor's response to these claims that the Hawks were not telling the truth.³¹ The newspaper also presents her claim that the Hawks were forcing her to admit charges of complicity in 'state capture'. The alleged unethical conduct of the Hawks is presented to the audience.

The newspaper reports on the confusion between ANC members, when the parliamentary communicator indicated that the *State of Capture* report that was sent by the former public protector for safekeeping to the speaker of parliament had been returned (to the former Public Protector), whereas later the ANC chief whip clarifies that the *State of Capture* report is "under lock and key" (Hunter, 2016/10/16: 4). The report questions the integrity of Baleka Mbete.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

Lawrie (2005:132) explains metaphor as the angle from which the rhetorician wants the audience to look at the event, situation or a person. There are a number of reports that contribute to the overall perspective of the newspaper. The latter allows the audience to perceive the Gupta family as being on a "shopping spree", which creates the impression that ministers and public officials are on sale (Jika, Hunter & Skiti, 2016/03/13: 1). In a front-page report, "How Guptas shopped for new minister" (Jika, Hunter & Skiti, 2016/03/13: 1) the newspaper explains how the Gupta family

³⁰ In the opening paragraph of the report the newspaper writes, "Former ANC MP Vytjie Mentor has filed corruption related charges against three cabinet ministers and the Gupta family three weeks after the ANC closed its investigation into the family's influence on the state".

³¹ The *Sunday Times* quotes her saying, they "lie" because they knew her contact number and an advocate had previously visited her home in the Northern Cape.

wanted to offer the then Finance Minister Mr Nhlanhla Nene's post to the deputy finance minister, Mr Jonas.

The newspaper further also wants the audience to regard all state institutions and ministers as being controlled, and dictated to, by the Guptas (Shoba, 2016/05/15: 1). The newspaper uses figurative language when it reports that President Jacob Zuma was "under the spell of his Gupta friends". Herewith it seems the newspaper portrays the idea that the Guptas possess the powers to bring most people under their control, and are then able to give orders left, right and centre. The Guptas are also depicted as "Milking the Government" (Jika, Skiti & Shoba, 2016/06/12: 1)³² and as flourishing at the expense of other South Africans due to their close proximity to the president (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/11: 16).³³

The reluctance of the ANC government and some ANC ministers to deal with the Gupta family's influence is displayed (Hunter, 2016/10/16: 4). The newspaper starts to use the word 'state capture' to express the Gupta's influence over public officials, and state-owned enterprises (Brümmer & Sole, 2016/06/19: 1, 4). It is specifically mentioned in the report which is based on a letter in 2012 that the Gupta family and President Jacob Zuma's son Duduzane tried to capture a parastatal so as to profit from a multibillion-rand tender.

ii Metonymy

Besides the overall metonymy, in at least three reports there is evidence that the newspaper's focus is on certain detail and accounts. It assumes many factors – like the weakened position of the president, especially when the author states that there is "confirmation that members of the Guptas family had offered deputy finance minister Mcebisi Jonas a cabinet post" (Msomi, 2016/03/20: 4).³⁴ The newspaper also assumes a corrupt relationship between President Jacob Zuma and the Guptas. The front-page report, "Former public servants seek Gupta-Zuma probe" (Shoba, 2016/05/15: 1), does not query the relationship but only the effects of such a relationship with the Guptas, who are in the same report referred to as the "friends" of the president.

iii Irony

A degree of irony is created when the newspaper reports on the board of Eskom that defended their position and declared they would take the *State of Capture* report on review, while they made no reference or replied to the 44 phone calls their CEO Mr

³² In the report the newspaper notes, "The Sunday Times was informed that Zuma sat quietly on Monday as SACP leaders told him how unethical it was for the Guptas – who are in business with his son Duduzane – to continue Milking government contracts".

³³ This is evident from the headline of the newspaper phrasing it as a rhetorical question, "Why a Gupta is SA's richest black man".

³⁴ In the report "Rumbles of opposition but Zuma appear to be safe for now" (Msomi, 2016/03/20: 4) the newspaper does claim that there was confirmation of an already established fact: "Although confirmation that members of the Gupta family had offered Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas a cabinet post as finance minister shocked and angered many in the leadership, not all of them went into this weekend's meeting convinced that sacking Zuma was possible, or even desirable for the company".

Brian Molefe made to Ajay Gupta between 2 August 2015 and 22 March 2016 and the 14 calls the Gupta family made to him (*Sunday Times*, 2016/11/6a: 1).

The audience has also been allowed to question the sudden decision by the Guptas to sell their South African businesses before the end of 2016 (Hofstatter, Skiti, Jika & Hunter, 2016/08/28: 1). The newspaper reports on the Guptas' intention in the same item in which it reports on the ongoing investigation by the minister of finance, as if these two were related, and there was definite evidence that would emerge from such an investigation. This creates some suspense and drama, and raises a few questions amongst the audience about the Guptas' involvement in corrupt activities. It is striking that the newspaper reports on the president of Botswana who was reluctant to come to South Africa for an official visit pending the outcome of the non-confidence vote proposed by the DA (Mokone & Jika, 2016/11/13: 4).

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* focuses the audience's attention on the corrupt deals of the Guptas with state owned enterprises, with ministers as well as President Jacob Zuma. The newspaper already assumes that there is a corrupt relationship between the President and the Guptas. It also focuses on those who took a stand against the Guptas. Vytjie Mentor, Mcebisi Jonas, Jackson Mthembu, former public servants, and Minister Blade Nzimande are among those on whom the newspaper reports who either blew the whistle on the Guptas or strongly condemned the Guptas' corrupt involvement with state entities and public officials. It emphasises that president Jacob Zuma is losing support due to his close friendship with the Guptas.

7. 3. 2 The Sunday Independent

a) Describing the operations

In this section, I will describe the operations of *The Sunday Independent* in terms of its emphases, the associations, dis-associations, as well as the appeals that the newspaper makes to its audience (Lawrie, 2005: 129-132).

i Emphases

I identified thirty-six (36) reports that relate to the Guptas' influence on certain ministers, public officials and state-owned enterprises. These include seven (7) front-page reports including five (5) main front-page headlines. This is a relatively large amount of space which the newspaper allocated to this case, as well as the number of front-page reports. I will briefly look at the front-page reports to provide the sense of the emphases of the newspaper.

The front page main headlines that relate to the Gupta case read: "Guptas bolt out at last" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/28: 1); "Defiant Zuma digs in" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1); "Heads set to roll in cabinet bloodbath" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/03/20: 1); "Mathole breaks ranks" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6b: 1) as well as "Zuma goes for broke" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/12/4: 1).

The headlines of the front-page reports include: “Angry Cosatu, SACP slate ANC ‘parasites’” (Magome, 2016/02/21: 1); “Gloves to come off in battle for control of state” (Magome & Thakali, 2016/03/20: 1); “Top brass turn the screws on the president” (Thakali, 2016/05/15: 1); “Surprise as Des van Rooyen enters Sars wars. Intrigue as Pravin’s successor is lined up” (Mkhwanazi & Zungu, 2016/08/26: 1) and “Angry ANC wants Zuma to take action against Mosebenzi” (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/09/4: 1), “Zuma says he’s not afraid of jail, attacks detractors on court politics” (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6a: 1),³⁵ “Veterans’ call for crisis talks may be granted” (Magome, 2016/11/27: 1) as well as the report, “I’m not Zuma’s puppet, says S’dumo” (Dube, 2016/12/4: 1).

The newspaper emphasises that a sectional part of the ANC and its alliance partners SACP is opposed to what the paper calls “parasites”. It does emphasise the animosity in the majority party towards the president and others who are under the influence of the Guptas. Those who therefore do not approve what the newspaper calls “parasites” are thus also set to face the consequences (“heads set to roll”) (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/03/20: 1).³⁶ This is the general feeling that is conveyed through merely assessing the reports’ headlines on the newspaper’s front pages. The newspaper also emphasises the call of the ANC veterans for a consultative conference because of allegations contained in the *State of Capture* report that implicates the president (Magome, 2016/11/27: 1).

In some cases these front-page reports are not related to the main front page headlines, for instance the report “Angry Cosatu, SACP slate ANC ‘parasites’” (Magome, 2016/02/21: 1) is placed under the main front page headline which reads, “Star’s crash ‘a hijacking’”.³⁷ The focus is therefore first and foremost on the report of an accident involving a high-profile figure, rather than making a report on a corruption case its main focus. Though this case is reported on the front page it is not laid out using such a bold and big size font as in the other main front page headline, and it is also the only report on this case of corruption in the particular edition (21 February 2016). Other emphases of the newspaper on other pages are also noteworthy. The newspaper emphasises the seriousness of the allegations of the influence of the Gupta family (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/06/5: 2).

The *Sunday Independent* gives voice to the former public protector, and places the response on its front pages. The report includes her response in which she sets the record straight on her recommendations in the *State of Capture* report (Thakali, 2016/11/13: 1). There is much critique of the report on the part of the president, as well as a mention of the reasons why the public protector leaked the interview that

³⁵ This report is linked to the main headline on the front page “Mathole breaks ranks” in which the newspaper indicates in the opening paragraph, “Senior ANC parliamentarian Mathole Motshekga has become the latest senior party leader to break ranks, saying the ANC ‘cannot and should not accept collective responsibility’ for the actions of President Jacob Zuma ‘and all those implicated by the *State of Capture* Report’”.

³⁶ The front-page report “Gloves to come off in battle for control of state” makes reference to the rumours that four ministers are on their way out. These are Ministers Rob Davies, Mcebisi Jonas, Blade Nzimande and Jeff Radebe. The report appears right beneath the heading, “Heads set to roll in cabinet bloodbath”.

³⁷ The report is on a well-known actor Rapulana Seiphemo who features in the popular soapie *Generations: The Legacy*.

took place between them to the media. The newspaper provided her with the space to respond to these issues raised by the president in a stand-alone report. The word “warns” in the headline “Thuli warns Zuma, ANC” speaks for itself. This is not the only report; the particular edition contains at least two more items that focus on the case and related events from the perspective of the former public protector, “Thuli goes down state capture trail” (Mkhwanazi, 2016/09/18: 4) as well as “Thuli’s report best captures the rot” (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9).

The newspaper unequivocally and frankly states that Eskom was corrupt, and refutes the claim that Gupta-owned businesses have to do with Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (Velaphi, 2016/11/6: 4). But what is missing in the report is any reference to President Jacob Zuma, when the bigger issue involves him. Gwede Mantashe according to the item “slams”³⁸ only the Guptas (Velaphi, 2016/11/6: 4) while no reference in the report is made to the president. This might be an isolated incident of such reporting.

The newspaper emphasises the decisive action of the ANC, and adds that President Jacob Zuma as well as Minister Des van Rooyen will not receive special treatment should the allegations of ‘state capture’ be true (Dube, 2016/10/16: 4). The response from the ANC is however placed in the context of the DA’s remarks that the “ANC NEC is afraid to recall Zuma, who has not become a liability to his organization, but also the country as well”. However, to make the headline as bold as possible, “Zuma facing decisive action if truly captured” emphasises the position of the ANC on the matter quite clearly.

In some instances, there is only one report in the newspaper on the Gupta issue, for instance the edition of 7 February 2016 (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7b: 4). This report is also on the fourth page and is very small in the left-hand corner, while on the front page the story is told of a mine disaster drama, where some mineworkers were trapped in the Vantage Goldfields Lily Mine in Barberton. The front page shows how the wives of the mine workers are praying for intervention, and the rescuing of their love ones. This might suggest that this case is not high on the priority list of the newspaper.

ii Associations

The *Sunday Independent* refers to the Guptas as “friends” of President Jacob Zuma (Dodds, 2016/11/27: 4).³⁹ The report “NW premier ‘met Guptas on visit to Dubai’” (Ndaba, 2016/05/22: 4) associates the reshuffle in the North-West Province with the Guptas.⁴⁰ The *Sunday Independent* makes a connection between the prosecutions of the Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan and the case of the undue influence of the

³⁸ This word is part of the headline of the report by Velaphi (2016/11/6: 4): “Gwede Mantashe slams Eskom over Gupta deal”.

³⁹ In the report, there is a reference to the Guptas as the friends of President Jacob Zuma. I quote, “He was equally dismissive of questions about government ministers’ attempts to quiz banks over their decision to ditch his friends, the Guptas, and his plans regarding former public protector Thuli Madonsela’s report on state capture”.

⁴⁰ In the opening paragraph of the report the *Sunday Independent* refers to the claims of the EFF, “...the decision by Premier Supra Mahumapelo to reshuffle his provincial cabinet was taken in Dubai and ‘influenced by the Guptas’”.

Guptas which allegedly involves the President (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/06/5: 2).⁴¹ It also makes an association between the Guptas and Minister van Rooyen which is particularly emphasised in the report “Surprise as Des van Rooyen enters Sars wars. Intrigue as Pravin’s successor is lined up” (Mkhwanazi & Zungu, 2016/08/26: 1).⁴² It also shows the ‘breaking of ranks’ by the trade union federation Cosatu not because of its unhappiness with the ANC but as a result of the president who had refused to step down after calls from the federation. In a follow-up edition, the newspaper also reports on its front page about a senior ANC member in parliament whom it declares broke ranks (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6b: 1).⁴³

iii The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Independent* focuses on how the Saxonwold residents feel (irritated at the media’s presence) about their neighbours, the Guptas. The newspaper reports on the historical nature of the Saxonwold precinct and its being known for its tranquillity. The item mentions the “irritation” amongst residents in the area, precisely because the precinct is now known through various forms of media as the suburb where the Guptas reside. The residents believe that it is more than the negative publicity that the media proclaims of the precinct (Thakali, 2016/12/18: 11).

iv The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Independent* reports on the probability that the Public Protector would investigate the “damning allegations of ‘state capture’ by the Guptas” (Ndaba, 2016/03/20: 4). The item itself includes all voices in the report that urge, request, and welcome such an investigation. There is no voice in the report that declines such an inquiry. The report also focuses on the importance of the investigation and includes a call from the political party, Congress of the People (COPE), to every church, mosque, temple and synagogue to “leap to the defense of moral values so that by putting pressure on politicians to be moral and ethical” South Africa will become “good and prosperous again”.

The newspaper places Gwede Mantashe, as the secretary-general of the ANC, against other bodies such as the South Africanist Communist Party (SACP) which “has taken great exception to the way the matter has been handled” in reference to Mantashe’s action not to pursue the issue of ‘state capture’ after his office received only one submission to this effect (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/06/5: 2). This

⁴¹ In the report the newspaper refers to the SACP which intends “to come out guns blazing about the ANC’s handling of the ‘serious’ allegation of undue influence by the Guptas...” while later on in the report it refers to other responses from the SACP related to the investigation of the Hawks into the so-called ‘rogue spy unit’.

⁴² In the report the *Sunday Independent* terms the ‘entering’ of Minister Des van Rooyen into the investigation of the Hawks into allegations of a SARS rogue unit’ established by Gordhan as a “surprise”. The newspaper’s hunch that there is a relationship between van Rooyen and the Guptas is revealed when it reports on the former’s response, “He denied that the Hawks investigation and the threat of arrest facing the finance minister were a ploy to get rid of Gordhan”.

⁴³ The *Sunday Independent* reports on a senior ANC parliamentarian Mr Mathole who argues that President Jacob Zuma and those implicated in the *State of Capture* report must take responsibility for their actions; not the ANC as a collective.

could also hint at the ethical character of Mantashe and his attitude towards such serious allegations of corruption.

The president's ethical conduct speaks loudly when the newspaper reports on his "attempts to play down the issue of state capture" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/06/5: 2). The newspaper also reports on a senior ANC member, Mathole Motshekga, who, in a document, "The Honourable Thing To Do", says the ANC cannot accept collective responsibility for the president and those involved (Piliso, Maphumulo & Mkhwanazi, 2016/11/6: 1, 4). The report depicts the president as unethical and not acting in the best interest of the society.

The newspaper indicates that during the question and answer session in parliament, that included questions relating to the *State of Capture* report, President Jacob Zuma was "ducking and diving" (Dodds, *The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/27: 4).⁴⁴ The president's decision to take the *State of Capture* report on review is reported as a means of delaying the process (Thakali, 2016/12/4: 1, 2).⁴⁵

The newspaper raises the question as to whether President Jacob Zuma violated the Executive Ethics Code by allowing members of the Gupta family and his son, Duduzane, "to engage or be involved in the process of removal and appointing of various members of cabinet" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/6d: 16). It also stresses that a commission of inquiry is "vital" and should be appointed to investigate the allegations of corruption.

The former public protector is depicted as someone who vigorously investigates the case of the Guptas. This reflects the good moral character that the newspapers want to display of her (Thakali, 2016/11/13: 1). The newspaper refers to Thuli Madonsela as an ethical person and one who is serious about the corruption involving public officials and state-owned entities, and notes that she is also pressuring members of parliament to disclose their financial interests as well as to declare if they have any controversial or business dealings with the Gupta family (Mkhwanazi, 2016/09/18: 4).

In the context of the *State of Capture* report by the public protector, the newspaper writes quite positively about Mr Molefe, the great strides he had made at Eskom and his support of the nuclear deal (Dodds, 2016/11/13: 4). This is indeed sending a mixed message to the audience, and certainly differs from the other newspapers' reports on him.

The newspaper also reports on the alleged unethical conduct of the mineral resources minister, Mosebenzi Zwane (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/14: 6).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ In the report the newspaper places an image of President Jacob Zuma where he is busy answering questions in Parliament. Its caption reads, "Ducking and Diving: President Jacob Zuma answers members' questions in the National Assembly". It also reports, "He was equally dismissive of questions about government ministers' attempts to quiz banks over their decision to ditch his friends, the Guptas, and his plans regarding former public protector Thuli Madonsela's report on state capture".

⁴⁵ According to the *Sunday Independent's* report, this refers to the words of the former public protector, Thuli Madonsela.

⁴⁶ In the report the *Sunday Independent* states, "The South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) in the North-West yesterday called on the public protector to investigate allegations concerning a mining company owned by the politically connected Gupta family. Sanco was concerned about allegations that the Mineral Resources Department 'is involved in the capture of

The newspaper makes reference in the opening paragraph of the report “Minister under scrutiny for ‘capture of mines’” to a Gupta company that receives preference because of its “political connections”. In another front-page report (*Sunday Independent*, 2016/09/4: 1) Minister Mosebenzi Zwane’s lie - that the cabinet made a decision to probe the reasons of the banks for the closure of the Gupta companies’ accounts - features prominently. At the same time the newspaper reports that the president reprimanded the minister, while the ANC called Minister Mosebenzi Zwane “irresponsible”.

The Gupta family is reported as having been involved in seventy-two (72) suspicious transactions, and that the Minister of Finance was taking them to court, while they were still adamant that they were not guilty of the corruption charges the minister had brought against them (Mkhwanazi, 2016/11/13: 4). The report itself focuses on the family’s claim that they would fight it but never points out in any way whether these allegations are far fetched. However it quotes even the Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC) Director Murray Mitchell who states (in reference to the Gupta family’s request to make the information known that the Minister of Finance Pravin Gordhan used in his court application), “We also want to point out that private persons are not entitled to access information reported to the FIC and, in particular, not the content of reports on suspicious and unusual transactions”.

The newspaper reports on some progress on the fight against corruption. It reports on a number of Catholic priests who lauded the *State of Capture* report (Zungu, 2016/11/6: 7).⁴⁷ In another report, the headline denotes the positive outcome⁴⁸ of the Public Protector’s report, which led to the resignation of the former CEO of Eskom (Njobeni, 2016/11/13: 1).

The *Sunday Independent* discusses the relationship of former ministers Tokyo Sexwale and Essop Pahad with the Guptas (Makatile, 2016/11/6: 7). It reports on their declaration that they were never in corrupt business deals with the Guptas; at the end of the report, the newspaper emphasises that they would welcome a commission of inquiry and that those that are guilty of corruption be charged. The report puts it in the public domain that these men are not involved, giving them plenty of space to respond, and generally writes in a positive manner about them, but also publishes calls from them, as from the SACP, some ANC members and the Public Protector, that the case be investigated.

The *Sunday Independent* also reports on those who were not present in parliament during the DA’s no-confidence vote in President Jacob Zuma. It specifically focuses on Minister Angie Motshekga which, it notes, was previously a strong and fierce supporter of President Jacob Zuma, but who apparently changed her tune, and was not present (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/11/13: 8). But it also publishes a picture of Julius Malema who was likewise absent. The reporting on the presence and

mines around Rustenburg for the benefit of the Gupta company JIC Mining Services, using political connections’, Sanco North West chairman Paul Sebegoe said”.

⁴⁷ See also the report of Ndaba (2016/03/20: 4) which indicates their initial application in which the newspaper records: “Madonsela’s spokeswoman, Kgalalelo Masibi, said the most recent request was from the Dominican Order, a group of Catholic priests and brothers in southern Africa”.

⁴⁸ The part of the headline, “claims its first scalp” has reference.

absence of members during the no-confidence vote, in general, creates a sense of the ethos of members of parliament and how they respond to a matter of moral interests.

b) *Burke's master tropes*

i Metaphor

The Guptas are to be regarded as a “controversial family”. They are described as a “parasitic bourgeoisie that seeks to entrench itself within key sectors in society”. The Guptas are also perceived as the friends of the president and Minister Mosebenzi Zwane. The newspaper’s reporting stems from the perspective that the President is in a corrupt relationship with the Guptas. In the report “Gloves to come off in battle for control of state (Magome & Thakali, 2016/03/20: 1) the *Sunday Independent* assumes that the audience accepts the guilt of the president, because it merely discusses the effects of the Guptas on the alliance partners of the ANC.

c) *Conclusion*

The *Sunday Independent* focuses particularly on the critical voice of the African National Congress (ANC) and this party’s utter condemnation of the corrupt relationship of the Guptas with some ministers and public officials. The newspaper does not vigorously report on the attitudes of Mcebisi Jonas and Vytjie Mentor or the close connection of President Jacob Zuma with the Guptas as in the case of the *Sunday Times*. It is clear that the newspaper found this important but did not outright report on the conduct of the president as often as it should have done. There is not much about the tension within the ANC and the relationship of this case with the prosecution of Gordhan. The emphasis is also not placed on the efforts by society and civil organisations to stamp out corruption. In terms of the ideological influence, one should also note the reference the newspaper makes to the black businesses and BEE.

7. 3. 3 The Mail and Guardian

a) *Describing the operations*

i Emphases

I identified fifty-nine (59) reports which relate to the alleged corruption involving the Gupta family’s influence over some ministers, public officials and state-owned enterprises. Ten (10) of these feature on the front page of the various newspaper editions throughout the year (2016). Apart from the ten front-page reports the reporting on this case is spread between the second and the eighth pages of the newspaper. It will not be possible to refer to each of the headlines, but only to provide a general feeling of what these front-page headlines and reports emphasise.

The *Mail and Guardian* places the report “Guptas are the elephant in the ANC lounge” (Letsoalo, 2016/01/29: 1) at the bottom of the second page. While the report is short its placement (on the front page) is significant. It is also the only reference to this case in the entire edition, while it should be noted that it is the first time in the

New Year (2016) that this case was reported. It is reported to be an issue of contention in the African National Congress (ANC) meetings and discussions.

Let me present these front-page headlines in order to convey the gist of the emphases of the newspaper, specifically in terms of its phrasing of the front page headlines: “Guptas conquer state arms firm” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/5: 1);⁴⁹ “Zuma Jr hits the big time” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/19);⁵⁰ “Battle lines drawn: Zuptas vs the Rest” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18);⁵¹ “Accused No 1” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/05/6a: 1);⁵² “Drummies guide to the Gupta times table” (*Mail and Guardian*, 9 2016/12/9: 1);⁵³ “The enemy within” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/12/2);⁵⁴ “The Accused. ANC finally calls Zuma to order” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/25);⁵⁵ “Gupta-linked bid to buy a bank” (*The Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/11: 1);⁵⁶ and “Zuma at the precipice” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/4a: 1).⁵⁷ The newspaper also places a specific emphasis on the role of state-owned institutions and their involvement with the Guptas in one of its reports (Shamase, 2016/02/5: 3). In some cases the newspaper dedicates a full page to the reports of the alleged corruption of the Guptas (McKune & Brümmer, 2016/02/5: 2).⁵⁸

⁴⁹ The *Mail and Guardian* provides some insight as regards the use of the headline: “Amid mounting outrage within the ruling alliance over their influence in high places, the family teams up with Denel to profit from the sale of its products in the East”.

⁵⁰ The *Mail and Guardian* provides some background to the headline: “The president’s son Duduzane will be the major winner in the multibillion-rand deal involving the takeover of Eskom supplier Optimum Coal by a ‘Gupta’ company”.

⁵¹ The *Mail and Guardian* publishes a front-page cartoon where the Gupta brothers are seen with a computer, buying from the government website minister online. It has the single inscription on the picture, “Buy the Beloved Country”.

⁵² On the front page of the *Mail and Guardian* (2016/05/6a: 1), the newspaper publishes an image, which shows President Jacob Zuma as an accused.

⁵³ The subheading under the headline reads, “How to turn a R3m coal-prospecting investment into a R900m deal in no time” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/12/9: 1)

⁵⁴ The subheading reads, “Now team Zuma targets ‘silent’ Cyril”. It includes a picture of fingers that all point to the middle - the problem lies within the ANC. This makes reference to an NEC meeting where it is reported that the deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa was quite quiet and did not support President Jacob Zuma.

⁵⁵ The front-page headline, “The accused”, has the subheading, “ANC finally calls Zuma to order”. The bullet point list on the front page indicates that others within the ANC are not comfortable with this. It states, “Integrity commission to quiz JZ on state capture, Nkandla and the Guptas; Commission members accused of bias after calling for president to step down; attempts are already afoot to disband the commission” The newspaper includes a picture of the president sitting on a chair in a dark room with the spotlight focusing on him.

⁵⁶ The main headline “Gupta-linked bid to buy a bank” (*The Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/11: 1) includes subheadings that read, “R450m bid ‘awaits regulatory approval” as well as “Low-key businessman emerges as key driver of the deal”.

⁵⁷ The headline “Zuma at the precipice” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/4a: 1) is given the following subheading, “Madonsela future-proofs SA from JZ”. The newspaper provides hints to other important headlines in the newspaper which include, “Please explain: JZ to face ANC NWC; Thuli’s team fear new PP bats for Zuma; Zuma’s road to ruin; The post-Zuma scramble for power”. It is striking how the cartoon on the front page depicts President Jacob Zuma on the edge of a cliff, which is starting to crumble beneath him.

⁵⁸ See the reports “Joint venture not approved by ministers” (McKune & Brummer, 2016/02/5: 2) as well as the report, “Guptas cash in on Denel deal” (Brummer, Sole & McKune, 2016/02/5: 2) which are both on one page.

In terms of antithetical emphasis (Lawrie, 2005: 129) the newspaper in the report “More courted cadres to come clean” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18b: 3) reflects a contrast between the heroes and the casualties in the Guptas debacle, in order for the audience to observe the spotlight which illuminates the heroes. In the item reference is made to those who “turned the Guptas down” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18b: 3)⁵⁹ but then also to those who might be able to claim the moral high ground if they follow the recent trend of ‘speaking out’. The newspaper emphasises what certain moral agents such as Vuyisile Kona (ex-chairperson of the board of SAA), Themba Maseko (ex-head of government communication and information systems) and Ben Martins (ex-minister of Transport) can contribute to the Gupta debacle.

The *Mail and Guardian* also places an emphasis on the wealth of the Guptas (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/29: 1). This is contrasted with the “guards sitting on the pavement” in front of the Gupta compound in Saxonwold (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/29: 2).⁶⁰

The *Mail and Guardian* emphasises the probable guilt of the president in comparing the meeting between him and the public protector on 6 October 2016 to discuss the close relationship of the Gupta family with the president and their alleged offer of cabinet jobs with a previous meeting (2013) between them on the Nkandla matter (De Wet, 2016/10/7b: 4).⁶¹ The newspaper compares these two meetings and projects the same outcome of the latter (the close relationship of the Gupta family with President Jacob Zuma) as with the former case of corruption (the Nkandla matter) that was investigated by the Public Protector. The newspaper predicts therefore that the president’s guilt will be on the cards.

ii Associations

Lawrie (2005: 130) argues that rhetoricians may try to persuade an audience by changing their views when breaking or making associations between issues, persons, and events that may do so. In analysing the *Mail and Guardian* in the calendar year 2016, I found some interesting, significant results.

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and its leader Julius Malema are associated with those fighting against the Guptas and their corrupt activities (Shamase, 2016/02/5: 3).⁶² President Jacob Zuma and others such as the current premier of the

⁵⁹ I quote from the report: “In the past five years, high-ranking officials are alleged to have been approached by the Gupta family with various offers of demands and to have turned them down”. With reference to these people the newspaper asserts, “These are the people who could claim the moral high ground if they were to come out swinging at the Gupta family”.

⁶⁰ I quote from the section of the report where such a contrast is clearly made, “At official functions they’re the guys in black suits or sporting earpieces, scanning the room. But mostly, these guards can be found sitting on the pavement outside the Gupta family’s multimillion rand Saxonwold Drive residence in Johannesburg” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/29: 2).

⁶¹ In the report the *Mail and Guardian* states in its introductory sentence, “If the fallout from the president’s last meeting [Nkandla] with public protector Thuli Madonsela is anything to go by, he is in for a tough time”.

⁶² In this report Julius Malema is quoted as saying, “The Guptas must leave the country with immediate effect. We are tired of talking about the Guptas and will take remedial action. We cannot have a situation where corrupt people are known and nothing is done”.

Free State province, Ace Magashule, are reported as the means of access the Guptas have to lucrative state tenders (Letsoalo, 2016/02/19: 4). The *Mail and Guardian* spent more than half of a report to focus on Magashule's involvement with the Guptas, when drawing on his link (his son) with the Guptas. The newspaper associates the Guptas with corrupt activities in the past and points out that they continue despite existing damning reports against them (Brümmer et al., 2016/02/5: 2).⁶³

In the report "Gupta family 'edged me out of Eskom'" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2) the newspaper also makes the connection between the Guptas and their involvement in the Passenger Railway Agency of South Africa (Prasa) as well as Denel, as two state-owned enterprises in which the Guptas are allegedly involved in corrupt transactions. In fact, Denel is in more than one report described as a state-owned enterprise that is involved in corrupt contracts with the Guptas (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/5: 2).⁶⁴

Finally, in the report "Ex-spy bosses to spill beans on Guptas" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/25: 4) an association is made between those committing corruption and those opposing it. The newspaper reports on four ex-spy bosses (Gibson Njenje, Siyabonga Cwele, and Moe Shaik, Jeff Maqetuka) who in 2011 planned a probe into the Gupta family's influence on the state. In another report the newspaper points to a dissociation, between some members of the ANC who are involved with the Guptas and others who are not (Letsoalo, 2016/02/19: 4).⁶⁵

The *Mail and Guardian* associates President Jacob Zuma with his son Duduzane Zuma. It assumes that there is a link between the president and the Guptas, and also the reverse, the Guptas' link to the president (Sole & Brümmer, 2016/02/19: 2). Therefore, when the Eskom's Optimum coal deal was negotiated and finalised the newspaper associates the president with corruption because of the involvement of his son (Sole & Brümmer, 2016/02/19: 2).⁶⁶

An association is made between those who do not support Jacob Zuma and the negative consequences of failing to support him (resulting in corruption) (Letsoalo, Whittles & Bendile, 2016/12/4: 3). Because the deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa did not support the president during the ANC National Executive Council (NEC) meeting where President Jacob Zuma had been hauled over the coals after he had

⁶³ In the report the *Mail and Guardian* refers to the continuous "cash in" of the Guptas, "The Guptas have done it again – this time by teaming up with state-owned arms manufacturer Denel to profit from the sale of its products in the East".

⁶⁴ At least two reports emphasise such a relationship, "Guptas cash in on Denel deal (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/5: 2) as well as "Why Denel 'needs' Gupta link (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/09/23: 11).

⁶⁵ In the report "You have to hand it to the Guptas" (Letsoalo, 2016/02/19: 4) the newspaper alludes to a division in the ANC, "As whisperings of discontent in the ANC over President Jacob Zuma grow louder, the party's Free State chair and premier Ace Magashule, has rushed to his defence". "He [Magashule] also challenged ANC leaders unhappy with Zuma's leadership to come out in the open and make their views known".

⁶⁶ In this report the *Mail and Guardian* makes this link between President Jacob Zuma and his son, "The acquisition of Optimum Coal by a Gupta Company puts one man above all in the pound seats: Duduzane Zuma. It also puts state functionaries in a fix. Should they deny him the consents and contracts he needs, they risk the displeasure of his father [Jacob Zuma], their boss."

been implicated in the *State of Capture* report, the newspaper reports that Cyril Ramaphosa was criticised by President Jacob Zuma's supporters. The newspaper associates President Jacob Zuma with cronyism, deceit (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/12/4: 3)⁶⁷ and government corruption (Steyn, 2016/12/4: 1).

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Mail and Guardian* provides reasons to support the allegations of the corruption of the Guptas. In one of its reports (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/22: 10) the newspaper indicates that the Guptas allegedly received a contract from Transnet without any other competitive tender being called for. In terms of the procurement regulations the newspaper showcases how the Guptas had unduly influenced the tender process (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/22: 10).⁶⁸ In another report the newspaper reports on the Guptas' involvement with Denel through what is called a "Gupta-link" company, VR Laser (De Wet, 2016/09/23: 11). The newspaper reports on the deal Denel will enter with VR Laser Asia (India), which the newspaper argues the Guptas will eventually benefit from. VR Laser would be granted the manufacturing license in India to manufacture products for Denel if National Treasury approve. VR Laser would market Denel technology to Indian manufacturers and in return they would receive 49% of all profits made. In essence, the newspaper draws attention to the Guptas' and Denel's corrupt relationship through the information provided.

The *Mail and Guardian* points to a strategic move of the Gupta family to cash in on the state, and indicates that the replacement of the minister of finance, Mr Nhlanhla Nene was an orchestrated move (De Wet, 2016/09/2: 3). In its reporting the newspaper builds up a case on (what it refers to as) the reasons behind his replacement by President Jacob Zuma. The newspaper links this replacement with Des van Rooyen, which it reports was the time during which illegal contracts were signed between state-owned enterprises and Gupta-owned companies (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/09/2: 3).⁶⁹

The newspaper argues that President Jacob Zuma wanted to delay the outcome of the *State of Capture* report when it refers to the president who wishes to "put a

⁶⁷ In the report the newspaper asserts, "About a week before Madonsela's investigative team was supposed to publish their state of capture report on October 14, they realised they were being 'played by President Jacob Zuma's team...'. "It was almost too late when the public protector's team caught on to the deceit with which Zuma clearly had no intention of answering their questions, despite promises to do so".

⁶⁸ I quote from the report: "a Gupta-linked company is poised to score the lion's share of a Transnet contract worth R800-million, without a competitive tender. Documents obtained by AmaBhungane and the Mail & Guardian show that, last November, the rail division of the parastatal issued the tender for an information technology (IT) solution, but controversially 'confined' it to one bidder only, the business software giant SAP. A condition of the tender was that an unusually high 60% of the value was to be spent on 'supplier development', normally aimed at black economic empowerment. This contravenes the treasury's 25% limit on subcontracting..."

⁶⁹ In one of the paragraphs in the report the newspaper indicates, "The presidency, the ANC and various officials have insisted that there is, likewise, no link between the criminal investigation of Van Rooyen's successor, Pravin Gordhan, and other recent events. But, as more and more information emerges from state-owned enterprises, through leaks, comments and court cases, the coincidences in timing continue to pile up".

spanner in the works” (Van Wyk et al., 2016/10/14: 2).⁷⁰ The newspaper depicts the event as quite unusual, referring to the “last-minute application” for a report that had been supposed to be released the same week (Friday). The president’s actions in relation to the *State of Capture* report are not presented as genuine or as an act with good intentions.

After the release of the *State of Capture* report (2 November 2016), the newspaper reports on the reason why it thinks this could be the end of the political career of President Jacob Zuma (Hlongwane, 2016/11/4: 6). The newspaper reports as follows: Zuma will face a commission of inquiry that will have different powers from any other previous commission of inquiry,⁷¹ because of the role to be performed by the Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, as well as the involvement of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and the Hawks.

The newspaper supports (Steyn, 2016/11/18: 2) the resignation of the former CEO of Eskom, Mr Molefe. The newspaper already conveys its verdict when it reflects in its headline that his resignation is “commonsense”. This is supported by the argument regarding the controversy around his alleged corrupt relationship with the Guptas, and the damning findings in the Public Protector’s *State of Capture* report (Steyn, 2016/11/18: 2).⁷²

After his resignation the newspaper provides reasons to the audience why his replacement, Mr Matshela Koko, would not be a suitable candidate for the job (Steyn, 2016/11/25: 3). The newspaper argues that he was also in a corrupt relationship with the Guptas, which provides enough reason not to appoint him to the position of CEO of Eskom.

The newspaper also provides more detailed information on how Eskom treated the management of Glencore-owned Optimum Coal mine differently from the Gupta-owned company Tegeta (De Wet, 2016/11/4: 2). The newspaper reports that Glencore was actually “forced” out of business, while Tegeta was given a pre-payment as a ‘start-up’.⁷³ The report “Guptas turn R3m into R900m in mystery-shrouded mining deal” supports the Public Protector’s *State of Capture* report regarding allegations of a corrupt relationship between Eskom and the Guptas. Eskom is reported to have “bent over backwards” to help the Guptas with this particular coal contract, and squeezed Glencore out (Bezuidenhout, 2016/12/9: 2, 3).

⁷⁰ In the report the *Mail and Guardian* remarks in the opening paragraph, “Outgoing public protector Thuli Madonsela was scheduled to recommend a full-blown commission of inquiry into state capture before President Jacob Zuma put a spanner in the works with a last-minute application to interdict her report, which was due to be released on Friday”.

⁷¹ The report of this commission will be similar to those of the Public Protector. Other commissions such as the Marikana Commission of Inquiry as well as the Seriti Commission of Inquiry are not the same as the one proposed by the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela.

⁷² As a supporting sentence to the headline in the business section of the newspaper “Molefe quitting is ‘common sense’.” it declares, “Law experts say chief executives under fire must weigh up what is in the company’s best interest”.

⁷³ The *Mail and Guardian* quotes from the *State of Capture* report the response of Thuli Madonsela, “It appears that the conduct of Eskom was solely for the purposes of forcing [OPTIMUM] into business rescue and financial distress”.

The paper provides more information on how the Guptas via other companies such as Trillian conducted business with Eskom (Bezuidenhout, 2016/11/25: 2).⁷⁴ The Gupta-owned company (Trillian) was merely the 'middle man' and for its role was paid in the process. The newspaper through its reporting therefore gives the audience more information on what it believes is a corrupt relationship between the Guptas and the state-owned enterprise, Eskom.

In the report "Gupta family 'edged me out of Eskom'" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2) the newspaper refers to more claims of corruption and argues that this allegation feeds into the bigger narrative, of the influence of the Guptas family in state-owned enterprises and public officials. In discussing the larger narrative the newspaper in one of its front-page reports "Diary of a Gupta Guard: VIPs and bags of cash" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/29: 1) presents a first-hand account of the people closest to the Guptas, and those (the security guards at the gates of the Guptas' residence) who were able to report on most if not all of the 'moves' of the Gupta brothers. It is their eyewitness accounts which reveal that four times one of the brothers visited "Number one" (with reference to President Jacob Zuma) (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/29: 2).⁷⁵

The *Mail and Guardian* also provides reasons why the Gupta family says, "As a family we now believe the time is right for us to exit our shareholding of the South African businesses". It argues the Gupta family made this statement because they had already transferred their money into the Bank of Baroda, having been paid by a mining company, named Centaur (Bezuidenhout, 2016/12/9: 2, 3). The newspaper presents this as one of the 'real' reasons why the Gupta family left South Africa without even second thoughts, contrary to the reason they provide.

The *Mail and Guardian* also reports that the delay of the president in signing the Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment Bill, might lead to further corruption and allow for the prevalence of money laundering (Steyn, 2016/12/9: 2).⁷⁶ The newspaper reports that institutions elsewhere would think twice before doing business with South Africa especially because of the country's money-laundering controls. President Jacob Zuma is not presented in a good light in terms of curbing corruption. The newspaper also reports that the reason for the closing of the Gupta's accounts is as a result of alleged money laundering (Bezuidenhout, 2016/11/11: 3).⁷⁷

⁷⁴ In the report the *Mail and Guardian* indicates, "The controversial Gupta-linked firm, Trillian, quietly handled negotiations for Eskom to settle a massive insurance claim, a service that stood to land Trillian a slice of a R100-million fee". It adds, "Trillian is 60% owned by a close Gupta family associate, Salim Essa".

⁷⁵ In the report the newspaper refers to the statement of a guard at the Gupta residence in Saxonwold, "I took Aja and Kamal to the presidential guesthouse. They'd stay for about 30 minutes to an hour. I made about four such trips".

⁷⁶ The subheading of the report "Zuma throws spanner in SA's financial works" (Steyn, 2016/12/9: 2) reads, "Not signing the Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment Bill can result in sanctions against banks and cross-border illicit flows will continue".

⁷⁷ In the *Mail and Guardian* report entitled "Last-gasp bid to buy bank by Gupta allies" (Bezuidenhout, 2016/11/11: 3) it is stated, "Gordhan's application revealed staggering information about some R6-billion in 'suspicious and unusual' transactions involving a string of Gupta companies – providing the first real insights into why the country's 'big four' banks terminated their accounts".

The newspaper also includes a specific report that discusses the performance of the Gupta companies (De Wet, 2016/02/19: 3). It illustrates the companies' 'good days' in business but also the 'bad days'. Most of the time it emphasises the downward scaling in the economic value of their businesses. The report questions the reason for the Guptas still being on the "acquisition trail despite suffering heavy trading losses" in the week of 19 February 2016. The audience therefore is not to believe that their action is without any hidden agenda. The *Mail and Guardian* suggests a possible manipulation and rigging by the Guptas. Through this report the newspaper sows a seed of doubt in terms of the economic activities of the Guptas (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/19: 3).⁷⁸

The *Mail and Guardian* also reports on the speculation that President Jacob Zuma would reshuffle his cabinet, after the case of the Guptas became a concern for some of his cabinet and party members (Du Plessis & Letsoalo, 2016/03/18: 8).⁷⁹

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Mail and Guardian* intends to 'move' its audience when it reports on the emotional state of some members within the ANC, showing 'anger' (Letsoalo, 2016/02/19: 4) for the Guptas' corrupt behaviour, and through playing on words, such as "an explosive week" and "more explosions" (admissions) could be coming (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18b: 3). In the report "Parastatals in Guptas' web" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/25: 2) the newspaper provides a graphic account⁸⁰ of all the ministers that are involved in an alleged corrupt relationship with the Gupta family. In this particular report, it maintains, "the Gupta family dominates the boards of South Africa's two largest state-owned enterprises, Eskom and Transnet". The report refers to the consequences of such a phenomenon (state capture) when it mentions: "the power this network could wield". This is a strategy of the newspaper to induce negative emotions in the audience towards the Gupta family.

The *Mail and Guardian* also plays on the emotions of the audience when it outlines a brief record of how the Hawks treated the corruption case and allegations into 'state capture' made through statements by Mcebisi Jonas and Vytjie Mentor (Steyn, 2016/11/11: 2). The newspaper wishes its audience to see that the Hawks are already compromised. According to the newspaper's headline (*Mail and Guardian*,

⁷⁸ I quote from the report, "Gupta firm rides a wild rollercoaster" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/19: 3): "A company [Oakbay] controlled by the Gupta family is having a crazy share price ride, but that has not dampened its fundraising ambitions".

⁷⁹ In the report the *Mail and Guardian* states in the opening paragraph the reason for a possible reshuffle, "This follows startling allegations this week by senior figures such as former MP Vytjie Mentor and the deputy finance minister, Mcebisi Jonas that the Guptas knew about their appointments in advance, or even offered them positions".

⁸⁰ The *Mail and Guardian* provides a flowchart in which it places the Gupta brothers in the middle, and then shows how they are linked with a few ministers and other people who include: Jessie Duarte (ANC deputy secretary general), John Duarte (former husband of Jessie Duarte), Kuben Moodley (special advisor to Zwane) who is connected to Salim Essa (a Gupta partner), Mosebenzi Zwane (Minister of Mineral Resources), and Des van Rooyen. It is quite a readable diagram, which enables almost any member of society to make sense of how the Guptas are connected with public officials and state-owned enterprises.

2016/11/11: 2)⁸¹ it is assumed that the Hawks are “captured” and that this is the reason insufficient progress has been made. The *Mail and Guardian* goes on to make reference to the Business Rescue operation handling the optimum coal deal. It asks rhetorically, “Will the Hawks [also!] sit on this report?” In the context of the damning findings of the former public protector documented in the *State of Capture* report the performance of the Hawks is quite disturbing. It re-emphasises the Hawks’ treatment of this case in a second report, which shows the serious extent of the Hawks dragging their feet in tackling allegations of corruption documented in the *State of Capture* report (De Wet, 2016/11/18: 6).⁸²

The *Mail and Guardian* might instill a sense of hopelessness, or discouragement in terms of the curbing of corruption in South Africa, especially when it refers to the five motions of no confidence against President Jacob Zuma during his terms of office and how he survived them all (Bendile, 2016/12/4: 2). However, it could also encourage some hope in the moral fight against corruption, when it reports on President Jacob Zuma’s waning of support, especially regarding what transpired in one of the NEC meetings of the ANC during November 2016. It really plays on the feelings of the audience when it vehemently states, “This time it’s happening” with reference to what it calls the “end for Zuma” (Hlongwane, 2016/11/4: 6).⁸³

The newspaper reports quite sympathetically on farmers in Brakfontein who complain of water pollution by the Gupta-linked Tegeta coal company. It explains that the mine’s water was leaking into the groundwater and was not good for the farmers’ crops in the vicinity (Kings, 2016/04/1: 6). In its report on the effect of the mine company on the farmers’ land it writes, “...Brakfontein is rapidly swallowing up the fields and wetlands around its two mines. In some cases, farmers have sold their land and moved away. But those who are left have to fight against – and police – a mine that they say is a bad neighbour” (Kings, 2016/04/1: 6).

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on what it refers to as an ‘audacious bid’ of the Gupta family to buy a bank, through their partners in South Africa (individuals who are linked to the Guptas including Hamza Farooqui, and Salim Essa of ‘Gupta linked’ companies VR Laser services and Tegeta Exploration and Resources) (Bezuidenhout, 2016/11/11: 3). The newspaper discusses this in the context of ongoing investigations on the closing of the Gupta companies’ bank accounts while in the interim they still ‘try’ other means, and this technique could make others who are already unsympathetic towards the Guptas, extremely angry.

The *Mail and Guardian* reported that President Jacob Zuma survived five motions of no confidence. It reports that apart from the opposition parties he was even losing support from members in the ANC, particularly from those in the upper echelons

⁸¹ The headline reads, “Captured Hawks will sit on report” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2016/11/11: 2)

⁸² It mentions in the opening paragraph of the report “State capture probe grinds to a halt” (De Wet, 2016/11/18: 6), that “The once fast-paced investigation into the state capture has slowed to a sloth’s pace, with the office of the public protector bowing out...”. The reference to “once fast-paced” and “sloth’s pace” gives some indication of the newspaper’s view of how the Hawks and the new public protector were handling such a serious case.

⁸³ In the report “Why this is the end for Zuma” the subheading states, “The state capture report is like a Pandora’s Box for the president: soon all the dirty secrets will tumble out, and the vultures are already circling” (Hlongwane, 2016/11/4: 6).

(Bendile, 2016/12/4: 2) and that he no longer enjoyed unconditional support. The newspaper presents short responses from members of the ANC's NEC to substantiate its claim. It foregrounds the irony, that although support for President Jacob Zuma was waning, he was still "stubborn" and does not want to step down (Bendile, 2016/12/4: 2).⁸⁴

The *Mail and Guardian* presents the responses of some unions to the call that President Jacob Zuma should resign (Whittles & Bendile, 2016/11/11: 4).⁸⁵ The newspaper records the diverse opinions of the unions, which range between those that see his leadership to have dire consequences for the country as a whole, to those who choose to refrain from commenting on the presidency of Jacob Zuma. However, the report raises questions (due to the emphasis on his poor leadership in the report), uncertainties, and doubt on the fitness of the president to hold office.

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Mail and Guardian* also invites the audience to agree by appealing to the public and President Jacob Zuma to do the right thing. In the report "The president who tossed away the rule book" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18c: 8) his lawless conduct is presented to the audience, asserting that that he is not in any way interested in the observance of the law. The newspaper also points to certain incidents to support its statement. For instance, it claims, "Zuma operates outside the rules, holding counsels of state – such as with Nxasana – without minutes or formal records, and meeting ministers and business people, con men, spooks and supplicants in informal settings where the exchanges are always deniable". The newspaper reports quite extensively on the political career of the president, wherein it emphasises in most parts of the report the events that relate to his unethical behaviour (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/4b: 4, 5).⁸⁶ In the report "More courted cadres to come clean" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18b: 3) the newspaper contrasts the above 'disobedience to the law' quotes and those who "turned the Guptas down" (who upheld the rule of law). It goes further by referring to those who might be able to "claim the moral high ground" if they follow the recent trend of 'speaking out'.

The Guptas are depicted in the newspaper's reporting as corrupt. One of the reports focusses on their contract with Eskom through one of their companies, Trillian

⁸⁴ In the supporting statement to the headline the newspaper adds, "The bruising NEC showdown has left the president bowed but stubbornly unbroken".

⁸⁵ The newspaper refers in its report to the National Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) and Cosatu.

⁸⁶ The report "Chronology of a president's long walk to self-implosion" (*Mail & Guardian*, 2016/11/4: 4, 5) mentions his unethical conduct during his tenure. I refer to certain acts as mentioned in the report: in 2009 "Zuma hits a personal lobby when he enrages sexual health activist after it emerges he fathered a child with a woman who was not one of his three wives at the time", in 2011 "...the president's controversial friends may have facilitated his bride-to-be's purchase of an R5.2-million home in the upmarket Pretoria suburb of Waterkloof", while in April 2013, "A private plane ferrying guests enroute to a Gupta family wedding at Sun City lands at Waterkloof Air Force Base outside Pretoria. It later emerges that the chief of state protocol, Bruce Koloane, had facilitated this on the instruction of 'Number One' [President Jacob Zuma]".

(Bezuidenhout, 2016/11/25: 2).⁸⁷ The Guptas' annual report is also included in a news item, and the newspaper uses it to discredit the family (De Wet, 2016/09/4b: 5). The newspaper argues that it is full of errors, disseminated at the last minute, contains sections of a previous report, and is permeated with plagiarism.⁸⁸ All of this does not speak well in terms of the ethos of the Gupta-linked companies (De Wet, 2016/09/4b: 5). In another report related to the Guptas the newspaper refers to the former Eskom chairperson, Zola Tsotsi, who claims he was fired from his job, because "he refused to bow to the politically connected [Gupta] family's demands" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2). According to the newspaper Tsotsi said the reason the Guptas "orchestrated"⁸⁹ his axing is because they wanted to make sure it would be only their company that would supply gas to Eskom units in the Western Cape (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2). This is also another report which depicts the Gupta family as corrupt.

It is striking that the *Mail and Guardian* reports on the Minister of Finance Pravin Gordhan's advice to the Guptas - they should take the banks to court if they have nothing to hide (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/09/16: 2). In the same breath, it reports that until the publication of the 16 September 2016 edition the Guptas did not take the banks to court (not following Gordhan's advice), which allows the audience therefore to question the Guptas' integrity (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/09/16: 2).⁹⁰ In the newspaper's headline (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/09/16: 2)⁹¹ it is suggested that they indeed have something to hide; hence their "slow" response to Pravin Gordhan's advice.

In one of the reports the newspaper also quite extensively questions why the Guptas was favoured by Eskom to supply coal, and the real reasons for the ending of the contract between Eskom and the previous coal supplier company, Glencore (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/02/26: 7). The newspaper questions the integrity of the process as well as the source of funding of the Guptas, and their means to purchase the Glencore-owned optimum mine. The newspaper reports on this in a February edition but also in November and observes that the Guptas and Eskom were involved in ousting the Glencore-owned Optimum mine company (De Wet, 2016/11/4: 2).

⁸⁷ The newspaper refers to a company called Trillian that was mentioned in the *State of Capture* report and states, "Trillian is 60% owned by a close Gupta family associate, Salim Essa. The company was recently named by the public protector as one of several companies that allegedly paid towards the Gupta family's purchase of a coal mine...".

⁸⁸ The newspaper reports, "Oakbay also copied large sections verbatim from its 2015 annual report and earlier company documents" (De Wet, 2016/09/4b: 5)

⁸⁹ In the report "Gupta family 'edged me out of Eskom'" (*Mail & Guardian*, 2016/03/18: 2) Zola Tsotsi is quoted as saying, "They wanted to supply gas through Eskom units in the Western Cape. The units were supposed to produce gas. They [the Guptas] wanted exclusivity. But others [businesses] had already signed memoranda of understanding with Eskom. I said to them I can't change that...That's when they told me I don't support them,..."

⁹⁰ The report "Guptas slow to act on Gordhan's advice" (*Mail & Guardian*, Business, 2016/09/16: 2) makes the link between Gordhan's advice, and the action of the Guptas on the matter of the closing of their bank accounts. I quote, "Gordhan, responding to questions in Parliament, warned, however, that if Oakbay goes to court it should have nothing to hide" and then directly include the sentence "As individuals, none of the Gupta brothers has laid a complaint with the ombud for banking services".

⁹¹ The headline reads, "Guptas slow to act on Gordhan's advice".

The *Mail and Guardian* also reports on the summons issued by the ANC's integrity commission to President Jacob Zuma, because the latter believed that he brought the party into disrepute (Letsoalo & Bendile, 2016/11/25: 3). Though the *Mail and Guardian's* reporting may suggest that the ANC is stepping up to combat corruption, the item indicates that the exercise would be futile, especially in terms of the response from the Secretary General of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe, who regarded the request by the commission only as a "talk", and therefore nothing serious in terms of disciplinary action should be expected. However, the newspaper still instills hope that this might be finally the last 'nail' in President Jacob Zuma's coffin (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/25: 1).⁹²

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on what is not 'so' public – the celebration of a group of Catholic priests following the release of the *State of Capture* report (Collison, 2016/11/4: 7). They lodged one of the three complaints that were simultaneously filed with the former public protector, requesting an investigation into the alleged corrupt relationship of the Guptas with some public officials and state-owned enterprises as well as into their meddling in state affairs.

The newspaper instills confidence in the audience, emphasising that the *State of Capture* report and the matters around the undue influence of the Gupta family would not be easily swept under the carpet. It includes a report (Van Wyk, 2016/11/4: 1, 2) on how the public protector ensured (through her recommendations) that the matter would be dealt with in the public domain. The newspaper's argument should be understood against the background of those who wanted to do away with the report, and what they might attempt after she vacated the office of the Public Protector. However, the newspaper assures the audience that she and her team had carefully planned the report so that the matter would not easily be swept away as the "culprits" would hope.

The newspaper raises its concerns with the audience when it reports on a rumour that Mr Matshela Koko would replace Mr Brian Molefe. It is reporting it associates him with the Gupta family, which tarnishes his integrity and moral character, especially in the light of the allegations of corruption that the newspaper associates with the Guptas (Steyn, 2016/11/25: 3).⁹³

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Mail and Guardian* allows the audience to see the Guptas as the "elephant in the room" (Letsoalo, 2016/01/29: 1) and in so doing indicates the negative effect that they have on the good functioning of society, as well as an issue which the country cannot easily ignore. In furthering its perspective, the newspaper repeatedly reports

⁹² This has particular reference to the word "finally" that the *Mail and Guardian* uses in its opening paragraph, "The ANC is finally calling Jacob Zuma to order". The heading expresses an almost similar sentiment, suggesting an eventual resolution to the president's corrupt behaviour, "ANC at last calls Zuma to account".

⁹³ In a subheading it is stated in bold, "Eskom's heir apparent has also been tainted by Gupta deals – and might not be up to the job".

on the Guptas as a powerful family (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2). In the report “Gupta family ‘edged me out of Eskom” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/18a: 2) the newspaper already asserts that there are more such claims. The newspaper often refers in the report to this “powerful family”, and places Zola Tsotsi next to other prominent individuals who speak out against the Guptas. In addition, the report “Parastatals in Guptas’ web” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/25: 2) begins with (as its primary emphasis) “the Gupta family dominates the boards of South Africa’s two largest state-owned enterprises, Eskom and Transnet” which also reinforces the metaphor of the Guptas as ‘powerful’ and influential.

The *Mail and Guardian* portrays the Guptas as a rich and wealthy family (Bezuidenhout & Letsoalo, 2016/04/15: 3). This perspective is presented when the newspaper reports particularly on a costly and large Indian wedding that was hosted by the Guptas in Turkey. In another report, the newspaper emphasises the riches of the Guptas when it contrasts these with an “ugly hotel”. In the report “Residence sees red over Guptaplex” the newspaper mentions the Guptas’ neighbours who filed a complaint because they believe the Guptas’ house is “not built for a single family” (De Wet, 2016/07/29: 12).⁹⁴

The newspaper again terms the Guptas a “controversial family” in one of its opening paragraphs (Bezuidenhout, 2016/12/9: 2, 3). In this regard, the newspaper illustrates the corruption of the Guptas when it reports on allegations of money laundering, and that they have money linked to them at a bank in Baroda (Bezuidenhout, 2016/12/9: 2, 3).

It also reports frequently on a split in the ANC between those who support President Jacob Zuma and those like its coalition partners and the ANC veterans (Letsoalo & Bendile, 2016/11/25: 3) who are concerned with the integrity of the party (Whittles, 2016/11/18: 12).

It represents President Jacob Zuma as constantly fighting corruption allegations against him (Bendile, 2016/12/4: 2). He combats the Public Protector’s *State of Capture* report as well as the opposition parties that constantly request a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

ii Irony

In the midst of the allegation of corruption and the involvement of the president the newspaper quite ironically states “President Jacob Zuma is going nowhere” (Whittles & Bendile, 2016/11/11: 5). The public protector’s *State of Capture* report that made damning findings against the president, and calls for the ANC to remove Zuma, is pitted against the unlikelihood of the ANC taking action against him.

c) Conclusion

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses on the president, the Gupta family, and state institutions that are corrupt. It also reports on how corruption took place, adducing reasons to confirm corruption allegations. Hence, the *Mail and Guardian* does not

⁹⁴ The *Mail and Guardian* reports, “A gargantuan house adjoining the family compound is attracting ire from neighbours, who want it demolished” (*De Wet*, 2016/07/29: 12).

place a lot of emphasis on the good stories, those who took a stand against corruption, but rather on the connections between the Guptas and the president.

7. 3. 4 The *Rapport*

a) *Describing the operations*

i Emphases

The *Rapport* includes thirty-five (35) reports that relate to the Guptas' alleged corrupt relationship with public officials, and state-owned enterprises. These include six (6) front-page reports.

The following main front page headlines appeared during the 2016 calendar year: "Applous vir Zuma" (De Lange, 2016/03/20: 1); "Só kan Zuma val" (*Rapport*, 2016/03/27: 1); "Die Guptas vlug landuit" (Gibson & Haffajee, 2016/04/10: 1); "Guptas 'koop' huis vir ANC-man"(AmaBhungane, 2016/05/1: 1); "Guptas sê hul hou uitverkoping van al hul SA aandele" (De Lange, 2016/08/28: 1); "Die meeste Gupta lede reeds weg van Eskom" (Van Rensburg, 2016/11/20: 1); "Zuma ek bly net waar ek is" (De Lange, 2016/11/6: 1, 2) and "Malema se kern-bom" (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13a: 1). Here follows a brief discussion of the overall emphasis of the front page headlines and news items.

The newspaper reports on the standing ovation for the president during an NEC meeting in Irene which was regarded as a meeting where he was expecting strong opposition from those who wished to speak out against his corrupt style of leadership (*Rapport*, 2016/03/20: 1).⁹⁵ The newspaper emphasises the irony that though the President has to answer to allegations of corruption, he was applauded by his party's leaders. It seems to be sympathetic to his feelings and the road ahead (*Rapport*, 2016/03/27: 1).⁹⁶ The report does not focus on the 'fall' of President Jacob Zuma itself but the strategies within the ANC to put the matter to rest. The front-page report "Guptas vlug landuit" is also not so much a report on the president's role but more on how the Guptas became involved with the President, not the other way around.⁹⁷ It therefore seems that the case is reported on most of the front pages from the perspective of the Guptas and their role in the corrupt relationship.

⁹⁵ In the report "Applous vir Zuma" (De Lange, 2016/03/20: 1) the *Rapport* states, "Ondanks ongekende kritiek teen Zuma se gekorrupteerde leierskapstyl onder senior ANC-leiers en alliansievernote, het die Zuma-kamp 'n vroeë oorwinning behaal by die naweek se vergadering van die party se nasionale uitvoerende committee (NUK) in Irene buite Pretoria. In so 'n mate dat 'n gewaande voorstel om hom te herroep nooit eens deur sy vynade in die NUK gemaak is nie...Zuma is met 'n staande ovasie begroet toe hy eergister by die vergaderingsaal arriveer".

⁹⁶ It refers in the report to the vulnerability of the president: "Zuma gaan polities uiters kwesbaar wees as die hof die ergste bevinding teen hom sou maak..."

⁹⁷ In the opening paragraph of the report, the newspaper commences the report from the perspective and the role of the Guptas. In terms of the report, it seems that the Guptas had been positioning themselves well as regards their relationship with the president. The newspaper states, "Die toksiese Gupta-familie, wat hulle geposisioneer het as pres. Jacob Zuma se boesemvriende, maar wat hom nog eendag sy pos kan kos, het die Donderdagnag aan boord van hulle private straler verlaat..."

There are also other concerns in terms of the *Rapport's* emphases. The newspaper in some instances prioritises certain cases, placing these on its front page, while reports on other cases (of corruption) are shoved to the back of the page (Rooi, 2016/02/14: 6). A particular case is the 14 February 2016 edition, in which the report "Maties vir die wolwe gegooi" (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 1)⁹⁸ receives preference despite the ongoing corruption case involving the Guptas. In this particular edition, the report relating to the undue influence of the Guptas was placed on the sixth page. Some of the newspaper's reports are not noticeable, but quite short and small positioned at the bottom of the page (Comrie, 2016/02/21: 12). The report on an application of the Guptas to operate a news channel at the SABC also serves as an illustration.

The *Rapport* also emphasises on one of its second pages the continuous involvement of the Guptas in corrupt activities (McKune, 2016/05/15: 2). The specific report revolves around their alleged fight for a share in the Independent Newspaper Company in South Africa.

Rapport also emphasises the decision of the president to review the *State of Capture* report (Cele, 2016/12/4: 4). The newspaper reports on the reasons of the president: that the public protector has the power to dictate the terms and conditions, for instance the recommendation that someone else, the Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, should set up a Commission of Inquiry and not the president. To refer to the reaction of the president in its headlines catches the attention of the audience at first glance, which means that the newspaper wants its audience to know what his reaction is to the damning report.⁹⁹

ii The associations

The *Rapport* associates President Jacob Zuma, his son (Duduzane), the state-owned company Denel, the New Age newspaper and their workers as being the Guptas' victims (Rooi, 2016/02/14: 6).¹⁰⁰ In one of the items, the Guptas are reported to be associated with President Jacob Zuma (Gibson & Haffajee, 2016/04/10: 1). The newspaper refers to the Gupta family as "toksiese" [toxic] and "boesemvriende" [close friends] of President Jacob Zuma (Gibson & Haffajee, 2016/04/10: 1).

The newspaper compares President Jacob Zuma with the newly elected president of the United States, Donald Trump, and concludes that Zuma's presidency is much worse because of South Africa is still young in terms of its democracy (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13b: 2).¹⁰¹ The newspaper in the report focuses more on the system of

⁹⁸ It was published on the newspaper's front page of 14 February 2016 and reports on the treatment of two students by the University of Stellenbosch.

⁹⁹ There was indeed also the view of the public protector, but to state the view of the president as a headline shows the newspaper's perspective.

¹⁰⁰ In the report "Hoeveel van SA is in Guptas se sakke?" (Rooi, 2016/02/14: 6) the newspaper reports on all those who are in the pockets of the Guptas. Therefore, this is written more in terms of the role of the Guptas and their part in the corrupt relationship, and displays the president almost as a victim of the circumstances. The following quote reveals the perspective of the newspaper, "Malema en die EFF is nou op 'n volgende sending: Om die Guptas, wat noue bande het met pres. Jacob Zuma, aan die kaak te stel".

¹⁰¹ In the report, "Zuma is skadeliker as Trump" (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13: 2) it is asserted, "En tog is die verkiesing van 'n seksuele teisteraar [Donald Trump] tot die Withuis waarskynlik 'n mindere ramp vir Amerika as wat die blote voorstelling van Jacob Zuma se termyn tot in 2017 vir Suid-Afrika is".

governance than on the two presidents (Zuma and Trump) (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13b: 2).¹⁰²

The newspaper also associates the former CEO of Eskom, Mr Molefe, with the Guptas (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13c: 2).¹⁰³ It points out how they are linked, and makes the point that no Gupta associate or member remained on the board of Eskom at the date of publication (20 November 2016) (Van Rensburg, 2016/11/20: 1).

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Rapport* presents reasons to confirm the Guptas' corrupt behaviour when it reports on the departure of the Guptas, after the four major South African banks closed down their accounts. In the report "Die Guptas is uit! Maar Zuma is nog in..." (*Rapport*, 2016/04/10: 2) the newspaper reports that the departure of the Guptas from South Africa was not the 'real' problem, and that South Africans should rather focus on the west wing of the "Union Buildings", an allusion to the office of President Jacob Zuma. The newspaper refers to the various (corrupt) networks that were still available to the president, referring specifically to the Hawks and the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). The newspaper reports that though this might possibly be the end of the Guptas, it is definitely not the end of President Jacob Zuma and his suspicious deals, due to his broader network and contacts in strategic organisations and institutions (*Rapport*, 2016/04/10: 2).¹⁰⁴ This should be placed in the context of various reports that are intended to portray the Guptas as the initiator of such a corrupt relationship between them and the president, as mentioned earlier.

The *Rapport* illustrates the corrupt relationship between the Guptas and the president (Comrie, 2016: 12). In the report "Gupta-TV kry digitale terugslag" Comrie (2016/02/21: 12) substantiates such an allegation when it refers to the Guptas' application for a news channel that is said to compete with the SABC. Comrie goes into finer details such as publishing the exact percentage of shares that the son of President Jacob Zuma (Duduzane Zuma) owned in the company. This indeed raises serious concerns of alleged corruption in the application.

The newspaper presents as the main reason (as communicated in the report by the secretary-general of the ANC) behind the ANC's discontinuation of the investigation into the alleged influence of the Guptas: the upcoming local elections on 3 August 2016 (*Rapport*, 2016/06/5b: 2). Could it be that the newspaper places the party business above issues of corruption? The newspaper presents this as the case.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² It states in the report, "Zuma is skadeliker as Trump" (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13: 2), "Dit is nie omdat Trump 'n goeie ou is en Zuma 'n skurk is nie. Dit is omdat Amerika 'n diepgewortelde demokrasie het.

¹⁰³ In the report the newspaper writes, "Rapport het verneem dat hy [Brian Molefe] in die tyd toe hy met die Guptas kennis gemaak het gereeld by die familie se huis in Saxonwold gekuier het".

¹⁰⁴ In the report the *Rapport* states quite frankly, "Maar ondanks hulle [Guptas] beeld as 'openbare vyand nommer een' was (en is) die Guptas nooit ons grootste probleem nie. Een van ons probleme, ja, maar nie die grootste een nie. Suid Afrika se grootste probleem sit nogsteeds veilig in sy kantoor in die westelike vleuel van die Uniegebou. Sy naam is Jacob Zuma..."

¹⁰⁵ The newspaper states, "Daar gaan niks in die ANC gebeur rondom die posisie van pres. Jacob Zuma voordat die munisipale verkiesing verby is nie. It also refers to the words of a source in the ANC, "Die uitslag van die verkiesing sal bepaal of daar hoegenaamd iets gaan gebeur".

The newspaper refers to the departure of the Guptas as a “uitverkoping van aandele” [selling of shares] in its reporting (De Lange, 2016/08/28: 1). This is very different from the way in which the other newspapers’ headlines depict this event. The newspaper links the departure of the Guptas with the “intimidation campaign” against Gordhan. It reports that the Guptas threatened the National Treasury with lawsuits because of a report which implied the unlawfulness of a contract between the Guptas’ coal company, Tegeta Resources and Eskom (De Lange, 2016/08/28: 1).¹⁰⁶ The newspaper focuses on what it believed to be the “real” reasons why they are leaving - the result of the multiple allegations of corruption against them.¹⁰⁷

The newspaper reports that the ‘salvation’ of South Africa lies in the 60 loyal supporters of President Jacob Zuma, so that if they change their ‘tune’, the country will change (Rooi, 2016/12/4b: 4).¹⁰⁸ These include traditionalists, nationalists, tenderpreneurs, pragmatists, the business elite and some members of Cosatu.

The *Rapport* appeals to the president in its reporting to reconsider or dismiss his speculated reshuffle of cabinet members (Rooi, 2016/12/4a: 4). This, the newspaper reports, will allow them (with reference to the Anti-Zuma faction) only to mobilise themselves outside of the ANC. The report itself is more in the form of advice to the president, and in no way directly admonishing him. But it clearly exhibits the ideological position of the newspaper in terms of what route it believes is best for the country and the president.

The newspaper also paints a negative picture of one of the companies of the Guptas. It includes two reports that refer to the negative effects of a Gupta mining company on farmers and the community situated in the province of Mpumalanga. It allows space for a report in which it illustrates how one of the mines that are linked to the Guptas is negatively affecting¹⁰⁹ the farmers in the precinct (George, 2016/11/13: 4).¹¹⁰ In another report “Boere baklei teen myn met Gupta-bande” the newspaper reports on the devastating effects the Gupta-linked mine has on the community of

¹⁰⁶ I quote from the report, “Vroeër die week het hulle [Guptas] erg nog die tesourie met regstappe gedreig om te keer dat die departement ’n verslag bekend maak oor die wettigheid van die kontrakte tussen die Guptas se steenkoolmaatskappy, Tegeta Resources, en Eskom”.

¹⁰⁷ The newspaper reports, “Die Guptas se vlug landuit is ook voorafgegaan deur indringende vrae oor die Optimum-oornome. Die oornome is minder as drie weke voor die familie se skielike vertrek deur die land se mededingingsowerhede goedgekeur. ’n Paar weke vroeër het Mcebisi Jonas, adjukminister van finansies, ook bekend gemaak dat die Guptas hom die pos van minister van finansies aangebied het kort voor Nhlahla Nene deur Zuma afgedank is”.

¹⁰⁸ In the report the newspaper states, “Suid Afrika se politieke heil lê tans in die hande van net sowat 60 lojale ondersteuners van pres. Jacob Zuma: nasionaliste, tradisionaliste, die premierliga en die sogenaamde tenderpreneurs. Hulle is kripvreters wat hoop Zuma se netwerk van patronaatskap oorleef – en dit is hulle en hul meelopers wat die president verlede naweek ‘gered’ het in die brutale vergadering van die ANC se nasionale uitvoerende kommittee (NUK), wat altesame 104 lede het”.

¹⁰⁹ The newspaper refers to one of the negative effects of the mining activity, “Die erg besoedelde Kleindrinkwaterspruit, wat ’n paar honderd meter van die beoogde mynskag af verbyvloei. Dié spruit vloei in die Vaaldam in en is reeds deur mynbedrywighede besoedel. Boere vrees die Centaur-myn sal dit selfs meer besoedel” (George, 2016/11/13: 4).

¹¹⁰ In the report, the newspaper refers to a letter from farmers in Mpumalanga who request that the Department of Mineral Resources does not approve an application for a licence by a Gupta-linked mining company. The newspaper presents the Guptas as a family that does harm to farmers who want to make a living but are threatened by the mining activity of the Guptas.

Mooifontein (Eybers, 2016/06/19c: 6, 7). This mine has forced the community of Mooifontein to relocate. It is striking that the author refers to the Guptas and President Jacob Zuma's son (Duduzane), and links them with this case. The newspaper mentions the fresh air and clear skies to which the community was accustomed, but owing to the mining activities, those days have gone. The newspaper asserts that community members now have to stare into the hills of the coal mine polluting the area. Through this contrast the newspaper is able to display to the audience the role the Guptas play in creating the misery and unbearable circumstances of farmers and local communities.

The newspaper's choice to use the rationale of Vytjie Mentor to explain the reason for the president to take the *State of Capture* report on review is striking. According to her the reason for this action is a sign that he did not want to comply with the Public Protector's recommendations and establish a Commission of Inquiry into 'state capture' and also did not wish to appear in court to restore his reputation (Rooi, 2016/11/27: 2). This, Vytjie Mentor argues, should already be a sign of his complicity with the Guptas. The newspaper employs in its reporting not only Vytjie Mentor but also law experts. One such expert particularly criticises the review requested by President Jacob Zuma because his reasons - to test the powers of the Public Protector in the courts - had already been exercised by him during the Nkandla case. Therefore, he argues, this is a futile exercise.

The newspaper portrays the resignation of Mr Molefe as the CEO of Eskom as a loss for President Jacob Zuma because it argues that there will be less chance that he will reap benefits from the nuclear deal (De Lange, 2016/11/20: 1).¹¹¹ However it should be noted that the report is in the business section of the newspaper (located towards the back), and focuses rather on the pros and cons of the nuclear deal, in no sense incriminating the president.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Rapport* refers in one of its front-page reports to the reason the Gupta family provides for their sudden departure from South Africa (Gibson & Haffajee, 2016/04/10: 1). It reports on the emotional response from the Guptas: "die druk het te erg geraak" [the pressure became too much]. Other reasons include how they feel they are treated in South Africa; therefore their decision to host one of their weddings far from this country's borders. Could it be that the newspaper's emphasis on their emotional state might persuade the audience to become sympathetic towards the Guptas? The newspaper nonetheless does not support any sympathy for the Guptas, when it ironically states in one of its headlines "Dit is beter dat ons loop" [it is better that we go] as the response of the Guptas, after four major banks in South Africa closed down their accounts. In fact, this indicates that this is indeed one way in which the Guptas seek public sympathy.

It also reports on most of President Jacob Zuma's comrades who support a call for him to step down after the release of the *State of Capture* report and findings in the

¹¹¹ In the headline the newspaper states, "Molefe se bedanking: Dis 'n slag vir Zuma. Nou het hy niemand wat geld kan bewimpel vir kernkrag".

report that implicate him. It further reports on the passionate support of the ANC Youth League which made a request to the MK veterans to take up arms for the president (Singh & Etheridge, 2016/10/16: 2). The report itself might incite and inflame various emotions, especially violence and hatred, from the audience.

The newspaper reports (Retief, 2016/10/23: 9) on the lifestyle of the whistleblower Vytjie Mentor, including her “noue-ontkoming” [near-death experience], as well as the threatening e-mails and messages she received, because she spoke out against corruption. These details might evoke sympathy from the audience.

The newspaper really intends to instill further anger and frustration amongst those who want the president to step down, when it reminds the audience that the president can do yet more harm than already caused, because he has all those in key positions at the NPA, Hawks, SABC, SAA, Eskom and others under his control; which makes him a powerful but also dangerous opponent (*Rapport*, 2016/11/6: 2).

v The appeals (ethos)

The newspaper reports on the ethical conduct of the former public protector and the time she gave President Jacob Zuma to respond to questions relating to her investigation into the Guptas' corrupt relationship and influence on public officials and state-owned enterprises (Rooi, 2016/10/9: 2). The newspaper reports on her skillful move which will make it difficult for President Jacob Zuma or those supporting him to do away with the recommendations and findings documented in the *State of Capture* report (Rooi, 2016/11/6: 4). It deals with a few constitutional law experts' comments, and underlines that which argues that it was a “meesterskuif” [masterstroke] to put all the witnesses and concerns on the table, because this strengthens the case for the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry. Other concerns are raised but the bottomline is, according to the experts, that there is no way in which the president could survive.

The newspaper presents the Guptas as being corrupt (Rooi, 2016/10/9: 2; De Lange, 2016/08/28: 1). In the first sentence and opening paragraph it reports that the Gupta family who are suspected of 'state capture' and endemic corruption have announced that they will sell their share of South African companies.

The newspaper in one of its opening paragraphs (Rooi, 2016/10/23: 2) associates the new Public Protector (Busisiwe Mkhwebane) with the president, and places the opposition political parties on the other side (those calling for the president to step down) of the divide. The newspaper includes her response that she will not oppose the president's application to interdict the *State of Capture* report. The newspaper does not report positively on her ethical character, especially the comments from the opposition parties on her unwavering support for the president that is evident in terms of this case.

The newspaper reports on the intention of President Jacob Zuma, not only to take the *State of Capture* report on review, but also to eventually nullify the report (De

Lange, 2016/10/30: 2).¹¹² Though this is indeed his legal right as a South African citizen, the manner in which the newspaper reports on his conduct depicts him as one who does not have the best interests of the public at heart, but rather his own (to ensure that the report is never made public). His conduct is compared with a previous attempt on other corruption charges, in which the case was delayed after his legal team disputed his right to a fair trial which became known as the ‘spy tapes’ case. After a few legal battles the court eventually dismissed the NPA’s argument that he would not be subjected to a fair trial, and charges of corruption were then reinstated. The newspaper’s comparison is designed to emphasise the deviant actions of the president.

In the opening paragraph of one of its reports (De Lange, 2016/11/13: 2) the newspaper also refers to President Jacob Zuma who went to an ANC parliamentary caucus (before MPs took part in the vote of no confidence in his presidency) and encouraged members to vote against such a motion. It reports further on MPs who went against their conscience and voted against the motion. The report highlights the unethical leadership of the president and the actions of these ANC members.

Rapport raises concerns in its reporting on the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Gwede Mantashe. He is depicted as someone who “has lost his mind” in his seeming disregard for the constitution (Rooi, 2016/02/21: 2).¹¹³

b) Burke’s master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Rapport* uses the words “buitengewoon” [extraordinary] and “absurd” [absurd] in reference to the remarks by Mr Gwede Mantashe (Rooi, 2016/02/21: 2) which the newspaper regards as disrespect for the constitution. It also refers to the response of Mr Mantashe as “benoude spronge van ’n benoude kat”, which describes someone who is running away from danger. The newspaper intends the audience to perceive the allegations levelled against the Guptas as spelling trouble for the ANC. It lines up numerous comments that discredit Mr Mantashe’s character – in the context of what was currently taking place (state capture).

The *Rapport* calls attention to the strong pro-Zuma factions within the ANC (De Lange, 2016/03/20: 1).¹¹⁴ It also terms the anti-Zuma campaigners “fearful” and “scared” ANC loyalists, because they also praised President Jacob Zuma at the NEC meeting. The newspaper presents this in contrast with what should have really occurred: his recall. The writer refers to a speech that he delivered at the Soweto

¹¹² In the report the newspaper declares in its opening paragraph, “Eers wou pres. Jacob Zuma net die bekendmaking van adv. Thuli Madonsela se verslag oor ‘staatskaping’ vertraag. Nou wil hy die verslag heeltemal begrawe sodat niemand dit ooit sien nie”.

¹¹³ In the report with the headline “Gwede kluts kwyt” the newspaper makes reference to the words of Mr Mantashe, “...Dit kan tog nie wees dat elke keer wat ons in die wetgewer ’n besluit neem, dit na die regbank hoef te gaan om bekragtig te word nie? Ek val nie die howe aan nie, maar ons is die meerderheid. Ons moet die reg hê om besluite te neem en dit af te dwing”.

¹¹⁴ In the front-page report with the headline “Applous vir Zuma” the newspaper reports that despite calls for him to step down, this did not happen, but rather – and this is in big, bold, capital letters – there was “Applous” [applause] for him (De Lange, 2016/03/20: 1).

stadium as “niksseggende” [meaningless]. The newspaper places the picture of President Jacob Zuma and the caption “toegejuig” [applauded], the picture of Gwede Mantashe “geirriteerd” [agitated] and Gordhan “afwesig” [absent] during the NEC meeting where the issue of the president was said to be on the table. The applause for the president is discussed against the background of the economic downturn in South Africa under his leadership; therefore the newspaper regards the applause as quite ironic in terms of the state of affairs in the country.

The *Rapport* depicts the president as possessing ample networks; he will therefore survive notwithstanding the departure of the Guptas (De Lange, 2016/04/10: 2). He has established networks in all the strategic positions over years. The newspaper describes the president as powerful, and what he says as ANC leader is executed.

The newspaper reports that the Guptas were behind the announcement of Minister Mosebenzi Zwane in which he said the cabinet had made a decision that the reason for the closure of the bank accounts of the Gupta companies should be investigated (De Lange, 2016/09/25: 9). The newspaper raises the argument that such an error should be enough for a dismissal from office, but reports that the minister was still allowed to continue. The newspaper alludes once again to the involvement of the Guptas, behind the scenes, pulling the strings. The newspaper also reports on the Guptas’ wealth, and their ‘mansion’ in the midst of a desert (Comrie, 2016/05/8: 4).

ii Metonymy

The *Rapport* made effective use of mind maps, to present the essence of the Gupta case (Rooi, 2016/02/14: 6). The newspaper essentially focuses on the guilt of President Jacob Zuma stemming from his involvement in a corrupt relationship with the Guptas. In one of its front-page reports (De Lange, 2016/03/20: 1) it assumes that the audience accepts the president as corrupt, and therefore conveniently merely proceeds with providing the audience with reasons why it is in the best interests of the president to step down.

iii Irony

In the report “Guptas ‘koop’ huis vir ANC-man” (AmaBhungane, 2016/05/1: 1) the newspaper mentions a few supporting arguments and clues that point to the Gupta family’s involvement in the purchasing of a property worth R140 000 for the ANC youth league leader Collen Maine. The newspaper intends the audience to question the purchase and also makes it appear in the report that it is quite impossible for him and his wife to be able to afford such a home on a “landgoed” [estate].

The newspaper also contrasts the report “Die Guptas se nuwe nes in die woestyn” [the new mansion of the Guptas in the desert] (Comrie, 2016/05/8: 4) with a previous report “Guptas vlug landuit” which reports on the seemingly sad turn of events for the Guptas in South Africa after four major banks decided to close their accounts. The closing of the account and the seemingly sad tale does not sit well in terms of their new dwelling. This indicates that the story of the Guptas is much more than just the closing of their bank accounts; instead, it is an issue of corruption.

c) Conclusion

Rapport focuses more than the other three newspapers on the Guptas and their role in the allegations of 'state-capture'. The president is indeed associated with the corruption, but the Guptas are more frequently quoted in the headlines, and in the opening paragraphs of the newspaper. The newspaper also does not include much information on those who took a stand against the Guptas, such as Mcebisi Jonas and Vytjie Mentor. For instance, it reports on how the president had not wished to cooperate with the former public protector so that she could have finalised the *State of Capture* report. It also focuses on the broader "corrupt network"¹¹⁵ of the president irrespective of the departure of the Guptas out of the country, as well as on the call of the ANC youth league that urged the ANC's MK veterans to take up arms for the president.

7. 4 Comparative assessment

In this section, I compare the four selected newspapers' reports on the alleged corrupt relationship between the Gupta family, public officials, ministers and state-owned enterprises. I commence by discussing the similarities and differences between the four newspapers in terms of the frequency, amount as well as the placement of reports. Subsequently I consider the similarities as well as the distinctive themes in terms of their reporting on the case of corruption.

7. 4. 1 A Quantitative assessment

The *Mail and Guardian* reports most frequently (59 items) on this case of corruption compared to the other three newspapers, while the *Sunday Times* comes a close second (58 items). *Rapport* as well as the *Sunday Independent* are both third (35) in terms of the amount and space allocated to this case of corruption. However, the *Sunday Times* publishes the most (22) front-page reports followed by ten (10) reports of the *Mail and Guardian*. *Rapport* and *The Sunday Independent* placed six (6) reports on their front pages. The *Mail and Guardian* and *Sunday Times* therefore evidence exceptional interest in this case just by the space allocated, as well as ensuring (in terms of placement) that the audience is constantly made aware of the events and issues around this case.

7. 4. 2 A Qualitative assessment

The newspapers have reported on some of the same matters throughout the year, which is striking, although there are some minor differences in the way each of them reports on those events, persons, and issues. I will briefly refer to those as well as point out the differences between their reporting on this case of corruption.

a) The Gupta mine and the neighbours

Both the *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* reported how a Gupta mine in Mpumalanga affects the community and farmers in its proximity. It is noteworthy that the *Rapport* makes reference in at least two of its reports to the name of the farm Mooifontein. The paper allows space for a report in which it shows how one of the mines linked to

¹¹⁵ This has particular reference to the words of Minister Blade Nzimande.

the Guptas is negatively affecting farmers who want to make a living (George, 2016/11/13: 4). Another report has a headline which specifically refers to the farmers, “Boere baklei teen myn met Gupta-bande” (Eybers, 2016/06/19c: 6, 7). *Rapport* is also implicating President Jacob Zuma’s son (Duduzane), and linking him with this story. Its approach is also different in the sense that *Rapport*, unlike the *Mail and Guardian*, refers to the clear skies the community was used to. The *Mail and Guardian* refers to the town (Brakfontein) and not specifically the farm, Mooifontein in which this community is based. It includes the effects on the broader area, which surrounds the mine. But it also makes reference to the “groundwater [which] is not good for the farmers’ crops in the vicinity (Kings, 2016/04/1: 6). Both newspapers’ reports on the Guptas prioritise the story on the devastating effects that the community, adjacent to the mine, is experiencing.

b) The State of Capture report

All four of the selected newspapers report on the *State of Capture* document. The *Sunday Times* focuses on the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) pioneers and how they would be affected by the case but also on how the patronage of President Jacob Zuma and the Guptas stands in the way of the economic transformation of black businesses. It also focuses on the work of the former public protector (Thuli Madonsela), and her frustration in finalising the report (Wa Afrika, 2016/10/16a: 4).

Both the *Sunday Times* as well as the *Sunday Independent* (Dodds, 2016/11/27: 4) report on how President Jacob Zuma “duck[ed] and dive[d]” away from answering questions of ‘state capture’ in parliament and point out how the president manoeuvred himself to escape particular questions on this case.

The *Sunday Independent’s* focus is on the reaction and response from the ANC veterans, after the release of the *State of Capture* report, and their request for an early consultative conference (Magome, 2016/11/27: 1). The *Sunday Independent* also concentrates on the response of a group of Catholic priests who lauded the report (Zungu, 2016/11/6: 7). Finally it records the reaction and response from the former CEO of Eskom, who resigned as a result of being implicated in the report (Njobeni, 2016/11/13: 1). The *Sunday Independent* points to the discontent amongst members of society regarding the pervasive corruption, but also the effectiveness of such a report to address these issues.

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses on the critique by President Jacob Zuma’s supporters on the silence of his deputy, Cyril Ramaphosa, because they claimed he was silent and did not show support for the president during the discussions on the *State of Capture* report at the ANC NEC meeting (Letsoalo, Whittles & Bendile, 2016/12/4: 3). The *Mail and Guardian* also concentrates in its reporting on how President Jacob Zuma wanted to delay the release of the report, “put a spanner in the works” (Van Wyk et al., 2016/10/14: 2).

The *Mail and Guardian* also differs in its reporting from the other newspapers, because after the release of the report, it allows the audience to speculate why this could indeed be the end of President Jacob Zuma (Hlongwane, 2016/11/4: 6).

The *Mail and Guardian* also confirms, and goes to great lengths, to reiterate, elaborate, and clarify some details in the *State of Capture* document. For instance, its

reference in a headline to the resignation of Brian Molefe as “commonsense” (Steyn, 2016/11/18: 2) as well as by clarifying to the audience the technical detail of the Tegeta-Eskom contract (Bezuidenhout, 2016/12/9: 2, 3). But the *Mail and Guardian* also vigorously reports on those who would want to sweep the document under the carpet (Van Wyk, 2016/11/4: 1, 2) and assures the audience that this will be extremely difficult because of the way in which the public protector drafted it.¹¹⁶ In fact, it reports on the measures that she put in place to ensure that the report would not be easily ‘swept under the carpet’, but also cautions the audience about the possible “capturing” of the Hawks, which might have implications in terms of the progress of the report (De Wet, 2016/11/18: 6; *Mail and Guardian*, 2016/11/11: 2).¹¹⁷

There are also a few similarities in terms of the four newspapers’ reporting related to this document. Both the *Sunday Times* (Zungu, 2016/11/6: 7) and the *Mail and Guardian* (Collison, 2016/11/4: 7) report on the praise expressed by a group of Catholic priests after the release of the report.

Rapport gives more voice to President Jacob Zuma and refers to his decision to review the *State of Capture* report (Cele, 2016/12/4: 4). To state what the president has to say about the public protector’s report, in a headline “Adv. Thuli se opdrag ongeldig – president” is one of the distinctive features in the reporting of *Rapport*. The newspaper also recounts his reasons as to why he questions the *State of Capture* document, which include his critique that the former public protector (Thuli Madonsela) does not have the power to dictate the terms and conditions as she did in the report.

Rapport also includes voices such as that of Vytjie Mentor, arguing that President Jacob is guilty, which supports his action to take the *State of Capture* report on review (Rooi, 2016/11/27: 2). It focuses on the divisions within the ANC concerning whether he should step down. It also, in similar vein to the *Mail and Guardian*, publishes a report on the wise move of former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela to make it extremely difficult for President Jacob Zuma to escape or ignore the findings and recommendations as outlined in the report. *Rapport* also refers to President Jacob Zuma’s “militant” response and reaction, saying he is not going anywhere – after he received a request from the ANC veterans to step down as president (De Lange, 2016/11/6: 1, 2).¹¹⁸

c) The response of the ANC and the allegations of ‘state capture’

Another event relating to this case is linked to the response from the ANC after the allegations of ‘state capture’ became widely publicised. The two newspapers, namely the *Sunday Independent* as well as the *Sunday Times*, deemed it important to inform their audience about this. The *Sunday Independent* reports on the South African Communist Party’s (SACP) response, “...come out guns blazing...about the ANC’s

116 In the headline, it refers to the State of Capture report as being “future-proofed” (Van Wyk, 2016/11/4: 1).

117 The headline of the report makes it clear how the newspaper views the attitude of the Hawks related to this case of corruption, “Captured Hawks will sit on report”.

118 The *Mail and Guardian* also makes this clear in its headline, “Zuma ek bly net waar ek is” (De Lange, 2016/11/6: 1, 2).

handling of the 'serious' allegations of undue influence by the Gupta family and President Jacob Zuma's attempts to play down the issue of state capture" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/06/5: 2). The *Sunday Times* in the report "Mantashe 'ignored' spy report in Guptas' influence" (Jika & Hunter, 2016/06/5: 1) also refers to the response of the SACP and declares, "Mantashe's announcement this week triggered an angry response from one ANC alliance partner, the South African Communist Party, which called his investigation a whitewash".

d) The approval of Bank Amendment Bill

Parliament was in the process of introducing new legislation for the banking sector. This would provide more oversight of banks, and also help to curtail money laundering. After the recommendation that the legislation be approved it was sent to the president for final approval. He did not sign the bill into law, but delayed and then returned it to parliament with his reservations. The *Sunday Times* as well as the *Mail and Guardian* reported on the matter.

The *Sunday Times* links the action of the president with corruption and the Guptas (Jika & Skiti, 2016/07/10: 1). It makes a link between the Guptas and the President and reports that the "Guptas...run" to the president not to sign a bill that will – "tighten[s] the screws on corruption and money laundering" (Jika & Skiti, 2016/07/10: 1). The *Mail and Guardian* (Steyn, 2016/12/9: 2) focuses a bit broader than the *Sunday Times* and illustrates to the audience the impact President Jacob Zuma's response (not signing the bill) will have on institutions and society – it will increase cases of corruption, and will cause businesses elsewhere in the world to think twice before entering into business with South Africa.¹¹⁹

e) The Gupta and Gordhan investigation

The two newspapers, *Sunday Independent* as well as the *Sunday Times*, both concentrate on the lack of progress in terms of the allegations of the corrupt relationship between the Guptas, public officials, ministers and state-owned enterprises. The *Sunday Independent* (2016/06/5: 2) refers to the response from the SACP related to the investigation of the Hawks into the so-called 'rogue spy unit'. The *Sunday Times* made reference to Pravin Gordhan as a target of the Guptas, as follows, "As South Africa flirted with the prospect of economic meltdown this week, with President Jacob Zuma's allies moving yet again to neutralise Pravin Gordhan, the finance minister made a dramatic vow: that he is prepared to die to save the country from thieves" (Hofstatter et al., 2016/08/28: 1).

7. 5 Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* draws the audience's attention to the corrupt deals of the Guptas with state owned enterprises, ministers as well as the president and subsequently concentrates on those who opposed the Guptas: Vytjie Mentor, Mcebisi Jonas, Jackson Mthembu, former public servants, and Blade Nzimande. According to the *Sunday Times* they either blew the whistle on the Guptas or strongly condemn the

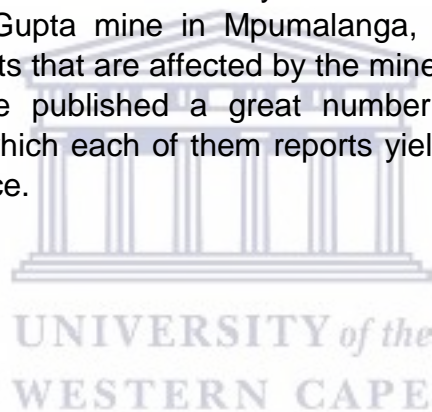
¹¹⁹ The *Mail and Guardian* states in the report, "Not signing the Financial Intelligence Centre Amendment Bill can result in sanctions against banks and cross-border illicit flows will continue".

Guptas' corrupt involvement with state entities and public officials. The *Sunday Independent* focuses particularly on the critical voice of the ANC members and their utter condemnation of the corrupt relationship of the Guptas with some ministers and public officials.

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses particularly on the corrupt relationship between the president, the Guptas, and state institutions. The newspaper reports on how corruption took place, and appeals in most instances to the reasoning of the audience.

Rapport concentrates in its reporting mostly on President Jacob Zuma, writing less about the opponents of the Guptas, like Mcebisi Jonas and Vytjie Mentor. When it does mention President Jacob Zuma it emphasises his legal action – to take the *State of Capture* report on review (Rooi, 2016/11/27: 2). It also reports on how the President Jacob Zuma did not want to cooperate with the former public protector, and the broader 'corrupt network' of the president, irrespective of the departure of the Guptas. The newspaper also focuses on the ANC Youth League that urged the ANC's MK veterans to take up arms for the president.

This chapter demonstrates the selected newspapers' distinct perspectives on the Gupta case study. It is for instance noteworthy that two newspapers would report on the same event like the Gupta mine in Mpumalanga, but would concentrate on different people and interests that are affected by the mine activities. It is also evident that the newspapers have published a great number of reports on the case. However, the angle from which each of them reports yields different responses and reactions from their audience.



8. Reported Corruption at the South African Broadcasting Corporation: Rhetorical Strategies of Four Weekly Newspapers

8. 1 Introduction

This chapter discusses and assesses the rhetorical strategies that the four selected weekly newspapers, the *Sunday Times*, *The Sunday Independent*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport*, employ in their respective news reports on the alleged corruption at the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC). The chapter commences with a brief section on the findings of the public protector on the alleged forms of corruption at the SABC. This is followed by a section on the rhetorical strategies employed by each newspaper in their respective reports. In the last section of the chapter, I compare the newspaper reports of the four weekly newspapers, and discuss the similarities and distinct ways in which each newspaper reports on the alleged corruption.

Paul Hoffman (2016: 17) gives a short overview of the matters at the SABC:

In February 2014, in a report entitled *When Governance and Ethics Fail*, the Public Protector found that Motsoeneng – then still acting COO – had been “dishonest” and had been allowed to operate above the law. It recommended that the SABC board take corrective action against him for lying about his matric certificate, raising his salary from R1, 5 million to R2, 4 million, and irregularly increasing the salaries of other staff members. Despite the report, Motsoeneng was permanently appointed to his position in July 2014.

8. 2 Findings of the Public Protector

The (former) public protector made the following findings in the report *When Governance and Ethics Fail*,¹ that was released 14 February 2014, following an investigation at the SABC. This is not the comprehensive report, but a summarised, paraphrased version of the findings as articulated in the document. It relates specifically to the findings made against the previous acting CEO, Mr Hlaudi Motsoeneng, the Board,² and the Human Resources Department at the SABC.

The Public Protector found:

- The appointment and salary progression of Mr Hlaudi Motsoeneng were irregular
- The former SABC board chairman Dr Ben Ngubane altered the advertisement when he ordered that the requirement of the academic qualifications be removed from the advertised post for COO to suit Mr Motsoeneng

¹ http://www.pprotect.org/library/investigation_report/2013-14/WHEN%20GOVERNANCE%20FAILS%20REPORT%20EXEC%20SUMMARY.pdf Accessed on 7 September 2016.

² Almost all members who were held accountable in terms of the Public Protector's report, resigned. The last board member Prof. Maguvhe resigned in December 2016, after the parliamentary inquiry into the fitness of the SABC board went into recess.

- Mr Motsoeneng was found guilty of the abuse of power to unduly benefit himself
- The Human Resource Department did not keep proper records of Mr Motsoeneng's increments, making them guilty of maladministration
- The Board of the SABC also failed to exercise their fiduciary duty in the appointment of and ensuring the appropriate remuneration for the acting CEO. The board was found guilty of maladministration
- The public protector found Mr Motsoeneng guilty of producing fraudulent qualifications when he applied for the post at the SABC. He stated in his Curriculum Vitae that he had obtained his matric. This was found to be untrue
- She also found the Human Resources Department and the SABC management did not act decisively when they discovered that Mr Motsoeneng had misrepresented his qualifications and therefore they were found to be guilty of improper conduct and maladministration (Public Protector, 2014).

8. 3 Rhetorical analysis of the four newspapers

As mentioned, I report in this section on the distinct rhetorical strategies that each of the four weekly newspapers employs in dealing with this issue. I commence with some general remarks on the operations of the newspaper in its reporting, which include its particular emphases, the various appeals in which the newspaper invites the audience to agree with its reports and perspective(s) on the case, but then I also apply the basic forms (tropes) of Burke, to identify the main thrust and perspective(s) of the newspapers. This is important as it indicates how the newspapers 'turn' the minds of the audience. After discussing each newspaper's strategies as reflected through its reporting, I compare the distinct similarities and differences and the way in which each newspaper reports on the case.

8. 3. 1 The Sunday Times

a) Description of the operations

In this section I discuss the emphases of the *Sunday Times* on the corruption case, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper made to the audience to invite them to accept their views (Lawrie, 2005: 129).

i Emphases

The *Sunday Times* published twenty (20) reports that relate to the alleged corruption at the SABC. The placement of these varies between the front and fourteenth page of the newspaper. The *Sunday Times* placed four (4) of the twenty reports on the front page.

These four (4) reports are in general incriminating of Mr Motsoeneng in terms of the issues of alleged corruption at the SABC. The *Sunday Times* reports on the 'change

of tune' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1)³ of the African National Congress (ANC) and its request that there should be a probe into Mr Motsoeneng's 'abuse of powers' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1, 5, 14) at the SABC. It places emphasis on Mr Motsoeneng's allegedly corrupt relationship with one of the daughters of President Jacob Zuma (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1). The mentioning of Zuma (the family name of President Jacob Zuma) as part of the headline, which is very bold and large on the front page of the newspaper, allows the audience to make a connection between the president and Mr Motsoeneng and even with the broader issues of corruption at the SABC. The front-page headline which reads, 'Hlaudi's R167m Zuma TV deal' (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1) does not make explicit reference to the daughter of President Jacob Zuma, but just presents the family name as part of the headline. The *Sunday Times* places an emphasis⁴ on the indirect involvement of President Jacob Zuma into alleged corruption at the SABC.

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the mounting pressure on Mr Motsoeneng from inside and outside⁵ the SABC as well as the resignation of two board members (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2a: 1). It records the resignation of employees and board members, especially Mr Krish Naidoo (a board member), to whom the newspaper refers as a long serving advisor to the ANC and in addition, reference is made to his credentials, 'a long history in the struggle' (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2b: 1).

The newspaper furthermore emphasises the nonchalant attitude of Mr Motsoeneng when it contrasts his response of [sitting] '...comfortably on his two-seater leather couch' to the news of some angry protesters⁶ that gathered outside his office building, in front of the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5).⁷ In contradiction, the newspaper repudiates Mr Motsoeneng's claim that all is well

³ In the first paragraph, the newspaper states: 'The ANC has changed its tune on the SABC boss Hlaudi Motsoeneng, with party spokesperson now calling on Communication Minister Faith Muthambi and the board to launch a probe into the chief operating officer' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1). The reference made to the 'change of tune' is based on earlier comments that the spokesperson Zizi Kodwa made and because he came under fire from his own party members, Derek Hanekom and Tito Mboweni, for taking a 'tough stance'.

⁴ The reference to President Zuma's daughter in the report, without even adding her name, is a strategic technique in which the newspaper places the particular relationship between the President and the SABC in the foreground of its perspective on the alleged corruption at the SABC.

⁵ This includes the parliament portfolio committee that wishes to investigate the case, board members of the SABC as well as other executive members who were disappointed in the conduct of both Mr Motsoeneng and Mr James Aguma, the Acting Chief Financial Officer.

⁶ The protest was by a 'coalition of journalists, NGO activists' (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5) and other concerned South Africans on his decision that journalists should not broadcast violent protests.

⁷ Although the report 'Why the hullabaloo? The protest? Most South Africans support me!' (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5) is not on the front page, it is quite bold on the fifth page of the newspaper and the report contrasts the attitude of Mr Motsoeneng and the 'angry' protesters outside his office building. The newspaper illustrates his nonchalance through including his direct words, 'I don't even understand why they're making this hullabaloo. They know themselves that they treat their staff very bad – we are aware of those issues'. It also quotes him responding, 'At the SABC the environment is not unconducive, SABC employees are happy as I am speaking to you'. Then the newspaper counters his argument in the same report 'What Motsoeneng did not say...that Radio Park has been placed under lockdown, with only security personnel allowed to interact with the protesters'. The newspaper counters his version of events at the SABC as not corresponding to the reality on the ground, and that the situation is much more serious and volatile than he desires to portray.

at the SABC. It also feeds into the false claim by Mr Motsoeneng and Mr James Aguma that everything at the institution is going well in terms of its financial situation. The said repudiation of their claim appears in at least two reports on the dire financial situation at the SABC. In the reports 'Here's what they didn't tell us about finances' (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2d: 5) and 'Amid free-for-all, an R395m loss on the cards' (Hofstatter, 2016/07/3: 5) the newspaper goes to great lengths to prove that the claim of Mr Motsoeneng and Mr Aguma (that the broadcaster was not experiencing any financial challenges) is false (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2a: 1).⁸ The brief response of Mr Motsoeneng, in the report 'Amid free-for-all, an R395m loss on the cards' (Hofstatter, 2016/07/3: 5) and the lengthy presentation on evidence attesting the financial challenges reflects the emphasis of the report, the poor financial management at the SABC. The report 'Why the hullabaloo? The protest? Most South Africans support me!' (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5) also rejects Mr Motsoeneng's claims that everything is going well at the SABC and that most South Africans support him. In fact, adjacent to this particular report, the newspaper placed a report, 'The news, without all the burning issues' (Hunter, Mokone & Joubert, 2016/07/3: 5) which presents him as a CEO who holds several middle managers to ransom (Hunter et al., 2016/07/3: 5)⁹ thereby enforcing his instruction, that journalists should not cover violent protests. These reports all reflect the contrast between the claim of Mr Motsoeneng (that the SABC is functioning well), and the evidence and comments of employees at the SABC that the newspaper includes in its reporting to support the perspective – that his version is far from reality.

The *Sunday Times* presents the allegations that Mr Motsoeneng is directly involved in the paying out of a bonus to himself in such a way that it does not include in its reporting a response from Mr Motsoeneng, despite the issue directly implicating him (Hofstatter, 2016/08/21: 2).¹⁰ In fact, in more than a third of the report the newspaper focuses on the reasons and alleged proof of the suspicion of his corrupt behaviour.

The *Sunday Times* pays particular attention to those who "gang-up" against the SABC board (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2a: 1). Through this reporting, the newspaper creates the notion that those who 'gang-up' will ultimately be successful in their attempts to hold the SABC board and Mr Motsoeneng, as well as Mr Aguma, to account.¹¹ The newspaper does not allow space for or include in its reporting those who support the current (2016) board at the SABC, including Mr Motsoeneng and Mr Aguma. Therefore, based on close observation and analysis, it is evidence of the newspaper's reporting that it mutes those 'voices' and in some instances does not report in a vigorous manner on those who support him. In fact, in one edition (2

⁸ Indeed, in the concluding paragraph of the report 'Opposing forces gang up on Hlaudi' (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2a: 1) the newspaper leaves the audience with the thought, 'Meanwhile, confidential documents show that the SABC is far worse off than Aguma claimed when he released the broadcaster's 2016 financial results on Thursday'.

⁹ In the report the newspaper states, 'The *Sunday Times* has learnt that his instructions are being enforced by several middle managers, most beholden to him for their jobs'.

¹⁰ No coverage is given on the response from Mr Motsoeneng in a matter which raises serious concerns of corruption.

¹¹ The newspaper's focus is therefore on the voices that are 'helpless' and 'cautiously optimistic' for the mere fact that they see the 'destructive reign of terror' as signs that Mr Motsoeneng's and Mr Aguma's reign at the SABC is coming to an end.

October) the newspaper reports on more than one occasion about those who oppose the status quo (as well as a growing dissatisfaction in the conduct of Mr Motsoeneng) at the SABC (see Hofstatter, 2016/10/2c: 5 & Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1, 4, 15).¹²

ii Associations

The *Sunday Times* associates Mr Motsoeneng with 'powerful politicians', (Mokone & Jika, 2016/07/10: 6) (including the Minister of Communications); his close connection with them being the reason why he is able to retain his position at the SABC and not be dismissed after the damning findings made by the public protector (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/07/3: 14). The newspaper reports on the character of Mr Motsoeneng so that it is evident that his close connection and association to powerful politicians and the 'Union Buildings' are the reasons why his opponents are reluctant to take him to task (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/10/30: 14).¹³ However, the newspaper also focuses in its reporting on the disagreement of the ANC with the appointment of Mr Motsoeneng as well as his decision to ban the coverage of violent protests. The newspaper dedicates an entire report in which it features the comments and anger from the ANC Chief Whip, Mr Jackson Mthembu, on the situation at the SABC (Mokone & Jika, 2016/07/10: 6).

The *Sunday Times* associates Mr Motsoeneng with poor management skills, reporting that during his tenure the financial situation at the SABC became a core concern (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6). In relation to this, the newspaper reports that there is a chance that the public broadcaster would approach National Treasury for a bailout. Because the *Sunday Times* had already, in previous reports, associated Mr Motsoeneng with poor management, the report 'Cash-starved SABC wants bank loan of R1.5bn' further reflects negatively on the SABC board as well as on Mr Motsoeneng in terms of management skills. It is evident in the reporting of the newspaper that it debunks any possible reason the SABC management might provide, as well as the claim of Mr Motsoeneng that the SABC is financially sustainable (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6).¹⁴ The newspaper compares the SABC in terms of its prosperous financial situation two years ago, with the financial downturn during the tenure of Mr Motsoeneng and the current (2016) board of the SABC

¹² In the report 'ANC wants probe into Motsoeneng's powers' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1, 4, 15) the newspaper emphasises the ANC's view of the seriousness of the allegations against Mr Motsoeneng. In the report the newspaper states, 'Kodwa says the probe should look into "serious" allegations that Motsoeneng abused his power and that he had undermined the SABC's policies, failed to carry out its public mandate and suspended people "willy-nilly"'.

¹³ This is illustrated in the report by Shoba, Mokone and Amato (2016/07/3: 14) entitled, 'How the SABC turned into Hlaudi House'. In the report, the newspaper states, 'Motsoeneng is known for name-dropping – to prove to his audience that his decisions have the blessing of the Union Buildings'. It further refers to the rumour 'Motsoeneng often makes calls to the president or one of several ministers and puts the conversation on speakerphone to demonstrate how connected he is to the power elite'. In another report the newspaper makes reference to the words of Minister Faith Muthambi to the late Hope Zindi 'Baba [President Jacob Zuma] loves Hlaudi, he loves him so much, we must support him' (Hofstatter, 2016/10/30: 4).

¹⁴ After presenting the financial loss incurred by the broadcaster it item inserts an ironic view of Messrs Motsoeneng, Aguma and Prof Maguvhe, 'Despite this, Motsoeneng, Aguma and chairman Mbulaheni Maguvhe claim the broadcaster is financially sustainable because of its cash reserves in the bank' (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6).

(Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6).¹⁵ In one of the newspaper's reports (Mokone & Hunter, 2016/12/18: 4) he is directly associated with corruption (Mokone & Hunter, 2016/12/18: 4).¹⁶

The *Sunday Times* associates the unfolding events at the SABC with the ANC's elective conference in 2017 as if the ANC elections and the political influences into matters at the SABC go hand in hand.¹⁷

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Sunday Times* goes to great lengths¹⁸ to invite the audience to agree, through providing reasons, why the conduct and management of the SABC and Mr Motsoeneng is not acceptable (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/07/3: 14). The newspaper refers to the two appointments of Mr Motsoeneng in one year: first as General Manager of the SABC Board and then in the same year, his appointment as acting Chief Operating Officer of the Board, despite the damning findings in the report of the public protector, and several court rulings against him. This report in the *Sunday Times* corresponds to the public protector's report in terms of the corruption allegations against Mr Motsoeneng. The issue of political connections is not part of the findings of her report, while the newspaper makes it part of its argument – how various forms of corruption are able to flourish because of the support and influence of 'powerful politicians'.

The *Sunday Times* reports on the SABC's acting CEO, Mr Aguma, who wants to pay Mr Motsoeneng a bonus for negotiating a (questionable) deal between MultiChoice and the public broadcaster (Hofstatter, 2016/08/21: 2). The newspaper's reporting focuses on the argument, and selective comments of those who contend that the contract is in essence not a lucrative one for the SABC. The newspaper also issued a follow-up report (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2) on this matter (25 September 2016), in which it refers to the payment (bonus) as a 'slip' to Mr Motsoeneng from his 'pal' (in reference to the acting CEO Mr Aguma).

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Times* plays on the feelings and emotions of the audience when it refers in one of its reports to the 'Thousands' more who oppose Mr Motsoeneng as well as

¹⁵ Here is a quote from the report, 'The SABC's finances have deteriorated during the tenure of chief operating officer Hlaudi Motsoeneng and chief financial officer James Aguma...' (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6).

¹⁶ The newspaper reports on an outgoing National Treasury top official Kenneth Brown and refers to one of the probes he led during his tenure, which includes a 'suspicious procurement of a R44-million studio without tender. The deal was allegedly orchestrated by Hlaudi Motsoeneng last year [2015]' (Mokone & Hunter, 2016/12/18: 4). Please see later in this chapter the *Mail and Guardian's* referral to the money involved in the SABC's studio deal. In terms of their reporting it is R40-million and not R44-million as stated by the *Sunday Independent*.

¹⁷ I quote the section in which the newspaper places the situation at the SABC in the context of the ANC elective conference in 2017, 'Insiders say Muthambi would continue defending Motsoeneng because she believes factions within the ANC are determined to capture the SABC ahead of the party's elective conference next year [2017]'.

¹⁸ In the 3 July 2016 edition, the newspaper includes six reports, which it dedicates to the issues at the SABC. On the fifth page, the report on matters at the SABC covers the whole page.

the Chairman of the Board, Prof Maguvhe and the axing of the Communications Minister, Faith Muthambi (*Sunday Times*, 2016/07/31: 2).¹⁹

The newspaper under discussion in one of its headlines also refers to the proceedings of the parliamentary probe into the SABC board's fitness to hold office as a 'shock' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/18: 14). This might be a strategy by the newspaper to allow the audience to gain insight into the issue at the SABC as attracting consensus across (political) party lines, especially to take note of political parties from different ideological positions who unite and hold public servants accountable (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/18: 14).²⁰

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Times* (2016/11/20b: 2) depicts Mr Motsoeneng as unethical. The newspaper does this, especially when it reports on an affidavit by a former head of television Verona Duwarkah. The *Sunday Times* includes her description of Mr Motsoeneng in their reporting on how he 'stripped' her of her power when she did not want to implement his decisions, as well as her description of him as a 'capricious, dictatorial manager breaking procurement rules with no regard for the financial consequences'.

The *Sunday Times* includes the responses and testimonies of the former CEOs as an attempt to expose the 'rot'²¹ at the SABC (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6). In an opening paragraph, it sums up the response of the former CEOs: 'FORMER SABC CEOs and board members have laid bare Hlaudi Motsoeneng's reign of terror at the Public Broadcaster, claiming that he treated them like juniors and demanded arbitrary pay hikes' (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6). It also reports that Mr Phil Molefe was called by Dr Ben Ngubane, to sign a letter for a R500 000 pay hike for Mr Motsoeneng, which he vehemently refused to do. The newspaper then focuses on the words of Mr Motsoeneng after Mr Phil Molefe's refusal to sign, 'I am going to Pretoria tonight' with reference to his political connections in national government (Ndenze, 2016/12/11:

¹⁹ The opening paragraph reads, 'THOUSANDS of people working in South Africa's independent film and TV industry have joined a bid to get SABC chief operating officer Hlaudi Motsoeneng booted out of the national broadcaster' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/07/31: 2). The word 'thousands' could create the impression of much more than a thousand people. This assumption, without any statistical evidence or evidence of a survey having been conducted, is simply strengthening the impression that there is a great amount of discontent amongst society. The newspaper says nothing about the "thousands"; for instance, by identifying them. The purpose of the introductory sentence is therefore not to place the emphasis on the 'thousands' but rather on their discontent with Mr Motsoeneng.

²⁰ As part of the report, the newspaper also includes other emotional responses to the parliamentary probe. For instance, 'warmed our hearts...' '...glimmer of hope' in reference to the positive feelings the 'our' (audience) are feeling because action is taken by parliamentarians including the ANC to 'hold public servants accountable' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/18: 14). The newspaper also pays attention to the involvement of the ANC, especially because of the perspective that the SABC supported by those occupying the 'Union Buildings'. The newspaper states, 'What we have come to accept is a parliament that is a lapdog of the ANC, and MPs who are there not to think independently, but to take and execute instructions from party bosses at Luthuli house'.

²¹ See references that are made to this word in the sub-heading of the report of Ndenze (2016/12/11: 6) 'Accusations rain down on Hlaudi' which states, 'Former SABC bosses line up to expose rot'.

6). The intent to taint the moral character of Mr Motsoeneng is quite apparent in the newspaper's reporting.

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the work ethic of the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi as well as on her character (Mokone, 2016/10/30: 4). The newspaper reports on the comments of her deputy, who referred to her as not being a team player. The newspaper in its reporting also questions the intent (Hofstatter, 2016/10/30: 4) of the minister to change the SABC regulations. These regulations include allowing her, as well as the board, sweeping powers to bypass parliament and the president when hiring and firing directors. The newspaper places her intention against the background of the findings of the public protector, who, in her investigation, found that the appointment of Mr Motsoeneng was irregular. The reporting on her wrongful intent as well as her going against the findings and recommendations of the public protector yet still appointing Mr Motsoeneng as permanent Chief Operating Officer (COO), clearly demonstrates her unethical character. In another report, the newspaper also reports on how the Minister influenced the board's decision to appoint Mr Motsoeneng as COO (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6).²²

Another attempt of the *Sunday Times*, which indeed appeals to the moral conscience of the audience, relates to the request of a struggle veteran, Mr Krish Naidoo, for a board meeting to clarify the issues around Mr Motsoeneng. It is apparent how the newspaper in its reporting, just selects and presents those who 'gang-up' against Mr Motsoeneng (Hofstatter, 2016/10/2a: 1). This fits nicely into its narrative of the growing concerns (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1)²³ over the unethical conduct of Mr Motsoeneng.

The *Sunday Times* also questions the ethical conduct of Mr Aguma. It reports on a letter he wrote to the board to pay out a bonus to Mr Motsoeneng. The newspaper refers in its reporting to this as part of a deal, which in essence 'robbed' the SABC and was not beneficial for the public broadcaster. It adds that Mr Aguma also did not follow tender procedures (Hofstatter, 2016/08/21: 2),²⁴ and made a 'secret payment' to Mr Motsoeneng without the knowledge of the SABC board (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2).

²² The report refers to the testimonies of former board members that Minister Faith Muthambi scheduled: 'late-night board meetings and secret meetings' '...in 2014, Muthambi arrived at Auckland Park at 11pm, after a board meeting to discuss Motsoeneng's appointment as COO' (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6).

²³ The newspaper uses the word 'backlash' with reference to the response and the reaction to Mr Motsoeneng's decision to ban coverage of violent protests in the report 'Hlaudi's R167m Zuma TV deal' (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1).

²⁴ In the report 'Now SABC boss seeks bonus for Hlaudi' (Hofstatter, 2016/08/21: 2) the newspaper presents reasons for the audience to question the credibility of Mr Aguma. Here is an excerpt from the newspaper, which encompasses those reasons: 'Aguma has also come under fire for bypassing tender procedures to pay auditing firm PwC R10-million to probe a R370-million tax liability raised by the auditor general – a job that should have been done by the state broadcaster's own accountants'. It also states, 'Documents obtained by the *Sunday Times* reveal that on September 9 last year the acting CEO approved deviating from normal procurement processes in extending PwC's contract without going to tender'.

The *Sunday Times* invites the audience to perceive the matters at the SABC as a moral concern when the newspaper employs in one of its reports the request of the struggle veterans' foundations,²⁵ for a judicial commission of inquiry into the public broadcaster (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1).

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Sunday Times* reports on this case using various metaphors that shape the way in which the audience would perceive the alleged corruption at the SABC. One of the dominant metaphors is the way in which the *Sunday Times* depicts Mr Motsoeneng as a 'strongman' (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1). This metaphor is particularly reinforced in the report in which the newspaper refers to the protest, which erupted because of Mr Motsoeneng's decision to ban coverage of violent protests. Other references which fit into this metaphor are for instance when the newspaper reports how Mr Motsoeneng over ruled his staff to push through...' (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1). In another report, the newspaper refers to him as one 'who does as he pleases', and who can act illegally without being disciplined or stopped in his tracks (*Sunday Times*, 2016/07/31: 2).

The *Sunday Times* speaks of Mr Motsoeneng as well as the SABC board in terms of behaving as 'a law on its own'. The metaphor emerges particularly in the report in which it refers to the contract (between MultiChoice and SABC), for which undertaking he received a bonus (Hofstatter, 2016/10/9: 10). The deal was not supposed to go through, but because it would benefit him it was pursued. The newspaper brings to the attention of the audience that the 'reviving of the [MultiChoice] contract' is against the sentiments of the Cabinet and that there seems to be consensus in the ANC that Mr Motsoeneng should be dismissed. Furthermore, the newspaper refers to him as having 'clutches' and ruling with 'terror' over the SABC (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/18: 14). Therefore, it is evident that the newspaper wove into its reporting the notion that he acts as a 'strongman' as well as the Board being a 'law on its own'.

The *Sunday Times* presents Mr Motsoeneng as a narcissist, who seeks power, and who, early on in his career exhibited signs of being an opportunist (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/07/3: 14).²⁶

The *Sunday Times*, in its reporting also portrays him as corrupt (Hofstatter, 2016/10/9: 10).²⁷ He is a person who continuously disrespects the policies and laws of South

²⁵ Chief Albert Luthuli, Desmond and Leah Tutu, Robert Sobukwe, Helen Suzman, FW De Klerk, and Thabo Mbeki.

²⁶ The *Sunday Times* reports, 'Motsoeneng is running amok at the SABC, barking out ludicrous orders and censoring the news. So powerful is he that the staff have nicknamed the SABC headquarters in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, 'Hlaudi House'" (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/07/3: 14).

²⁷ The newspaper reflects such depiction in particular its report 'SABC Soap Opera' (Hofstatter, 2016/10/9: 10) where it makes reference to Mr Motsoeneng in a corrupt deal. I quote, 'THE SABC has quietly revived a R44-million suspect television studio that was allegedly orchestrated by Hlaudi Motsoeneng last year [2015]. The deal also 'never went out to tender

Africa. The newspaper emphasises a finding of the public protector's report: 'He [Mr Motsoeneng] has been found unfit to hold office by the public protector, whose recommendations are binding, the courts have found him to have acted illegally and unconstitutionally; and ICASA has reversed his illegal editorial directives'. In another report, the newspaper makes particular reference to Mr Motsoeneng's role in a contract between the SABC and MultiChoice. The newspaper reports on the bonus that was paid out to him as a result of this role. However, in its reporting the newspaper allows the audience to see such a deal as one in which the institution was 'robbed' of R2-billion. In the same report the newspaper refers to an incident in which he deviated from the normal procurement processes and extended a contract with PwC without advertising the tender. The newspaper alleges that Mr Motsoeneng was directly involved in various corrupt activities at the public broadcaster. He is also linked to the Guptas and their attempts to strike deals with the SABC (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6).

The *Sunday Times* refers to the SABC board as a 'censorship regime' (Mokone & Jika, 2016/07/10: 6) as a result of its ban on the reporting of violent protests. The SABC is reflected as an institution that is flourishing, and kept afloat because of its political support and connections with the president (which includes visits to his homestead in Nkandla) as well as Mr Motsoeneng's relationship with the premier of the Free State Province, Mr Ace Magashule (in advancing Mr Motsoeneng's career) (Hofstatter, 2016/08/14: 6).

The *Sunday Times* allows the audience to regard the matters at the SABC as a matter of mismanagement (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6). It informs the audience of a plan by the SABC to approach the bank for a loan, which the newspaper in its reporting argues will lead to negative consequences – a possible downgrade by ratings agencies. It again points to the mismanagement of the state-owned enterprise, when it states that in three months R500-million has been 'wiped off the SABC's bank balance' (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6). Another report that feeds into the metaphor of mismanagement at the SABC is one which is related to the coverage of the funeral of the late Fidel Castro. The newspaper depicts the SABC as an institution that wasted R1-million when three teams were sent to Havana to cover the speech of President Jacob Zuma as well as the funeral service of Fidel Castro (Mokone & Shoba, 2016/12/18: 2). The bad planning of the organisation is at the core of the *Sunday Times*' reporting. The newspaper also refers to the corruption at the SABC as 'rot' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/12/11: 6).²⁸

ii Synecdoche

The bigger narrative of corruption is presented by the *Sunday Times* when it focusses on the managers who enforce the directives of the COO (Mr Motsoeneng), and instructs journalists not to cover certain events, including the restriction to (not) use the rubric 'pay back the money', and limits freedom to cover the issues relating to Zuma (Hunter, Mokone & Joubert, 2016/07/3: 5). The newspaper refers to the broader network of corruption in the handling of issues at the public broadcaster.

²⁸ The *Sunday Times*' (2016/12/11: 6) sub-headline reads, 'Former SABC bosses line up to expose rot'.

iii Metonymy

The *Sunday Times*' essential issues on which it focused are the corrupt activities of Mr Motsoeneng. The others are only playing in the narrative as being complicit, but he is the employee who should be fired. It is striking how the newspaper includes the view of the ANC and reports on its support for an investigation into his conduct. Furthermore, that the board who appointed, and allowed Mr Motsoeneng to continue in his post, should also be replaced. Others, like Mr Aguma's, corrupt behaviour should also be investigated. The issues of corruption are laid bare, particularly where Mr Motsoeneng is involved.

iv Irony

The *Sunday Times* presents questions to the audience as to why the appointment of Mr Motsoeneng and a 'secret payment' to him went ahead, despite the Public Protector's findings 'on the wall' (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2). In the same week that Mr Motsoeneng's case of appeal against the findings of the public protector that his appointment as CEO was unlawful was rejected by the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) – he still received a bonus. The *Sunday Times* calls it a 'secret payment', encouraging the audience to question the timing of such a payment 'days before' the ruling of the SCA (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2). The newspaper places this secret amount against the background of the findings of Adv. Thuli Madonsela that his appointment was irregular. Therefore, through the irony employed by the newspaper the audience is yet to question the intentions and integrity of the SABC board and Mr Motsoeneng.

In addition to the perspective of Mr Motsoeneng's arrogance, the *Sunday Times* does not attack Mr Motsoeneng outright, but presents him as naïve (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5). An ironic statement by Mr Motsoeneng is quoted by the author 'It is not true that South Africans don't support Hlaudi. The majority of South Africa supports Hlaudi. The *Sunday Times* puts these statements against the reality outside his office, where reference is made to "angry protesters". It really allows the audience also to question Mr Motsoeneng, and how he approaches matters are is of serious concern to the public.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* reports on the corrupt activities of Mr Motsoeneng, Mr James Aguma and the SABC board as well as the Minister of Communications. Mr Motsoeneng is the central figure in the newspaper's reporting. The *Sunday Times* allows the audience to see these characters, as mentioned above, as those who are acting in a corrupt manner. The broadcaster's dire financial situation as well as the poor management and corruption are attributed mainly to Mr Motsoeneng.

The *Sunday Times* focuses also on more than the above, intending the audience to notice the influence of powerful politicians, like the president and the former Minister of Communications. However, the *Sunday Times* does mention the ANC who 'changed their tune', and became a strong, fierce respondent against the unethical behaviour of Mr Motsoeneng and the devastating effects on the institution. The reference of the newspaper to the ANC's 'change of tune' is quite important, because

the analysis shows that the position and stance it takes on matters at the SABC have altered before the local elections in August.

8. 3. 2 The Sunday Independent

a) *Description of the operations*

In this section, I elucidate the emphases of the *Sunday Independent* in its reporting of the situation at the SABC, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports as well as the appeals that the newspaper employs to invite its audience to agree with and accept their perspective(s) on this particular case of corruption.

i Emphases

The *Sunday Independent* allocated space for seventeen (17) reports on the matters at the SABC. Five (5) of these are on the front page. I will briefly refer to the headlines and discuss some of the reports to provide a general idea of the emphases of this newspaper.

The *Sunday Independent* publishes three front page headlines that point to the involvement of Mr Motsoeneng in allegations of corruption: 'D-Day for SABC's Hlaudi' (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/07/10a: 1); 'SABC dictator gone rogue' (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1) and 'Foxy Hlaudi runs out of survival tricks' (Dube, 2016/10/2: 1). The two words 'rogue' and 'foxy' in themselves, as part of a front-page headline, present Mr Motsoeneng as sly, corrupt, dishonest and unprincipled.²⁹ On another front page, the newspaper reports on the affirmation by the cabinet of freedom of speech for the media in South Africa (Piliso, 2016/07/10: 1). To speak of the Cabinet is an allusion to President Jacob Zuma's ministers, who are mostly ANC members. Therefore, the report in itself says a great deal about the position of the ANC on matters concerning a free press in South Africa. Moreover, the front-page headline 'Fire the SABC board now, ANC tells Faith Muthambi'. These might be attempts by the *Sunday Independent* to emphasise the vehement response and fierce rejection by the ANC concerning matters of corruption at the SABC (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/9: 1).³⁰ The newspaper, in its reporting, prioritises the call by the former president, Thabo Mbeki for a judicial probe into matters of corruption at the SABC (Ndaba, 2016/07/10: 1).

In the front page report 'SABC dictator gone rogue' the *Sunday Independent* makes reference to Mr Motsoeneng's managerial skills, 'from the outset, it was unclear as to what exactly would be permitted henceforth, then also how he treated his staff with a strong hand and if they would not follow his orders, not to cover protests they would be "left in the cold"' (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1). The newspaper, in one of the front-page reports, also emphasises the relationship between the ANC and the SABC when it reports on the latter's instrumental role during the local government elections to serve as a vehicle for ANC candidates to garner support for the party (Piliso, 2016/07/10:

²⁹ See the definition in the South African Concise Oxford Dictionary (2002: 1012) which defines rogue as 'a dishonest or unprincipled man'.

³⁰ I quote from the news report: 'ANC spokesperson Zizi Kodwa said yesterday that Muthambi must suspend the board without any waste of time' (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/9: 1).

1). The newspaper on its front page also describes Mr Motsoeneng's character as 'rogue', treating his colleagues unfairly, and when people criticise his decisions, 'get[ting] rid of them' (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1).

The *Sunday Independent* emphasises parliament's response to the allegations of corruption at the SABC. The newspaper dedicates a whole page to this, which covers the testimonies of those summoned to appear before the parliamentary portfolio commission of inquiry into the SABC board's fitness to hold office (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7).

ii Associations

Some associations are made in the reporting of the *Sunday Independent*. The newspaper makes a connection between the local elections and the issues at the SABC. Piliso (2016/07/10: 1) refers to an ANC source, 'The only matter that can stand in the way of Motsoeneng and the SABC's removal, according to ANC sources, are the forthcoming local elections as party heavy-weights are criss-crossing the country drumming up support for the local elections'. This does cast some doubt on the ANC relating to the corruption at the SABC, especially the words of the spokesperson of the ANC, 'Muthambi must suspend the board without any waste of time' (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/9: 1). The newspaper focusses on the close association made between the elections, and the SABC, as well as the SABC's relationship with the government in its report that the SABC is on a perilous path if the government favours Mr Motsoeneng. It also indicates that it will moreover question the forthcoming elections, when the perceptions are fed through that the ANC candidates are favoured through government advertising (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5). This is striking because post-elections, the reporting indicates that the response of the ANC altered in terms of the issues at the public broadcaster and its call for an investigation.³¹

The *Sunday Independent* associates Mr Motsoeneng with President Jacob Zuma, suggesting a close relationship between them as well as Minister Faith Muthambi (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7).³² In another report it explicitly states the position of President Jacob Zuma who, with his cabinet, calls the SABC board to account (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7).³³ A link between Mr Motsoeneng and the SABC management to the Gupta family is established when the newspaper reports on revelations during a parliamentary inquiry that the SABC funded the Guptas' newspaper (*The New Age*) (Lepule, 2016/12/18: 7).³⁴

³¹ See previous remarks I made on the emphasis of the newspaper, which placed a front-page report on the ANC's request that the SABC board be fired, which came only (in terms of the reporting) after the local elections in August.

³² I quote: '...Communications Minister Faith Muthambi, as she still does, was standing side by side with Motsoeneng, and blurted out "uBaba uyamthanda" (father loves him); father being a euphemism for President Jacob Zuma" (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7).

³³ It should be noted that there is no reference made to Mr Motsoeneng, but only to the board, which therefore does not nullify a close relationship between the president and Mr Motsoeneng. I quote: 'The ANC in parliament, President Jacob Zuma and the cabinet have all called for the SABC board to account for its open defiance of the Supreme Court of Appeal's judgement and the Western Cape High Court's ruling' (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7).

³⁴ I quote from the report, 'The committee heard among other things how SABC money generated from hosting The New Age breakfast shows had been directly channelled to help fund the Gupta-

iii Antithetical emphases

In focussing on the inconsistency of the SABC board in terms of the case of Mrs Ellen Tshabalala the newspaper emphasises the board's condoning of the alleged corruption of Mr Motsoeneng (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7). Although Mr Motsoeneng was found guilty of the same corrupt behaviour as the previous chairperson of the board, Mrs Ellen Tshabalala (producing a fake qualification), he was not dismissed as per his predecessor, despite the same board members having made the decision to dismiss her (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7).³⁵ In employing antithetical emphasis as a rhetorical strategy, the newspaper is able to successfully point out this inconsistent action and bias by the SABC board and the favouring of Mr Motsoeneng. The *Sunday Independent* also emphasises the board's failure to act and charge those, like him, who are directly implicated in irregular spending at the state-owned institution.

iv The appeals (logos)

The newspaper questions the intentions of the ANC leadership (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5) especially its response to the editorial decision made by the public broadcaster, in which it states that the discussions over the editorial decisions should 'be held in a constructive manner' and that the SABC's decision does not signal a 'clear case of censorship'. Dodds (2016/07/10: 5) argues that this dilutes the ANC's stance on the matter of censorship. He argues that this is in fact because of a divided ANC leadership. In another report, Dodds (2016/10/2: 7) refers to the internal dysfunction of the ANC, which is one of the reasons why the 'rot'³⁶ at the SABC cannot be exposed (Dodds, 2016/10/2: 7). While it argues that the Chief Whip (Jackson Mthembu) and some members of parliament may take a tough stance against the SABC, there are other ANC members who do not share his sentiments. The newspaper furthermore regards the backing by President Jacob Zuma of the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi as one of the reasons for what it calls the "stalemate" in finding a solution for the matters at the SABC (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).³⁷

The *Sunday Independent* brings the findings of the public protector into the dialogue with the situation at the SABC. On at least two occasions it presents a summary of the findings and recommendations of the public protector, and the non-compliance of the SABC board and Mr Motsoeneng (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9). It furnishes the audience with reasons for why there are concerns over the management of the

owned newspaper and how Motsoeneng sought to help the Guptas hijack the SABC news production'. The allegation of 'state capture' of which the Guptas are accused, because of allegations that they unduly benefitted from state-owned enterprises, is already signalling a corrupt association by including their family name in this report.

³⁵ I quote from the report: "But the same board has refused to fire Motsoeneng, who rose to the upper echelons of the SABC through fraudulent means" (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7).

³⁶ The newspaper uses this word when it describes the situation at the SABC in its headlines on 2 October as well as 11 December 2016.

³⁷ I quote: "...Muthambi continued [when changing the government's digital migration policy] to ignore the ANC and forged ahead on her own path, which she could have done only if she were certain the only person with the actual power to call her to account – Zuma – stood firmly behind her" (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).

SABC and issues of corruption at the public broadcaster. It also tells the narrative from the perspective of the public protector, and it is apparent in the newspaper's reporting that it debunks the defences of Mr Motsoeneng against the facts that she put forward (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9) in the specific report.³⁸

The *Sunday Independent* (2016/07/10b: 5) additionally reports on the responses of various opposition (political) parties on the decision by the SABC not to show footage of violent protests in the country. This decision was in general not well received and is also reported as being a strategy to save the ANC from losing potential votes in the local elections (August 2016). It concludes with comments from the ANC Youth League, which does not oppose or reject the decision of the SABC.³⁹

v The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Independent* appeals to the values and emotions of the audience in the report, 'SABC woes a test for divided ANC leadership' (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5). It reports that in a possible year or two relative stagnation awaits the country while 'the ranks of joblessness, the destitute and the desperate continue to swell and the levels of violent dissent are forced up by frustration' (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).

The newspaper also made it much easier⁴⁰ for the reader to get a grip on what was happening at the SABC and provides a background to the current chaos by focussing on the corruption at the core of the public protector's report (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9). The summary also clearly expresses what the newspaper finds to be the core issues at the SABC. It is therefore striking that the *Sunday Independent* allows the reader to focus particularly on the role that Mr Motsoeneng plays in the dysfunctional board, and the poor human resource management.

The newspaper employs certain words to describe the situation at the SABC (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1) which could 'move' the audience. I present the following section from the report:

Details of SABC's strongman Hlaudi Motsoeneng's full-frontal assault on freedom of information and expression – rights enshrined in the constitution – have finally emerged in an explosive affidavit filed in the constitutional court on Friday.

The *Sunday Independent's* reference to Mr Motsoeneng as a 'strongman' and his 'full-frontal assault on the freedom of information' might induce an emotional response from the audience concerning his behaviour. This report is filled with a

³⁸ An illustration in the report where the newspaper presents her findings the newspaper also shows the SABC board's non-compliance, "The SABC board was also instructed by the public protector to ensure all monies irregularly spent through unlawful actions were recovered and to take disciplinary action against Motsoeneng for his dishonesty in the misrepresentation of his qualifications, abuse of power and improper conduct in the appointment and salary increments. That also was never done" (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9).

³⁹ ANCYL national spokesperson Mlonde Mkhize asserts, 'Those who have resigned must go relax at home. Keeping in line with what they do best, quitting' (*Sunday Independent*, 2016/07/10b: 5).

⁴⁰ It tries to capture what it reports is the 'rot' at the SABC, 'The report [*When Governance and Ethics Fail*] dealt with systematic corporate governance failures at public broadcaster's core – expediency, poor human resources management and dysfunctional board – which were said to be primarily due to manipulative scheming by the SABC's chief operating officer, Hlaudi Motsoeneng' (Piliso, 2016/07/17b: 9).

number of expressive words to explain the injustice, and presents the actions of Mr Motsoeneng as an attack on the constitution. In the report written by Makatile (2016/07/17: 9) the choice of words is striking, 'Showdown with ICASA looms' in reference to the SABC's editorial policy spearheaded by Mr Motsoeneng as 'controversial', which could also raise serious concerns amongst the newspaper's intended audience.

vi The appeals (ethos)

The *Sunday Independent* calls on South African citizens to engage and act in terms of the ethical conduct at the SABC. It reports on the ethical leadership of the former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki and other moral leaders who request a commission of inquiry to 'make recommendations concerning the SABC corporate governance system, operations, adherence or otherwise to the Constitution of the Republic, the Broadcasting Act, the SABC charter and all relevant labour legislation' (Ndaba, 2016/07/10: 1). The commission should investigate,

... unceremonious coerced departure of senior personnel, often resulting in leadership vacuums, questionable procurement and other ill-advised decisions as well as appointments of people of doubtful backgrounds, qualifications and abilities (Ndaba, 2016/07/10: 1).

The *Sunday Independent* also refers in its reporting to the unethical and inconsistent conduct of Mr Motsoeneng (Dodds, 2016/08/21: 2). It reports on how he instructed journalists 'not to show footage of destruction of property during protests' and later extended this to include 'a ban on criticism of the SABC and President Jacob Zuma'. The newspaper depicts Mr Motsoeneng as a rogue, that is, a dishonest, and unprincipled man (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1).

The *Sunday Independent* also publishes other accounts that relate to the unethical behaviour of Mr Motsoeneng. It refers to former executive members of the SABC and their testimonies before members of parliament during the inquiry on matters at the public broadcaster (*Sunday Independent*, 2016/12/11: 16). The newspaper reports that these members spoke out against what they believe is an 'undeserved' salary increase for him. The newspaper also reports on one of the witnesses' accounts at the parliamentary inquiry into matters at the SABC, which revealed that Mr Motsoeneng was helping the Guptas to appropriate the SABC's news production. The *Sunday Independent* also includes the allegation that the SABC was funding the Gupta-owned newspaper (*The New Age*) from money generated when hosting *The New Age* breakfast shows (Lepule, 2016/12/18: 7). The newspaper also reports on Mr Motsoeneng's close relationship with President Jacob Zuma, and that this is the reason behind his actions – 'do[ing] as he pleases'.

The *Sunday Independent* also reports on the ethos of members of the SABC board and its management and feeds this into the bigger narrative and reporting of corruption at the state-owned enterprise. In no uncertain terms the newspaper reports on a corrupt relationship between the SABC board and Mr Motsoeneng (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7). It indicates that only one of the board members, Mr Krish Naidoo, opposed Mr Motsoeneng's new appointment.

The *Sunday Independent* also reports on the disregard of court rulings shown by the SABC management. The SABC proceeded to the highest court (the Constitutional Court) because it argued that the ruling of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) serves just as a recommendation. In its reporting the newspaper debunks this: 'However the truth of the matter is that, as a chapter 9 institution, the regulatory body's recommendations have a binding effect on ruling' (Makatile, 2016/07/17: 9).

The *Sunday Independent* reports on the unethical behaviour of the management of the SABC. In one of its reports that cover the story of one of the SABC's contributing editors, Vuyo Mvoko, the newspaper allows him to comment on matters at the SABC. In the report, Mr Mvoko describes the matters at the SABC as involving alleged intimidation, censorship, and improper interference of the management of the SABC (Dodds, 2016/08/21: 2).

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Sunday Independent* employs various metaphors, which allow the audience to view the conduct of Mr Motsoeneng from a certain perspective. As mentioned, the newspaper uses the metaphor of 'strongman' in reference to Mr Motsoeneng's conduct at the SABC (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1). Though the newspaper depicts Mr Motsoeneng as a 'strongman', the hopes of ordinary employees at the broadcaster, or those who want to see justice prevail at the broadcaster, might be ignited after reading such a report in which the newspaper mentions a journalist who won his case after being unfairly axed by the broadcaster (Dube, 2016/07/10: 5).

The *Sunday Independent* also depicts Mr Motsoeneng as a clown (Ntlemo, 2016/10/30: 5). The wording of the headline 'pulls out of hat' with reference to Mr Motsoeneng, is figurative language that points to an act, which most commonly relates to the personality of a magician. The newspaper presents Mr Motsoeneng as offering many strange surprises, but also suggests that his character and actions are to be seen by the audience as him making a mockery of the SABC.

The SABC is also been reported from the perspective of mismanagement (Dodds, 2016/08/21: 2). In the report, 'SABC board's days numbered' (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7) the newspaper exposes the prevalent corruption at the SABC due to mismanagement by the SABC managers, their bias, their irregular expenditure, and their defiance of the SCA' judgement. The *Sunday Independent* compares the parliamentary inquiry, into the board's fitness to hold office, to a soap-opera, whose ending was 'breath-taking' and that had a 'twist-in-the-tail ending' referring to the ending of the inquiry for 2016 (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7). It appears as if the *Sunday Independent* wants the audience to celebrate that the matters at the SABC are taken care of and that the 'rot' is finally being dealt with.

The *Sunday Independent*, on two occasions⁴¹ makes use of the word 'rot' to explain what is happening at the SABC. This illustrates the newspaper's perspective on and description of the pervasive corruption that permeates the whole functioning of the state-owned enterprise.

ii Synecdoche

The bigger picture of the reporting is the focus on the defiant behaviour of Mr Motsoeneng and the mismanagement of the board, relating to the overall situation: corruption at the SABC. There are various voices in society; for instance, the former president, Thabo Mbeki, but also the people on the ground, who give vent to their frustration. The violent protest is just symbolic of the frustration on the ground and what those outside of the comfort of executive positions at the SABC are experiencing (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).

iii Irony

The *Sunday Independent*, through its reporting, successfully allows the audience to question the allegations of corruption against Mr Motsoeneng. It shows rather ironically how people in Giyani lauded him as a 'man of honour' (Ntlemo, 2016/10/30: 5). The *Sunday Independent's* reporting on the traditional leaders in Giyani who rousingly applauded Mr Motsoeneng (when he announced he would investigate the issues concerning the time slot currently allocated for Xitsonga news) contrasts this with his unethical, 'foxy', and 'strongman' persona.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Independent* reports extensively on the behaviour and character of Mr Motsoeneng as central to the issues of corruption at the SABC. Both he and the management are characterised as being poor managers. The calls from various fronts in society are not greatly emphasised, but, rather, calls from some in the ANC (Jackson Mthembu) the former president (Thabo Mbeki), as well as protests from society expressing their dissatisfaction with the matters at the SABC, are. I do not see any report on the protest or those on grassroots-level as appearing in the *Sunday Times*.

8. 3. 3 The Mail and Guardian

a) Description of the operations

In this section, I discuss the emphases of the *Mail and Guardian* in its reporting of the situation at the SABC, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper employs to invite its audience to agree and accept its perspective(s) on this particular case of corruption.

⁴¹ One publication was on 11 December 2016, when the headline read, 'SABC rot stinks to high heaven' and the other headline was in the 2 October 2016 edition, which read, 'SABC's rot tied to ANC's internal dysfunction'.

i Emphases

The *Mail and Guardian* includes six (6) reports that relate to the alleged corruption and situation at the SABC. While there is only one (1) front-page headline 'Hlaudi and the golden handshake' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15a: 1), the rest of the reports are variously located on the second and third pages of the newspaper. It is striking that there were various developments at the SABC but the newspaper only includes six (6) reports for the year (2016) that cover the SABC case.

The sole front-page report of the *Mail and Guardian* describes the 'biggest-ever public sector payout' to former SABC Chief Executive, Mr Frans Matlala, who was likely to put an end to the dubious dealings at the public broadcaster (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15a: 1). The newspaper reports that the 'payout' was a move by Mr Motsoeneng to get the chief witness Mr Frans Matlala out of the picture; the former went so far as paying a large sum of money as a golden handshake to cover up his dubious dealings. While the newspaper therefore emphasises the role of Mr Motsoeneng, it draws other key role players into its reporting, too.

In the absence of more front-page reports, except the one mentioned above, I briefly refer to the second page reports of the newspaper. In one, the *Mail and Guardian* assumes that Mr Motsoeneng is guilty, referring to his court cases as 'meritless' (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2). It also reflects on the 'gospel according to Hlaudi' in which the newspaper alludes to an ironic situation and one in which the 'controversial SABC executive Hlaudi Motsoeneng' was praised for ten minutes (De Wet, 2016/10/7a: 2). In another report, the *Mail and Guardian* demonstrates to its audience that it is quite ironic that some would acclaim the leadership of Mr Motsoeneng at the SABC (De Wet, 2016/10/7a: 2). In fact, it records the praise he received by one of the managers at the SABC, for making things happen at the SABC 'through his own magic'.

The *Mail and Guardian* also reports on the essential findings of the parliamentary inquiry into the current (2016) situation of the broadcaster, which includes Mr Motsoeneng's support of the president, the former being the 'go-to man' as well as, in a concluding section, on the Cape Town High Court ruling which found that 'his appointment was unconstitutional, illegal and invalid and that he was not entitled to hold any position at the public broadcaster' (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2). It is reported on the second page of the newspaper with the subheading 'The cult of Hlaudi deepens' (Saba, Whittles, Pather, Segodi & De Wet, 2016/07/15: 2). The newspaper deems this important and therefore its placement on the second page.

It does also emphasise the nonchalant attitude of Mr Motsoeneng while he is surrounded with turmoil (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3). The unsettled and uncomfortable public and the angry ANC contrast with his attitude, portrayed by the newspaper as

being calm, relaxed and unconcerned (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3),⁴² about the issues raised by these parties (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5).⁴³

The emphasis is also on the anger of the ANC, and its position on what is unfolding at the SABC (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3). The *Mail and Guardian* reflects the ANC as a party which wants to restore public confidence and trust, especially in the context of the poor election results. The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the remark of the ANC chief whip that the SABC's re-appointment of Mr Motsoeneng was unlawful.

ii The associations

The *Mail and Guardian* associates Mr Motsoeneng with the 'biggest-ever payout' in the public sector, with reference to the abovementioned golden handshake to Mr Frans Matlala the former chief executive. The newspaper reports that the golden handshake was a way (for Mr Motsoeneng) to prevent the latter from investigating a project that quintessentially amounted to wasteful and fruitless expenditure (Saba et al., 2016/07/15: 2).⁴⁴ The newspaper also reports on the remarks of the tax ombud that Mr Motsoeneng and President Jacob Zuma's cases are 'meritless' and their cases are 'against the constitution' (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2).⁴⁵ It is therefore evident that the newspaper intends to establish such a link between Mr Motsoeneng and the pervasive issues of mismanagement and clearly wishes this to raise the concern of its readership.

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the golden handshake received by one of the executive members as being improper so that it constitutes corruption (Saba, Whittles, Pather, Segodi & De Wet, 2016/07/15: 2). In the specific report on the 'golden handshake' the newspaper reports that Mr Matlala would have revealed information concerning a signed agreement that involves Mr Motsoeneng and a R40-million studio deal that is regarded as a 'white elephant'. The newspaper presents the real reason for the 'golden handshake': to get rid of Mr Matlala as chief witness. The

⁴² The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the ANC Chief whip's comment that Mr Motsoeneng's new position as COO at the SABC is unlawful, 'How did that make him feel? "I don't care" Motsoeneng said' (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3).

⁴³ Although these are quite different role players except for Mr Motsoeneng, the *Sunday Times* does also report on his carefree attitude when angry protesters were outside his office building in Johannesburg (Mokone, 2016/07/3: 5).

⁴⁴ The *Mail and Guardian* reports, 'A well-positioned source in the SABC this week said Matlala has been intimately involved in a national treasury investigation into how the SABC came to spend R40-million on a new studio that turned out to be 'nothing more than a high-tech desk and monitor'" (Saba et al., 2016/07/15: 2). Please see earlier in this chapter the *Sunday Times*' referral to the money involved in the SABC's studio deal. In terms of their reporting it is R44-million and not R40-million as stated by the *Mail and Guardian*.

⁴⁵ It is striking how the newspaper quotes the words of the tax ombud and applies his remarks to Mr Motsoeneng and President Jacob Zuma. The tax ombud explicitly states, "My view is that they [those that engage in unnecessary litigation] do so because they know that, even if they lose, they don't pay cost out of their own pocket", he said without specific reference to any individuals'. However, in the foregoing paragraph, the newspaper itself refers to names, 'Were this to become common practice, it could leave high profile office bearers, such as SABC chief Hlaudi Motsoeneng and President Jacob Zuma, on the hook for millions in legal fees' (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2).

report into the matters of the SABC invites the audience to agree that Mr Motsoeneng is corrupt and draws others into his corrupt acts at the SABC. It presents information to the readership so that they will be aware that Mr Motsoeneng's court case has been described as 'meritless' and 'against the constitution' (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2), and that he should not be commended because his acts of corruption place a shadow over all that he does (De Wet, 2016/10/7: 2). These are some of the issues that the newspaper intends its audience to see – and interpret as the problem at the institution.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Mail and Guardian* presents the situation at the SABC as one that has consequences for the public. The newspaper reports that the situation at the SABC involves on-going legal battles which result in serious financial implications for South African taxpayers, despite possessing no merit (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2). This could evoke some anger from taxpayers, especially the deliberate reporting and inclusion of the astronomical amounts that these cases cost (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2).⁴⁶

v The appeals (ethos)

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the 'take-no-prisoner' moments and the 'ham-fisted' responses of the parliamentary committee which was supposed to change the situation at the SABC (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2). The newspaper lists in bullet point format the responses of the witnesses and how they raised concerns over the management at the SABC, captured under the headline 'dishing dirt'. The *Mail and Guardian* also reports on the issues it believes Mr Motsoeneng does not care about, 'The record shows in documented cases that he has not cared for things such as working hours, being polite, corporate ethics, personal honesty, and public money' (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3). The newspaper's reporting indeed shows its commitment to report on the unethical character of those involved in allegations of corruption.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Mail and Guardian* reflects Mr Motsoeneng as an ironic figure (Saba, 2016/09/23: 3). In one of the reports, the newspaper points to the ironic nature of events at the SABC. It reports on the 'bleak possible future' for Mr Motsoeneng, but then also his ironic attitude (Saba, 2016/09/23: 3), '...amidst all the noise, Motsoeneng says he is 'happy' 'clever' and 'not-guilty'. He is contented irrespective of the action of some civil institutions that will protest the decision of the board to retain him. In other reports, the newspaper presents him as a happy man, who is getting happier, irrespective of the controversial issues at the broadcaster (Saba, 2016/09/23: 3). The report 'SABC "can't get rid of" happy Hlaudi' (Saba, 2016/09/23: 3) places his attitude within the context of a recent decision of the Supreme Court of

⁴⁶ The following sentence is underscored and appears in bold font, 'If we get an order that the SABC must pay our costs, it could range from R300 000 to 400 000 for this process alone' (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2).

Appeal (SCA) that his case has no merit. His appeal includes that the court set aside the ruling of the High Court concerning the decision and the Public Protector's findings that his appointment as COO of the SABC. Reference is also made to 'his own magic' almost like a magician (De Wet, 2016/10/7a: 2). He is reported as one who can make things that seem impossible, happen.⁴⁷

c) Conclusion

The *Mail and Guardian* has just one (1) instance of this case of corruption on its front page. It is really one of the few newspapers that would include a report in which most of the report reflects on the 'gospel'⁴⁸ of Hlaudi. It reports on other versions of events and the good news stories from his supporters, and does not merely give voice to the critics. The newspaper's reporting articulates its critique on the situation at the SABC and that it, at all costs and paint a different picture from Mr Motsoeneng's praise singers, that he is at the centre of allegations of corruption at the state-owned enterprise.

8. 3. 4 The Rapport

a) Description of the operations

In this section, I discuss the emphases of the *Rapport* in its reporting on the situation at the SABC, the associations and dissociations that are made in the various reports, as well as the appeals that the newspaper employs to invite its audience to agree and accept its perspective(s) on this particular case of corruption.

i Emphases

The *Rapport* includes thirteen (13) reports that relate to the matters at the SABC. It is a concern that the newspaper places not one of its reports on the matters at the SABC on its front page. The second page headlines read, 'Motsoeneng oes nóg R11 miljoen in' (Blignaut & Tau, 2016/09/25: 2) 'Zwane red SAUK-raad' (*Rapport*, 2016/10/9: 2) 'Hlaudi is geen grap nie' (*Rapport*, 2016/06/5a: 2) 'Hlaudi sê pak maar vir Gwede, maar los Zuma uit' (Stone & Nhlabathi, 2016/07/17: 2).

The emphases in the second page reports are incriminating of Mr Motsoeneng, but definitively connect him to influential politicians, such as President Jacob Zuma, as well as indicating the involvement of the Minister of Mineral Resources, Mosebenzi Zwane. The *Rapport* emphasises Mr Motsoeneng's position of influence since as head at the public broadcaster he has the power to affect the opinions of South Africans. In the report 'Zwane red SAUK-raad' it is assumed that the SABC is in trouble because of the reference to the need to be saved,⁴⁹ but it is not clear in the report what exactly the problem at the SABC is; however, it speaks of some political

⁴⁷ The *Rapport* refers to the version of SABC's acting general manager, 'Motsoeneng had – seemingly single-handedly – prevented the looming retrenchment of staff “through his own magic”, ended the abuse of freelancers, campaigned for people with disabilities and ended labour problems' (De Wet, 2016/10/7a: 2).

⁴⁸ The word gospel derived from its Greek origin means 'good news'.

⁴⁹ The reference made in the headline '*red*' denotes someone, an institution, or a thing that is in trouble and needs to be saved.

interference⁵⁰ in matters at the SABC (*Rapport*, 2016/10/9: 2). The newspaper therefore also focuses on the role of Mr Motsoeneng, but also links this to the bigger scheme of things, such as the involvement of powerful, influential politicians, like those named.

ii Associations

The *Rapport* associates the corruption case at the SABC with the ANC's poor results and performance during the 2016 local elections (De Lange & Blignaut, 2016/10/2: 5). This is also referred to as the main reason why the ANC chief whip Jackson Mthembu is quoted as saying, 'Die SAUK se beheerraad word Woensdag ontbind oor die heraanstelling van Hlaudi Motsoeneng in 'n uitvoerende pos by die korporasie' [Trans.: The SABC board will be dissolved for re-appointing Hlaudi Motsoeneng in an executive post at the cooperation]. The newspaper states that this took place after conversations the ANC held with those members at grassroots level who gave an indication that the reason for the humiliating results at the election polls was because ANC-members expect that their leaders would deal with corruption at state-owned institutions. In so doing (see above) the newspaper indeed wants to show that the ANC is not serious about the matter at the SABC per se, but its 'hands are forced' to respond solely because of the 'knock' it received at the polls.

The newspaper reports on the witnesses' claim (during the parliamentary inquiry) of the involvement of the Gupta family as well as the backing of the president in matters at the public broadcaster. In support of this, the *Rapport* refers to the threat of Mr Motsoeneng when Mr Molefe refused to sign a letter approving his bonus – that he would go to 'Pretoria' (De Lange, 2016/12/11: 4). It reflects Mr Motsoeneng as arrogant, as well as enabling the audience to see that the matters at the SABC are the result of political interference.

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Rapport* depicts Mr Motsoeneng as someone who protects and supports President Jacob Zuma (Stone & Nhlabathi, 2016/07/17: 2). It reports 'Die omstrede Hlaudi Motsoeneng het aan personeel gesê pres. Jacob Zuma verdien spesiale behandeling en behoort nie bevraagteken te word soos ander leiers nie' [Trans.:The controversial Hlaudi Motsoeneng told his staff that President Jacob Zuma deserves preferential treatment and should not be questioned as in the case of other leaders].

The *Rapport* also reflects in its reporting on a purging process in which 109 SABC employees had already been offered severance packages (Eybers, 2016/11/6: 2). The newspaper reports that this should be considered as a way (for the SABC) to get rid of them. The process, according to the newspaper, is also said to be unreasonable and discriminatory. The newspaper indicates that one of the reasons

⁵⁰ This refers to a sudden change of plans by the Minister of Communications on who should represent her at the parliament inquiry, which in terms of the newspaper raises suspicion '...maar dieselfde aand het Muthambi per telefoon vanuit Mauritius gereël dat Ramathodi as waarnemende minister vervang word deur Mosebenzi Zwane, minister van mineralebronne, sodat Zwane eerder die vergadering met die raad hou' (*Rapport*, 2016/10/9: 2).

might be that Mr Motsoeneng wants to dispense with those employees who oppose him and replace them with his 'pawns' in all the senior positions at the SABC.

The newspaper also provides good reasons why the MultiChoice contract that secured Mr Motsoeneng a bonus was not beneficial for the public broadcaster but merely for MultiChoice and Mr Motsoeneng. The newspaper reports that he, through this deal, 'sold' the broadcaster (Blignaut & Gedye, 2016/12/11: 4). The *Rapport* allows the audience to compare the bonus that Mr Motsoeneng will receive against the current and continuing years of (financial) 'suffering' at the SABC. It is apparent from its reporting, that *Rapport* enables its readership to view Mr Motsoeneng as the central figure in terms of corruption allegations at the SABC; furthermore, by reporting on all the events which might allow the audience to see Mr Motsoeneng as the central culprit.

It comes across as if *Rapport* is also balanced (or is this only to protect its own business interests?) in its reporting when it focusses on the positive outcomes that the decision of the SABC to broadcast 80% local content will have for South Africans and local talent (Eybers, 2016/06/19b: 9).

iv The appeals (pathos)

Rapport refers to the disappointment of the audience of a specific national radio programme at its sudden discontinuation (Eybers, 2016/06/19a: 9). The programme that had been broadcast on Sunday evenings, '*Kommentaar*', for the past twenty-five years was suddenly withdrawn. The newspaper gives the audience a voice to share their disappointment in the SABC, and also includes in its reporting the positive remarks of the listeners of the now discontinued programme.

The words used to describe the actions of the ANC on the matters and irregularities at the SABC are striking. They refer to the response of the ANC: The ANC 'sit voet neer...' [puts its foot down] '...om korrupsie vas te vat' [to tackle corruption] (De Lange & Blignaut, 2016/10/2: 5). It is quite clear where the newspaper positions itself in terms of the ruling party.

The *Rapport* presents Mr Motsoeneng as continuing to 'cash in' (to receive another bonus) from the broadcaster despite the findings against him (Blignaut & Tau, 2016/09/25: 2). It is reported as if he does not care. The newspaper places the attitude of Mr Motsoeneng in the context of the SCA who supported the finding of the former public protector that his appointment as COO of the SABC was irregular. The choice of the word 'oes' [harvest] with the accentuation of '*nog*' [more] means that he continues to cash in despite his track record. The newspaper might incite and or frustrate those who desire to see an end to acts of corruption.

v The appeals (ethos)

Rapport makes reference to Mr Motsoeneng as one who had unduly benefitted from the contract between SABC and MultiChoice (Blignaut & Gedye, 2016/12/11: 4).

Rapport also presents Minister Faith Muthambi as a liar (*Rapport*, 2016/12/18: 4). The newspaper reports that her version before parliament's Commission of Inquiry – that she did not amend the rules at the SABC that would strip the board of its power

to appoint executive members – is a lie.⁵¹ The headline does not ask the question whether she is lying, it already assumes the veracity of the point that she is indeed not to be trusted. The only question is whether she can be trusted. This was a crucial and important matter because her amendments would allow her to appoint executive members at the SABC. But her denial of any amendments causes the newspaper, in its reporting, to question her moral character. Though it, as indicated above, reports on her party (ANC) for clamping down on issues of corruption (De Lange & Blignaut, 2016/10/2: 5), it still reports in such a way that the audience might question her moral character.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

Rapport enables the readership to grasp the SABC case as centring on the actions and character of Mr Motsoeneng. He is depicted as 'omstrede' [controversial] (Stone & Nhlabathi, 2016/07/17: 2), a dictator,⁵² and is compared in one of the reports to a thundercloud. The newspaper reports on the response of Mr Motsoeneng to the production house of 'Sewende Laan' and states that he '...wil die 7de Laan-span morêoggend onder oë neem' [wants to see the 7de Laan team tomorrow morning].

The *Rapport* depicts Mr Motsoeneng as a powerful figure in shaping the opinion of South Africans (*Rapport*, 2016/06/5a: 2). In one of the newspaper's reports it states '...om die doen en late van Hlaudi Motsoeneng af te maak as die van 'n hanswors, iemand wat 'n mens nie te ergstig hoef op te neem nie.' [to regard the actions of Hlaudi Motsoeneng only as that of a clown, someone that needs not to be taken serious] is to take his actions lightly. However, the newspaper intends its audience to see that they should definitely take his actions seriously because '...Onder Motsoeneng is die SAUK terug waar ons voor 1994 was met die uitsaaier in diens van die staat' [Under the leadership of Motsoeneng the SABC is back where it was before 1994 as public broadcaster in the service of the state]. It is indeed crucial to see that the newspaper is carefully and strategically positioning its readers to see the serious consequences of his actions.

The *Rapport* also presents the situation at the SABC as a matter of mismanagement (Blignaut, 2016/07/31: 4). It shows in its reporting how contracts of employees who perform well are terminated whereas other employees who are willing to follow his instructions are handpicked by Mr Motsoeneng, even if this is not in the best interests of the public broadcaster. In terms of mismanagement, the newspaper reports, 'Rapport het die jongste kyksyfers bestudeer en dit blyk SABC3 se kyksyfers in die gewildste tydgleuwe het halfveer en SABC2 se syfers het ook skerp gedaal' [*Rapport* studied the latest viewers' statistics and it seems as if the number of SABC 3's

⁵¹ In the headline, *Rapport* puts it bluntly, 'Kan jy glo? Die leuens van Faith'. It is already making the point that she is lying.

⁵² Those that oppose, or do not do as he [Mr Motsoeneng] pleases, face the consequences (Blignaut, 2016/07/31: 4). Mr Motsoeneng dismissed Verona Duwarkah, who performed very well in her duties at the SABC, and who successfully managed the broadcasting of the funeral of former President Nelson Mandela. The newspaper reports on this incident to emphasise his dictatorship, and how those who do not want to do as he orders are dismissed.

viewers in the popular time slots has halved while SABC 2's viewers' numbers have also declined dismally] (Blignaut, 2016/07/31: 4).

ii Synecdoche

Rapport focuses on the areas that support and segue into the larger narrative of mismanagement at the SABC and the dictatorship of Mr Motsoeneng (Haffajee, 2016/07/3: 5). The report on the acting COO is employed to present the 'whole' (bigger picture) of the situation at the SABC. It reports that Mr Jim Matthews is to reflect on his first-hand experience of the mismanagement, dictatorship, and reckless decision-making at the SABC. His version of events also shows that anyone deserting or distancing themselves from the actions of Mr Motsoeneng, will not enjoy any 'good and favourable remarks' from the ANC or Minister Faith Muthambi.

c) Conclusion

Mr Motsoeneng is somewhat central to the matters and allegations of corruption at the SABC. He is indeed also reported as one that is corrupt, and enjoys the backing of the Guptas and the Minister of Communications. The way *Rapport* refers to Minister Faith Muthambi as one who lied is distinctive (other newspapers do not employ such words when referring to the Minister). What is unique in the *Rapport* in relation to the other three newspapers is how it perceives Mr Motsoeneng. He is to be seen as one who is in control of the key institution (SABC) that is responsible for opinion formation, and therefore they caution their audience not to take him lightly (as a joke) (*Rapport*, 2016/06/5a: 2). It compares the SABC under his control, to that under the apartheid government, which controls (censors) what the society might see or not see. The newspaper also seems to be the only one that refers to the discontinued Afrikaans programme 'Kommentaar' in which it expresses the audience's disappointment in the SABC. It is also in agreement with the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent* on the dictatorship of Mr Motsoeneng, who fires those who does not "do as he pleases".

8. 4 Comparative assessment

In this section, I compare the four selected newspapers' reports on the allegation of corruption at the SABC. I begin with a discussion on the frequency and placements of the newspapers' reports, followed by a discussion on the similarities and differences between the perspectives on the general themes in terms of the reporting of the case in 2016.

8. 4. 1 A Quantitative assessment

The *Sunday Times* most frequently reports (20) on the alleged corruption at the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC). The *Sunday Independent* publishes the second most reports (17). *Rapport* has fewer (13) than all the three other newspapers in terms of the quantity of reports that were dedicated to this case.

It is also interesting to observe which of the newspapers locate their news items on the front page, and the quantity of the reports they places there in terms of this case of corruption. It is evident in the analysis of the data that the *Sunday Independent*

contains more front page reports (5), than the other three newspapers. The *Sunday Times* (4) publishes the second largest number while *Rapport* does not publish a single report on the alleged corruption at the SABC on its front pages during the 2016 calendar year.

8. 4. 2 A Qualitative assessment

As evident, the newspapers have reported on some of the same events throughout the year, although there are some minor differences in the way each of them reports on those events, persons, and issues. I briefly refer to those as well as pointing out the differences of the newspapers' reporting on the allegations of corruption at the SABC.

a) The response of the ANC

The *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Independent* place reports on the repudiation of what happens at the SABC on their front page. The *Sunday Independent* makes clear the position of the ANC, 'Fire the SABC board now, ANC tells Faith Muthambi' (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/9: 1) while the *Sunday Times* reports slightly differently. It reports that the ANC actually changed its 'tune' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1, 5, 14). In terms of the *Sunday Times* this party's 'change of tune' results from its own internal dysfunction as well as the then upcoming local elections. It particularly reports on Mr Zizi Kodwa and the chief whip of the ANC in parliament, Mr Jackson Mthembu's, vehement repudiation of the events unfolding at the SABC. The *Sunday Times* intends its readers to notice that the ANC was not at first serious about the matters at the SABC, and makes them question the ANC's sudden change of heart.

b) The local elections (2016)

Three of the newspapers, the *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent* and *Rapport*, link the matters unfolding at the SABC with the performance and results of the ANC during the 2016 local elections. The *Sunday Times* refers in its reporting to the 'change of tune' of the ANC which now publicly criticises the board of the SABC. It also places a report on the front page to record the ANC's request for a 'probe into Motsoeneng's powers' (Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1, 5, 14). However, it should be noted that the newspaper locates all these reports in the context of the local elections.

The *Sunday Independent* also reports before the local elections on the ANC's political connection with the SABC, and declares that the ANC will not react decisively, or even remove Mr Motsoeneng, because of the then upcoming local election (2016). It specifically quotes an ANC source, 'The only matter that can stand in the way of Motsoeneng and the SABC's removal, according to ANC sources, are the forthcoming local elections as party heavy weights are criss-crossing the country drumming up support for the local elections' (Piliso, 2016/07/10: 1). The *Sunday Independent* depicts the SABC as a vehicle for the ANC. The difference between the two is precisely that before the elections the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent* report differently on the response by the ANC to matters involving corruption at the public broadcaster.

The *Rapport's* reporting on the effect of the local elections came only after the local elections (unlike the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent*). *Rapport* shows

that the fierce response of the ANC to the matters at the SABC stems from the poor election results achieved by that party (De Lange & Blignaut, 2016/10/2: 5). This is a different perspective from that of the other two (*Sunday Times* and *Sunday Independent*) newspapers.

c) *The bonus of Mr Motsoeneng*

The *Sunday Times*, The *Sunday Independent* as well as *Rapport* refer to Mr Motsoeneng's bonus, which he received for his role in the deal between the SABC and MultiChoice. There are however some differences in their reporting. The *Sunday Times*' reporting focuses on the loss the SABC suffered. However, all three newspapers refer to the incident in which Mr Motsoeneng forced the signature of one of the executives (Mr P. Molefe); otherwise he would go to 'Pretoria'. However, *Rapport* specifically links the Guptas to him, and their support.

The *Sunday Times* also describes the bonus that Mr Motsoeneng received as a 'slip' from his 'pal', a 'secret payment' (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2), one that 'robbed' the SABC, as well as making reference to his not following the proper procedures (Hofstatter, 2016/08/21: 2). The *Sunday Times* alludes to him as having ignored the public protector's report and the decision of the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) that his appointment was unlawful (Hofstatter, 2016/09/25: 2), as well as the sentiment of cabinet members who attained consensus that he should be fired (Hofstatter, 2016/10/9: 10).

The *Sunday Independent* places an emphasis on how Mr Molefe was allegedly forced to sign as well as making particular reference to Mr Motsoeneng who threatens to go to 'Pretoria'. The newspaper therefore makes sure that the audience perceives the behaviour of Mr Motsoeneng as that of a person who obtains the backing of those in high places in parliament.

Rapport also reported in similar vein to the *Sunday Independent*, with reference to Mr Motsoeneng's remark that he would go to 'Pretoria' (De Lange, 2016/12/11: 4), the contract between SABC and MultiChoice which did not warrant a bonus and a reference to his having 'sold' the SABC (De Lange & Blignaut 2016/10/2: 5). *Rapport* also reports on Mr Motsoeneng's disrespect for the SCA and the public protector's report and its recommendations (Blignaut & Tau, 2016/09/25: 2). It does however differ at certain points from the other newspapers, especially when it focuses on the bonus that he would receive, in the light of the 'suffering years' of the SABC. This is a very different angle adopted by *Rapport*. Another striking piece of reporting that differs from the perspective of the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent* is *Rapport's* reference to Mr Motsoeneng as one that 'oes nog...in' [cash in...more] (Blignaut & Tau, 2016/09/25: 2).

d) *President Jacob Zuma and Minister Faith Muthambi*

All the newspapers' reports make reference to the involvement of President Jacob Zuma as well as the Minister of Communications. The *Sunday Times* as well as the *Sunday Independent* record the words of Minister Faith Muthambi where she makes reference to how much President Jacob Zuma 'loves' Mr Motsoeneng. It is striking that the *Sunday Independent*, like the *Sunday Times*, refers to the words with which

she concludes "...we must support him [Motsoeneng]" [because the president loves him] (Shoba, Mokone & Amato, 2016/07/3: 14).

The *Sunday Times* places the family name 'Zuma' on its front page in relation to Mr Motsoeneng ('Hlaudi') (Wa Afrika, 2016/07/10: 1), evidencing a connection in an allegedly corrupt deal. The *Sunday Times* reports on the financial mismanagement of the SABC when it paid for a trip to cover President Jacob Zuma's speech at the memorial service of the late Cuban president (Mokone & Shoba, 2016/12/18: 2).

The *Sunday Times* also emphasises the instruction of Mr Motsoeneng that journalists and reporters should not use the slogan 'Pay back the money': this limits SABC journalists' freedom to cover issues pertaining to President Jacob Zuma (Hunter, Mokone & Joubert, 2016/07/3: 5). It does include a particular report to indicate the deteriorating relationship between Minister Faith Muthambi and her deputy (Mokone, 2016/10/30: 4), as well as her intentions to change the SABC regulations to allow her sweeping powers to hire and fire (Hofstatter, 2016/10/30: 4). The *Sunday Times* also emphasises Muthambi's political interference in the appointment of Mr Motsoeneng (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6).

In its reporting The *Sunday Independent* hints at relationships between Mr Motsoeneng and President Jacob Zuma, as well as Minister Faith Muthambi (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7). It also places a news item covering the instruction by the former that journalists should not criticise the SABC and President Jacob Zuma as well as Mr Motsoeneng's reference to Pretoria (Dodds, 2016/08/21: 2). But the *Sunday Independent* goes further than the *Sunday Times* and refers to this relationship as a reason why the issues at the broadcaster have reached 'stalemate' (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).⁵³

The *Mail and Guardian* does not refer as much as the other newspapers to the relationship between President Jacob Zuma or the SABC, but just one instance is noticed, in which the newspaper reports on the tax ombud; in that particular report President Jacob Zuma and Mr Motsoeneng's cases are said to be 'meritless', and wasting taxpayers' money (Donnelly, 2016/07/22: 2). This does not however indicate a relationship between the two but simply offers a commentary on what these two people's actions cost the taxpayer.

Rapport makes a clear link between Mr Motsoeneng and President Jacob Zuma on one of its front-page reports with the headline, 'Hlaudi sê pak maar vir Gwede, maar los Zuma uit' (Stone & Nhlabathi, 2016/07/17: 2). It also refers to political interference in which Minister Faith Muthambi is implicated (*Rapport*, 2016/10/9: 2). *Rapport* furthermore refers to the ANC and its political involvement in the events at the SABC when it describes one of the witnesses' reports at the parliamentary inquiry (Haffajee, 2016/07/3: 5).⁵⁴ It alludes to a relationship between the president and Minister Faith Muthambi in the inclusion of the words of Jim Matthews in which he states that

⁵³ I quote: '...Muthambi continued [when changing the government's digital migration policy] to ignore the ANC and forged ahead on her own path, which she could have done only if she were certain the only person with the actual power to call her to account – Zuma – stood firmly behind her' (Dodds, 2016/07/10: 5).

⁵⁴ It might be specifically the President and the Communication Minister, but in the report, it refers generally to the ANC (Haffajee, 2016/07/3: 5).

anyone deserting or distancing themselves from actions of Mr Motsoeneng, will not enjoy any good and favourable remarks from the ANC or the communications minister, Faith Muthambi.

e) Parliamentary Inquiry

All four weekly newspapers report on the parliamentary inquiry into the situation and alleged corruption and mismanagement at the SABC. The newspapers all refer to the unity among the parties that served on the committee. The most striking comment of the *Sunday Times* (2016/12/18: 14) in its reporting is its allusion to the parliamentary inquiry as a 'shock' because all the political parties' representatives in the committee worked together, and were able to hold public servants to account.

The *Sunday Independent* dedicates a whole page of reporting to the parliamentary inquiry, and refers to the president and his cabinet who called the SABC to account (Mkhwanazi, 2016/10/2: 7). The most distinctive feature in its reporting, in comparison with the other three newspapers, is its comparison of the parliamentary inquiry into the board's fitness of office to a soapie, whose ending was "breath-taking" and "twist-in-the-tail" (Makatile, 2016/12/18: 7). It is also noted that the *Sunday Times* (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 16; 6) as well as the *Sunday Independent* (2016/12/11: 16) uses the same word 'rot' to describe the state of affairs at the SABC.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the *Mail and Guardian* reports very differently on the parliamentary inquiry from the other three newspapers. It emphasises Mr Motsoeneng's support of the president, the illegality of the former's appointment in terms of the ruling of the Cape Town High Court, as well as his being the 'go-to-man' (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2). The newspaper uses various metaphors in describing the matters at the SABC when reporting on the parliamentary inquiry, for instance 'dishing dirt' (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2) relating to the issues the witnesses raised, 'take-no-prisoner' moments, and 'hamfisted responses' (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2) of the parliamentary committee.

f) The attitude of Mr Motsoeneng

It is just two newspapers, the *Mail and Guardian* and the *Sunday Times* that refer to the nonchalant attitude of Mr Motsoeneng. The *Mail and Guardian* never reports on him on its front pages. Although both report on the protesters and all those who are unhappy about his conduct, it is only the *Mail and Guardian* that reports on the anger from the ANC quarters. The *Sunday Times* did not make mention of the anger of the ANC in reports related to Mr Motsoeneng.

g) The ban on coverage of violent protests

In reference to the decision on the ban on coverage of violent protests, it is noteworthy that the *Sunday Times* does not emphasise the position of the ANC on such a decision whereas the *Sunday Independent* places such a stance, and the position of the ANC on its front page, in the report with the headline 'Cabinet reaffirms support of free media in SA'.

⁵⁵ The *Sunday Times*' headline 'Former SABC bosses line up to expose rot' (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 16; 6) as well as the *Sunday Independent* 'SABC rot stinks to high heaven' (*Sunday Independent*, 2016/12/11: 16).

h) *The Gupta family's involvement*

The *Sunday Independent* is reporting on the involvement of the Gupta family and a corrupt relationship they have with the SABC (Lepule, 2016/12/18: 7), which is not even mentioned in the findings of the public protector or the reporting of the *Sunday Times*.

i) *Dictatorship of Mr Motsoeneng*

The *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Independent*, as well as *Rapport* describe Mr Motsoeneng as someone who 'do[es] as he pleases'; otherwise employees will be fired. This runs through the reporting as a central theme.

j) *The ironic praise for Mr Motsoeneng's leadership*

The *Sunday Independent* and the *Mail and Guardian* would also include in their reports a number of ironic events: for instance, events and moments where Mr Motsoeneng was praised. The *Sunday Independent* allows the audience to question the allegations of corruption against him. The newspaper creates a situation of irony when it reports on how people in Giyani lauded him as a 'man of honour' against what the newspaper argues is the unethical, 'foxy', and 'strongman' persona of Mr Motsoeneng. In doing this, the newspaper conveys the message that he does not deserve applause or any credit for his work at the SABC.

The *Mail and Guardian* would almost in the same manner play on the feelings of its readership when it includes in a headline 'the gospel according to Hlaudi' and in the reports itself, it refers to the 'controversial' SABC executive Hlaudi Motsoeneng who was 'praised' for ten minutes (De Wet, 2016/10/7a: 2).

8. 5 Conclusion

It is just the *Mail and Guardian* (2016/07/15a: 1) that reports on the 'golden handshake' paid by the SABC to Mr Frans Matlala. There is also a difference in the amount that the *Sunday Times* (R44-million) and the *Mail and Guardian* (R40-million) reports on the SABC's studio deal. *Rapport* is the only newspaper which reports on the discontinued Afrikaans programme on national radio '*Kommentaar*' (Eybers, 2016/06/19a: 9).

The four selected newspapers exhibit quite a number of differences in their reporting on the matters relating to the SABC. Although they might cover the same events, it is evident that their emphases vary. It is noted that all four regard the case at the SABC as a case of corruption, but not all include the same role players; for instance only the *Sunday Independent* includes the involvement of the Guptas in it.

9. Reported Corruption at the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa: Rhetorical Strategies of Four Weekly Newspapers

9. 1 Introduction

This chapter discusses and assess the rhetorical strategies that the four selected newspapers, namely the *Sunday Times*, the *Sunday Independent*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* employed in their news reports on the alleged corruption related to the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (Prasa).

The chapter commences with the Public Protector's report and her findings in this respect. The next section discusses the rhetorical strategies that each newspaper employed in their reporting on this case study. In the last section of the chapter I compare and assess the four newspapers' reports on the alleged corruption at Prasa.

In December 2015, it emerged that the Prasa had procured thirteen (13) Afro 4000 locomotives from Europe that were not suitable for the railway infrastructure of South Africa, despite warnings. The Public Protector started investigations in 2012 and released her findings in August 2015. The state-owned enterprise had been slammed with various allegations of maladministration and irregularities. In fact, as of 2016, the Auditor General of South Africa (AGSA) reports that Prasa has incurred R13.9-billion of irregular expenditure, which is more than any of the other state-owned enterprises in South Africa. This case entails multiple instances of corruption and serves as an important example for this study.

9. 2 Findings of the Public Protector

In the public protector's report released August 2015 entitled *Derailed*,¹ the following findings were made in terms of the investigation at Prasa. This is not the comprehensive report, but a summarised, paraphrased version of the findings as articulated in the report that are directly related to the allegations of corruption there.

Reference is made in the report to the improper national extension of some train stations.

The improper extension of a tender (amounting to R800 million) awarded to Siemens for the Dark Fibre and Integrated Communication Systems to additional stations nationally, during the financial year 2009/2010, when it had only been advertised in Gauteng.

The improper awarding of contracts for the cleaning service and the irregular appointment of the Reakgona Commercial and Industry Hygiene and Katanga Cleaning Services.

The alleged and improper appointment of Sidas Security on a security tender which replaced National Force Security on the GCEO's instructions.

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http://www.pprotect.org/library/investigation_report/201516/PUBLIC_PROTECTOR_INVESTIGATION_REPORT_NO_3_OF_201516_PRASA_24082015.pdf Assessed on 7 September 2016

The improper appointment of Vimtsire Security Services, in the sense that it failed to meet the minimum requirements.

The alleged improper appointment and payment of Royal Security for an amount of R2.8 million for security services, in terms of the parastatal's alleged improper advance payment of R600.000.00 to Enlightened Security.

The alleged and improper appointment of a media company to produce Hambanathi Magazine during 2008/2009.

9. 3 Rhetorical analysis of the four newspapers

In this section I report on the distinct rhetorical strategies that each of the four selected newspapers employed in its reporting on this issue. I make some general remarks on the operations of the newspapers in doing so, which include their particular emphases, the various appeals in which they invite the audience to agree with their reports and perspective(s) on the case, but then also apply the basic forms of Burke, to identify the main thrust and perspective(s) of the newspapers. This is important as it will draw attention to how the newspapers 'turn' the minds of the audience. After discussing each newspaper's rhetorical strategies as reflected through its reporting, I will compare the newspapers in terms of the similarities and differences in the ways in which each reported on the case.

9. 3. 1 The Sunday Times

a) Describing the operations

This section discusses the function of the rhetorical act by the *Sunday Times*, and in doing so focuses on its emphases, de-emphases, the associations, dis-associations as well as the appeal(s) of the *Sunday Times* to invite the audience to agree with its perspective(s) on this particular case of corruption (Lawrie, 2005:129).

i The emphases

I identified at least seven (7) reports, of which not one (0) of the reports features on the front page of the newspaper. It is clear that the *Sunday Times* did not allocate much space to the matters relating to the alleged corruption at Prasa. It does not place much emphasis on this case of alleged corruption, if one is to adduce the mere absence of a front-page report. However, this is not the only factor in the discussion of the newspaper's emphases.

Irrespective of the fact that there is no front-page report there are several featuring on the second page, which also well express the newspaper's emphases. I refer to some of the headlines to illustrate the newspaper's particular emphases on this case, "Prasa boss gets lucky with R11m mansion" (Jika, 2016/02/7: 2);² "Rail body targets staff in a bid to plug leaks" (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2); "Gupta associates on Transnet

² The *Sunday Times* plays on the word "lucky" to express the way in which funds were received by Mr Lucky Montana, who in the headline is referred to as the "Prasa boss". In the report itself it describes the corrupt manner in which he received the money. The newspaper remarks, "...former CEO Lucky Montana scored an R11-million mansion in Pretoria's posh Waterkloof Ridge suburb in a corrupt deal arising from the 2010 World Cup that involves a soccer boss" (Jika, 2016/02/7: 2).

inside track” (Skiti, 2016/10/30: 2) and “Family-linked firm’s R167m Transnet bonanza” (Sole, Brümmer & McKune, 2016/08/28: 2).

An overall synopsis of the second page reports of the *Sunday Times* highlights the allegations of corruption that involve the former CEO, Mr Montana, as well as the involvement of other individuals whom the newspaper associates with the Gupta family. The newspaper also reports on an investigation that was launched by Mr Popo Molefe into the pervasive corruption at the state-owned entity.

The *Sunday Times* also emphasises Transnet’s decision to investigate employees so as to determine who was leaking information to the media (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2).³ The newspaper presents it as quite ironic that Prasa is launching such an investigation while it should rather focus on the allegations of corruption at the institution. The *Sunday Times* shows this as ironic by playing it off against the background, referring to Salim Essa’s corrupt deals to this point with Prasa (Essa, it reports, is a Gupta associate).⁴ The newspaper emphasises one of the “lucky” deals that Mr Montana strikes when he scored a multibillionrand house because of one of the individuals that received a contract at Prasa during his tenure as the CEO at Prasa. Subsequently it calls attention to the corrupt deals by a Gupta linked company, Trillian (Sole, Brümmer & McKune, 2016/08/28: 2).⁵ In most of the reports the newspaper refers to the alleged corruption of certain individuals and families and how they scored through irregular contracts.

ii Associations

In sketching the reality of allegations of corruption at Prasa, the *Sunday Times* in one of its reports underscores how massive the stakes are in the battle over state-owned enterprises like Prasa. The newspaper associates various individuals, who it reports are associates of the Guptas, with allegations of corruption at state-owned enterprises including Prasa. The newspaper also describes the former (2016) minister of finance Pravin Gordhan as prohibiting illegal deals and improper contracts⁶ while President Zuma is linked with the Guptas⁷ who are, as well as in

³ In the report “Rail body targets staff in a bid to plug leaks” the newspaper in the opening sentence indicates, “Transnet has hired auditors to identify employees who leaked information to the press about a controversial deal it made with a company in which Gupta associate Salim Essa has a 60% stake” (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2). It also makes reference to harassment and intimidation of such employees, “However, a source close to the investigation said employees had been harassed and intimidated” (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2).

⁴ After it refers to the investigation of employees into who leaked information to the press the newspaper suggests why it was necessary for such information to be in the public domain, “PwC began a forensic investigation after the Sunday Times ran a story earlier this week in which it revealed Essa was to profit from lucrative Transnet contracts that are under investigation by the National Treasury. Essa, who benefited from a multibillionrand partnership with state arms manufacturer Denel that Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan wants reversed, could now be in line to score millions more” (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2).

⁵ Sole, Brummer and McKune (2016/08/28: 2) assert in the report “Family-linked firm’s R167m Transnet bonanza”, “A Gupta-linked advisory group, Trillian, is sucking cash out of Transnet at a furious rate despite a National Treasury probe into contracts between the companies”.

⁶ I quote from the report, “In January this year [2016] government defence contractor Denel formed a joint venture with VR Laser Asia in a R10-billion deal to build and supply combat vehicles for the defence force. Gordhan flagged the deal and ordered that it be scrapped because it had been concluded without treasury permission” (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).

other reports on them, a family which obtains contracts through unethical methods (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4). The newspaper links the Guptas in various ways with the allegations of corruption at Prasa.

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Sunday Times* invites the audience to agree with its perspective on the alleged corruption at Prasa and appeals to reason (*logos*) when it reports on some of the details of dubious deals that are taking place at Prasa. Those involved in corruption at Prasa, according to the newspaper, include the African National Congress (ANC), as well as the former CEO of Prasa, Mr Montana. Also noteworthy is the particular salience that the newspaper places on the specific, astronomical amounts spent.⁸ The newspaper takes much time explaining that Mr Montana corruptly benefited from a few contracts which mainly include the Siyangena contract that installed high-speed passenger gates, CCTV cameras and other security related material, as well as a contract awarded to Mario Ferreira, the owner of the soccer club Vasco da Gama and Siyangena Technologies (Jika, 2016/02/7: 2).

The newspaper refers to two associates of the Guptas who benefitted from Transnet contracts. It makes reference to Salim Essa who, the newspaper reports, was involved in a “controversial deal” benefitting from lucrative contracts (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2) as well as to Stanley Shane who was serving as a non-executive director at Transnet and who was reportedly channelling contracts to a Gupta linked company (Skiti, 2016/10/30: 2). The newspaper also presents a simple diagram in which it illustrates how the Guptas benefitted through their ‘associate’ (Salim Essa) from a contract of Transnet with the company Trillian Capital Partners (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4). The *Sunday Times*’ reporting makes clear its efforts to allow the audience to see the involvement of Gupta associates in allegations of corruption at Prasa.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The *Sunday Times* appeals to the emotions of the audience when it reports on an alleged irregular contract, which involves large sums of money between Transnet and a private company, Trillian (Sole, Brümmer & McKune, 2016/08/28: 2). The inclusion of such a huge amount, which is lost as a result of a corrupt transaction, is not only a demonstration of the irresponsible behaviour of the state-owned entity (Prasa), but might also evoke strong emotions of discontent amongst South Africans with respect to the current government corruption.

The unethical conduct of Salim Essa has already been referred to in one of the newspapers’ reports, in which the opening paragraph states that although he had

⁷ In the report the newspaper states, “Essa has been the subject of numerous reports over his links and partnerships with the Gupta family, who have been accused of using their proximity to President Jacob Zuma to score government deals” (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).

⁸ See the headline of Sole, Brümmer and McKune (2016/08/28: 2) “Family-linked firm’s R167m Transnet bonanza”. It is also evident in most parts of the report in which the enormous amounts are specifically mentioned. See also the headlines, “Prasa boss gets lucky with R11m mansion” (Jika, 2016/02/07: 2) and, “Follow crooked Prasa tracks to find R80m” (Jika, 2016/09/4: 4).

already scored a multibillion contract with Denel he could even “score millions more” in a contract his company has entered with Transnet (Sole, Brümmer & McKune, 2016/05/22: 2). This might evoke anger and resentment from the audience at the current state of affairs at state-owned enterprises. Why would the newspaper include this, certainly not to amuse or entertain the audience but instead to raise displeasure at the rampant government corruption?

v The appeals (ethos)

The newspaper also refers to the unethical conduct of the Minister of Transport, Dipuo Peters, as well as the ANC who it reports has likely benefited out of contracts at Prasa. It refers in one report to a letter in which the said minister warns Prasa to get its house in order (Jika, 2016/06/19: 4). The minister is reported to be concerned about the fruitless and wasteful expenditure at Prasa, its poor performance, late arrivals of some trains, and the far fewer train trips (Jika, 2016/06/19: 4). But in response to this the newspaper reports on insiders of the ANC who claim that there is an ANC faction that wants to oust the CEO of the board of Prasa, Mr Popo Molefe and replace him with someone that would direct resources to them. The *Sunday Times* reports on the allegations of corruption against Messrs Montana, Essa and Shane. It is evident in the reporting of the newspaper that there are some who are fomenting corruption, while there are others, such as Mr Molefe, who are combating it.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Sunday Times* allows the audience to perceive the Gupta family as some of those who benefit from state contracts through their networks and associates. The newspaper in one of its reports shows how Salim Essa referred to “Gupta-link” benefits from a Transnet contract (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).⁹ The newspaper also allocates space in its editions to report on the lucrative contracts he received, and suggests that he could receive “more millions” from Transnet contracts (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2). It also reports on the minister of transport, as being concerned about the wasteful expenditure at Prasa, although her commitment to root out corruption at the institution is not so clearly stated in the reporting (Jika, 2016/06/19: 4).

It is apparent that the newspaper wants to focus on the deep-rooted corruption at the institution, since it concentrates on the Gupta family and their associates as key role players in the allegations of corruption at the state-owned enterprise.

⁹ I quote from the report, “Transnet deals fall into Gupta man Essa's lap” (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4), “Salim Essa, who recently benefitted from a multibillion-rand partnership with state arms contractor Denel that Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan wants reversed could now be in line to score billions more. This follows a decision by the board of Transnet last week to approve the cession of major advisory contracts from Regiments Capital to Trillian Capital Partners, a company registered last year in which Essa holds a 60% stake”.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* maintains that the Gupta family and their associates as well as Mr Lucky Montana, benefited from contracts at Prasa. It makes reference to an ANC faction that wants to oust Mr Popo Molefe especially for his efforts to root out corruption. In view of this, the newspaper surely wants to indicate to the audience that even the ruling party is involved in acts of corruption and is in cahoots with Gupta associates.

9. 3. 2 The Sunday Independent

The *Sunday Independent* did not report on the alleged corruption at Prasa during the calendar year of 2016. This in itself is significant, and speaks volumes about its choice not to allocate any space to report on this case of corruption in 2016. I reflect in chapter 10 on the absence of reports by the *Sunday Independent*.

9. 3. 3 The Mail and Guardian

a) Describing the operations

This section discusses the function of the rhetorical act by the *Mail and Guardian*, and in doing so focuses on its emphases, de-emphases, associations and even dis-associations as well as the appeal(s) of the *Mail and Guardian* in which the newspaper invites the audience to agree with its perspective(s) on this particular corruption case (Lawrie, 2005:129).

i Emphases

I identified ten (10) reports, which relate to the corruption case at Prasa. The newspaper included one (1) front-page headline “Tall trains: Prasa sues for R2.6bn” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/06/17: 1) in which it reports on the tall trains that Transnet procured. The newspaper makes reference to the height of the trains that did not even fit the rail infrastructure in South Africa. Therefore, the newspaper argues in its reporting that this boils down to wasteful and fruitless expenditure and raises concerns over corruption in the procurement process.

In terms of emphasis it is perhaps important to refer to the headlines on the newspaper’s third page as this is the nearest to the front page of the newspaper, in the absence of second and first page reports on this case. There are only two reports, “Prasa wants its R2.6bn paid back” (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3) as well as “Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO” (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3). The newspaper reports on a process that Prasa instituted (reported to be initiated by Mr Popo Molefe) to recover some of the money that was part of the contract with Swifambo. It claims that this particular contract was illegal. The other headline “Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO” constitutes a report on the alleged deteriorating relationship between the minister of Transport, Dipuo Peters and the CEO of Prasa, Mr Popo Molefe.¹⁰ The

¹⁰ It the opening paragraph of the report it states, “Relations between Transport Minister Dipuo Peters and Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (Prasa) board chairperson, Popo Molefe have deteriorated to a point where the two are said to be no longer on speaking terms” (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).

newspaper refers to the cause, the result of the resistance of the Prasa CEO and his unwillingness to follow the instruction of the minister to appoint Collins Letsoalo as chief financial officer. The newspaper herewith emphasises the unethical conduct and mismanagement of the minister of Transport, Dipuo Peters who wants to push through her agenda with the consensus of the board.¹¹

The newspaper summarises the findings of the Public Protector and produces the essentials of the findings at Prasa, which the newspaper reports to be the gist of the matters at Prasa (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15b: 4).

Lawrie (2005: 129) argues that a rhetorician might, as a way of emphasising something, make it stand out by means of contrast. This is noticed as one of the strategies employed by the *Mail and Guardian* when it emphasises the poor investigation by the Hawks into allegations of corruption at Prasa (Van Wyk, 2016/09/23: 5). In contrasting the two investigations of corruption, namely the investigation of the Hawks into Minister Pravin Gordhan's alleged corruption at the South African Revenue Service, and the alleged corruption at Prasa the newspaper raises speculation over the reason for the delay and finalisation of the investigation at Prasa. The newspaper speculates that there might be a driving force behind Gordhan's case whereas there seems to be not enough political will to bring the Prasa investigation to a close. The manner in which the newspaper presents the report, leaves the audience with at least three questions: Is there any political agenda in the speedy investigation of the Gordhan case? Flowing from this, is there an absence of political will in the slow progress of the investigation of corruption at Prasa? Are there some politicians that might be behind the slow progress of the investigation into alleged corruption at Prasa?

ii The associations

The *Mail and Guardian* associates the state-owned enterprise, Prasa, with the undue involvement of some politicians, for instance President Jacob Zuma and other ANC members (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).¹² In terms of the newspaper's reporting, the minister of Transport is also influenced by the president and some politicians, while Mr Popo Molefe and the board are on the other side of the divide (not driving any political agenda).

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Mail and Guardian* refers to a company called Siyaya DB engineers, which scored contracts at Prasa through misrepresentation and the use of the logo of

¹¹ In support of this, and the strained relationship between the minister and Mr Popo Molefe, I quote a paragraph from the report, "The only thing the minister and Molefe agreed on during a heated board meeting in Pretoria last week was the fact that the acting group chief executive officer, Nathi Khena, needed to be removed because of poor performance" (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).

¹² The report "Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO" (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3) alludes to some political influence, especially mentioning the president. The newspaper reports, "Although Molefe and some board members believe Sesoko would be the ideal candidate to steer the agency in the right direction, Peters and other ANC politicians, including President Jacob Zuma, are understood to prefer Khumalo".

another credible company (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15: 4).¹³ The company used the logo and the initials DB that belong to the international company, Deutsche Bahn International, and was claiming that there was a partnership between them to secure a contract (Van Wyk, 2016/06/24: 8). In this way, the company unduly benefitted from Prasa. This is a technique of the newspaper to show how the state-owned enterprise is permeated with corrupt transactions. It reports on the regular procurement of locomotives, managers and directors who were awarded contracts because of their relationship with the former CEO Mr Montana, a Prasa “fake engineer” (Mr Daniel Mtimkulu) who launched companies through “friends and families” to benefit from maintenance contracts, and a businessperson named Patricia Norris who received a contract for refurbishment without having the skills to deliver. These are the issues that the newspaper reports in “A litany of allegations of corruption” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15b: 4) as some forms of corruption at the state-owned enterprise. The newspaper therefore provides good reason for the audience to believe that the allegations of corruption levelled at the state-owned enterprise might be true.

iv The appeals (ethos)

Mr Popo Molefe, the CEO of Prasa, is reported as exhibiting a good moral character. The newspaper reports on the positive, ethical conduct of the chairman of the board and his pledge to complete the investigations into corruption at the institution (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3). It records efforts by Mr Molefe to ensure that the investigations at the state-owned enterprise go ahead, and to clean the institution of prevailing corruption. Molefe’s words are captured as follows: “We spent millions to save billions” (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4) with reference to the cost of his campaign to combat corruption. The newspaper in the same report refers to others, who might be covering their wickets, as “distractors”.

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the concerted efforts by the ANC and Minister Dipuo Peters to remove Mr Popo Molefe (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).¹⁴ The newspaper reports that one of the reasons is related to “...the investigations he launched into multibillion-rand tenders awarded during Montana’s time” (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).

The *Mail and Guardian* depicts Prasa under the leadership of Mr Molefe as ethical. It reports on the decision of Prasa to sue a company called Swifambo for rigging a contract to favour the latter (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/06/17: 1). The newspaper reports at great length on Prasa’s lawsuit that was filed against Swifambo Rail Leasing to recoup the money it had spent for the Afro 4000 locomotives which were unsuitable for the rail infrastructure in South Africa (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3).

¹³ I quote as evidence from the report “ANC ‘riff-raff’ fingered in Prasa scandal” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15: 4), “Siyaya Consulting Engineers bagged more than R5.8-billion in deals from Prasa, but it has been exposed by the German government-owned rail company, Deutsche Bahn International, for irregularly using its logo to imply a partnership between them. Siyaya was awarded several tenders on the back of this relationship with DBI”.

¹⁴ In the report “Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO” (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3) the newspaper reports, “Molefe’s allies believe there were concerted efforts by some ANC leaders to remove him as Prasa chairperson because of the investigations he launched into multibillion-rand tenders awarded during Montana’s time”.

According to the newspaper, the argument is that the initial contract and deal was rigged from the start to favour Swifambo, which was also one of the findings made by the Public Protector. Mr Popo Molefe is pictured as providing ethical leadership to reverse the contract which was at the centre of attention in terms of allegations of corruption at the state-owned enterprise.

The newspaper refers to the denial of Dipuo Peters that she had given any permission for corrupt activities at Prasa (Van Wyk, 2016/09/2: 8). The newspaper reports on her efforts to contact Mr Montana to detect whether anything was wrong. However, the newspaper includes the word “reluctant” in reference to her response that she was unaware of the scale of corruption at Prasa.¹⁵ The newspaper does not favourably report on her moral character.

It is apparent in the reporting of the *Mail and Guardian* that it distinguishes between the moral character of Mr Molefe in contrast with others, like the Minister of Transport, as well as the ANC that is involved and allowing the corruption to continue at the enterprise, which is the reason that its members want Mr Molefe out of the way.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The *Mail and Guardian* (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4) uses the metaphor of ‘harvesting’ when it refers to the alleged corruption at Prasa. The newspaper also describes the institution as a ‘honey pot’ in which cadres, and influential government officials have their fingers. Mr Popo Molefe is quoted, “For years, Prasa was a ‘farm’ where cadres went to ‘harvest’” “...government leaders who have their fingers in the honey pot” (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4). The Minister of Transport, Dipuo Peters, who is woven into the broad perspective of ‘harvesting’, confirms the alleged corruption at the institution and says that she was not aware of the scale of corruption that has crippled Prasa, because Mr Montana the previous CEO had said it was a minor issue. The newspaper pictures Mr Popo Molefe as the “new broom that wants to sweep clean” (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3) and the Minister as allowing such corruption to continue.

The *Mail and Guardian* also reports on the alleged corruption at Prasa as part of the bigger “broken system” (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4). The audience is made to see the leadership style and business interests of President Jacob Zuma, his family and friends as a, “vast rot in the broken system (Prasa)” (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4).

c) Conclusion

The *Mail and Guardian* focuses on many employees and companies, for instance Swifambo that benefited through corrupt deals, apart from the regular focus on Mr Montana or even the president who is often associated with the Minister of Transport, Dipuo Peters. The *Mail and Guardian* uses the metaphor of harvesting to refer to

¹⁵ I quote from the report “Peters: I didn’t know of Prasa crisis” (Van Wyk, 2016/09/2: 8), “She reluctantly conceded that she was largely unaware of the scale of the corruption that has crippled Prasa, one of several state-owned entities in her portfolio”.

many public officials who scored from contracts at Prasa. It suggests there is some political involvement in the irregularities and forms of corruption at Prasa.

9. 3. 4 Rapport

a) *Describing the operations*

This section discusses the function of the rhetorical act by *Rapport*, and in doing so focus on its emphases, de-emphases, the associations, dis-associations as well as the appeal(s) of *Rapport* to invite its audience to agree with its perspective (s) on this particular corruption case (Lawrie, 2005).

i Emphases

Rapport has included eleven (11) reports that relate to the alleged corruption at Prasa, of which only one (1) report is placed on its front page. The front-page report “Zuma se vriende kry R80 miljoen” [Zuma’s friends received R80 million] associates the president with myriad corruption allegations at the Passenger Railway Agency of South Africa (Prasa) (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1). The newspaper does not explicitly name the “friends” in the headline; therefore the particular reference to Zuma makes the president the focal point for the audience. Nevertheless, in the report, it identifies the friends of the president, like the company of Maria da Cruz Gomes, and the legal firm of Nkosi Sabelo who unduly benefitted and received contracts from Prasa (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1).¹⁶ In terms of the placement of other reports relating to the Prasa case, reports vary in location between the second and fourth pages of the newspaper editions. This attests that the case was considerably important for *Rapport*.

Despite a lack of more front page reports, the second page headlines and reports could also help to shed light on the particular emphases of the *Rapport*. These are well expressed through its headlines. The headlines read, “Lucky was korrup, sê Prasa” (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2); “IT-ou’ vernietig glo Prasa-dokumente” (*Rapport*, 2016/06/19: 2); “Vals aanbod’ laat geld rol vir Lucky” (Myburgh, 2016/07/3: 2). The newspaper also uses a headline “Nee vir Zuma se kripvreet-kapitalisme” (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 2). This itself allows the readers to make a link between President Jacob Zuma and the allegations of corruption at Prasa (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1). The word corruption is captured in the headline, “Lucky was korrup, sê Prasa” and shows the newspaper’s commitment to report on it, as this is intended to strike the audience’s attention when they pick up the newspaper. Those who are omitted from front page headlines are Mr Montana, but also President Jacob Zuma.¹⁷

¹⁶ In the report, it refers to the contract as well as the relationship between the president and his two friends. I reproduce evidence that relates to one of the friends in the report, “Luidens die koerant was daar destyds gerugte dat Sabelo ’n ‘direkte lyn’ na pres. Jacob Zuma het en dat hy die president se kinders adviseer” (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1).

¹⁷ The newspaper reports on President Jacob Zuma on the second page of one of the editions.

ii Associations

The *Rapport* associates President Zuma with various corruption allegations at Prasa: for instance the massive scale of corruption in Prasa's milliard rand contract for new locomotives (AFRO4000) (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 2).¹⁸ The newspaper also associates the ANC, and the son of Dudu Myeni (CEO of the board of South African Airways), with corruption and hints that they unduly benefitted out of this procurement (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4).¹⁹

iii The appeals (logos)

The *Rapport* appeals to the reason of the audience when it reports on the involvement of the president in the alleged cases of corruption at Prasa, and how this forms part of a bigger corrupt network (*Myburgh*, 2016/01/31: 1). It refers to an Angolan friend of the president who was paid 3.5-milliard rand. The law firm of President Zuma's eldest son, Edward Zuma, also received a payment from the director of Swifambo of around R3-milliard. It is evident that the newspaper wants to show the links between the president and various alleged corruption contracts at the state-owned enterprise.

The newspaper also allows the audience to perceive the political involvement in Prasa contracts, when it refers in its reporting to the words of Mr Popo Molefe, who believes that the African National Congress (ANC) is also benefitting from the locomotive fiasco in which money was "verdoesel" [concealed] through "onder meer belasting in Prasa se boeke verkeerd te bereken en onnodige konsultasie gelde" [through miscalculating tax in the financial books of Prasa and unnecessary consultation fees] (*George*, 2016/08/28: 4).²⁰ In the quest to shed light on the particular corrupt transactions at the institution, the newspaper reports on the son of Dudu Myeni (CEO of South African Airways) who was also involved in some form of corrupt activities at Prasa (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4). The newspaper reports on Thalete Myeni who has no experience in the railway industry, but has financially benefitted (R16, 5 million) from the deal and procurement of the Afro 4000 locomotives that were not even suitable for the South African railway structure (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4).²¹ It also reports how Mr Montana as the former CEO of

¹⁸ In the report "Nee vir Zuma se kripvreet-kapitalisme" (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 2) the newspaper reports, "Dit is die kultuur vir baantjies vir boeties wat transaksies in die hand werk soos die twee reusagtige betalings waarvoor *Rapport* vandag berig: Vriende van pres. Jacob Zuma het 80 miljoen se betalings ontvang in die loop van die omstrede Prasa-trein-kontrak. Miljarde se treine, te hoog vir ons spore, is deur 'n swartbemaagtigingsmaatskappy se winste uit die tender na mense naby aan die president".

¹⁹ See the headline, "Prasa-geld na Myeni se seun" (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4).

²⁰ The report, "ANC en trein-fiasco: 'Dis nou in Valke se hande'" (*George*, 2016/08/28: 4) asserts, "Geen bewyse is by die hof ingedien dat die ANC wel betalings ontvang het nie, maar Molefe sê Prasa is op vergaderings met Auswell Mashaba, bestuderende direkteur van Swifambo, ingelig dat Gomes hom (Mashaba) gevra het vir geld vir 'die beweging'. Luidens Molefe se verklaring is dié betalings 'verdoesel' deur onder meer belasting in Prasa se boeke verkeerd te bereken en onnodige konsultasiegelde".

²¹ In the report "Prasa-geld na Myeni se seun" (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4) the newspaper asserts, "Sonder om 'n vinger te lig het Thalete Myeni, seun van Dudu Myeni, SAL-voorsitter, en ander belanghebbers met politieke bande munt geslaan uit die Passasierspooragendskap van Suid-Afrika (Prasa) se kontrakte van R51 miljard vir nuwe passasierwaens".

Prasa unduly benefitted from contracts of R4-milliard, in terms of an irregular bidding tender process (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2).²²

The newspaper provides the audience with a reason to believe that Mr Montana is guilty of unethical conduct when it draws attention to how he instructed one of the IT employees at Prasa to confiscate documents and contracts which could have assisted the Hawks during the investigations into the allegations of corruption at Prasa (*Rapport*, 2016/06/19: 2). The reference to all the cases and individuals that the newspaper reports on shows its commitment to expose allegations of corruption.

iv The appeals (pathos)

The newspaper makes many references to the astronomical amounts being incurred during alleged corrupt deals,²³ as well as the political involvement of those who are supposed to respect, uphold and defend the constitution. This might evoke either emotions of apathy or of active citizenry to curb the corruption that is prevalent in state-owned enterprises.

v The appeals (ethos)

It is the intention of *Rapport* to influence the audience when its reporting focuses in particular on the unethical behaviour and integrity of the former CEO of Prasa, Mr Montana (Myburgh, 2016/07/3: 2). It reports on his use of a ghost firm to negotiate a salary increase at Prasa. The newspaper refers to suspicious documents which he used when he applied for this increase. The newspaper also reports that he submitted a document from a company called “Gypsum” which he claimed had offered him more than Prasa at the time as a means to secure a salary increase. This company is reported to be a “ghost firm”.²⁴

Besides the abovementioned case the newspaper also reports on another which involves Mr Montana. In its report “‘IT-ou’ vernietig glo Prasa-dokumente” (*Rapport*, 2016/06/19: 2) the newspaper explains to the audience how Mr Montana instructed an IT employee to remove and purge his computer of all documents, which Prasa claims were important because these contained information such as board meetings and documents that related to contracts entered by Prasa.

²² In the opening paragraph of the report, “Lucky was korrup, sê Prasa” (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2) the newspaper reports, “Lucky Montana, die voormalige Prasa-baas, het op ‘n ‘korrupte’ manier voordeel getrek uit sy verhouding met ‘n maatskappy wat ‘onwettige’ kontrakte van R4 miljard met die staatsbeheerde vervoermaatskappy beklink het”.

²³ Some of the references include, “Intussen het dit aan die lig gekom dat Montana R42 miljoen aan 70 toiletsitplekke vir nuwe lokomotiewe spandeer het” (Swanepoel, 2016/09/11: 4); “Die hofsak waarvoor Molefe ‘n verklaring afgelê het, is deel van ‘n aansoek deur Prasa om die tender van 3,5 miljard vir lokomotiewe tersyde te stel”(George, 2016/08/28: 4); “Dit is die kultuur vir baantjies vir boeties wat transaksies in die hand werk soos die twee reusagtige betalings waarvoor *Rapport* vandag berig: Vriende van pres. Jacob Zuma het 80 miljoen se betalings ontvang in die loop van die omstrede Prasa-trein-kontrak. Miljarde se treine, te hoog vir ons spore, is deur ‘n swartbemaagtigingsmaatskappy se winste uit die tender na mense naby aan die president” (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 2).

²⁴ The subheading of the headline of the report reads, “‘Spookfirma’ wil hom glo as hoof aanstel, daarom vra hy Prasa vir R5,7 m. per jaar” (Myburgh, 2016/07/3: 2).

The newspaper reports on the integrity of the new boss of the “Staatsveiligheidsagentskap (SVA)”, Mr Arthur Fraser. The *Rapport* reveals in one of its reports that Mr Fraser has a share in a company that was allocated the tender at Prasa, without any tender processes (Mashego & Myburgh, 2016/10/2: 2). The newspaper raises questions as to whether the investigation into allegations of corruption at Prasa will indeed yield positive results, especially noting the involvement of Mr Fraser. The report expresses the concern of the newspaper that the integrity of the investigation will be compromised.

b) Burke's master tropes

i Metaphor

The alleged corruption at Prasa is from the perspective of mismanagement of public funds at the expense of taxpayers (Swanepoel, 2016/09/11: 4). The audience is made to see the issue in the light of this metaphor, especially when the newspaper reports on the money already spent on court cases, the “peperduur toilette” [very expensive toilets] which are played off, and pitted against the conditions of its employees who are suffering and working in unsafe conditions. Reference is also made to security agencies who were contracted but have not been remunerated, while corruption prevails at the institution. This indeed shapes the metaphor, of mismanagement of the institution at large. The newspaper concedes that the institution possesses money but is not managing it properly, and that corruption is a contributing factor. The audience is made to perceive the alleged corruption as an activity from which political figures would gain, as well as to regard the various corruption allegations as part of a network, not just involving employees or former employees at Prasa.

ii Synecdoche

Rapport shapes the perceptions of the audience when it links the allegations at Prasa, and the issue of corruption in relation to the broader scheme (synecdoche) of pervasive and prevalent corruption in South Africa (Gibson, 2016/08/28: 4). The newspaper reports on the broader economic impact of corruption, and how much commissions of inquiry, like the Marikana, and the Seriti Commission, had already cost the country. This case is presented as representing all other cases of corruption which have cost the taxpayer in South African a fortune. In fact, the newspaper mentions that the investigations at Prasa are ongoing and have already cost the taxpayer more than all previous investigations into cases of corruption. The cost of the investigation at Prasa is estimated around R80-million.

c) Conclusion

The *Rapport* focuses on the ways friends of President Jacob Zuma benefited out of contracts at Prasa. In more than one report the newspaper refers to those connections.²⁵ The newspaper bases its reporting on three factors: It assumes

²⁵ The reports that have reference to Zuma and his friends include: “Zuma se vriende kry R80 miljoen” (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 1); “Nee vir Zuma se kripvreet-kapitalisme” (*Rapport*, 2016/01/31: 2); “ANC en trein-fiasko: ‘Dis nou in Valke se hande’” (George, 2016/08/28: 4).

political involvement (President's friends and Dudu Myeni as well as the ANC), that the case at Prasa is an issue of mismanagement, wasteful and fruitless expenditure (expensive toilets), but there is also the case of Mr Popo Molefe cleaning up corruption.

9. 4 Comparative assessment

In this section I will compare the four weekly newspapers in terms of the rhetorical strategies that they employ in their reports on the alleged corruption related to the Passenger Railway Agency of South Africa (Prasa).

I firstly report on the emphases of the reports, in particular the placement of the reports on certain pages and the frequency of the reports during the calendar year of 2016. Secondly, I discuss similar themes that the four selected newspapers discuss, as well as some differences in terms of those themes.

9. 4. 1 A Quantitative assessment

Rapport reports most frequently (11) on the alleged corruption at Prasa. The *Mail and Guardian* has one less report (10) on this case. However, what is striking is that The *Sunday Independent* has not included a single report on the alleged corruption at Prasa. The *Sunday Times*, in comparison with all the other three cases of corruption, reported less (7) frequently than on all the other cases that involve corruption at state institutions and the involvement of public officials.

The *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* both publish only one report on the alleged corruption at Prasa on the front page. The other two newspapers, *Sunday Independent* and the *Sunday Times*, have not even a single report on their front pages.

It is striking that *Rapport* publishes the most reports in terms of this case, compared to the other three cases (see chapters 6-8), where *Rapport* is more at the bottom of the list compared to the other newspapers in terms of its frequent reporting.

9. 4. 2 A Qualitative assessment

The newspapers have reported on some of the same events throughout the year (2016), which is obvious, although there are some minor differences in the way each of them report on those events, persons, and issues. I will briefly refer to those as well as point out the differences in the newspapers' reporting on allegations of corruption at Prasa.

a) *The Investigation of Mr Popo Molefe*

The *Sunday Times* as well as the *Mail and Guardian* focus on the investigation by Mr Popo Molefe into alleged corruption at Prasa. The *Mail and Guardian* in particular underscores the fierce opposition he faces as a result of the investigation into allegations of corruption that he launched. The *Sunday Times* reports on insiders in the ANC who claim there is an ANC faction which wants to oust Mr Molefe (Jika, 2016/06/19: 4), and replace him with someone that would direct resources to them. This is also confirmed by the *Mail and Guardian* in its front page report, "Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO" (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3). The *Mail and Guardian* refers to

Popo Molefe as the one that pledged to ‘see through’ investigations of corruption (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4). It reports on his added security because of his stances on corruption (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3),²⁶ so much so that there are concerted efforts in the ANC and the Minister of Transport to have him removed (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3).

b) The procurement of the AFRO 400 Locomotives

The *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* focus on the locomotive contract of Prasa and its procurement of unsuitable trains. The *Mail and Guardian* even has a front page item “Tall trains: Prasa sues for R2.6bn” (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/06/17: 1) when it reports on this issue. *Rapport* also links President Zuma with the locomotive contract, whereas the *Mail and Guardian* does not make such a connection. The *Mail and Guardian* (2016/06/17: 1) depicts Prasa under the leadership of Mr Molefe as ethical. It reports on the decision of Prasa to sue a company called Swifambo for rigging a contract to favour them. The *Mail and Guardian* also reports at length on Prasa’s lawsuit that was filed against Swifambo Rail Leasing to recoup the money they spent for the Afro 4000 locomotives (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3). According to the *Mail and Guardian* the argument is that the initial contract and deal was rigged from the start to favour Swifambo, which was also one of the findings made by the Public Protector. Popo Molefe is pictured as one who provides ethical leadership to reverse the contract.

Rapport (Myburgh, 2016/09/11: 4) differs in the way that it also adds other role players besides the ANC, the son of Dudu Myeni (CEO of the board of South African Airways) who unduly benefitted out of this procurement.²⁷

c) Mr Montana

The emphases on his corrupt conduct are central to the reporting of the *Sunday Times*, *Mail and Guardian* and *Rapport* (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2). In both the *Rapport* (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2) as well as the *Sunday Times*’ (Jika, 2016/02/7: 2) second page reports, Mr Montana features in allegations of corruption at Prasa.

d) President Jacob Zuma, his son and the Guptas

The *Sunday Times*, *Mail and Guardian* as well as *Rapport* refer to the involvement of President Jacob Zuma and his son Duduzane Zuma in corrupt activities at Prasa. The *Sunday Times* reports on associates of the Guptas who are involved in illegal contracts at Prasa as well as the Guptas themselves (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4). It also emphasises the political interferences in matters at Prasa (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3). The *Mail and Guardian* in the same way reports on political influence but calls it a “broken system” (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4). It terms President Jacob Zuma, his family and friends as a “vast rot in the broken system” (Prasa).

Rapport refers on the front page to “Zuma and his friends” who received R80 million (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1), whereas other newspapers besides the *Mail and Guardian*

²⁶ In the report “Politicians fall out over Prasa CEO” (Segodi, 2016/07/8: 3) the newspaper indicates, “Molefe’s allies believe there were concerted efforts by some ANC leaders to remove him as Prasa chairperson because of the investigations he launched into multibillion-rand tenders awarded during Montana’s time”.

²⁷ See the headline, “Prasa-geld na Myeni se seun” (*Myburgh*, 2016/09/11: 4)

do not place the name of President Zuma on the front page, especially with respect to allegations of corruption at Prasa.

e) *Distinctive elements*

A distinctive feature of the *Sunday Times* however is its report on the decision of Prasa to prosecute those in the company who leaked information to the media. The newspaper emphasises Transnet's decision to investigate such employees (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2).²⁸

The *Mail and Guardian* reports on the "fake engineer" and others who benefitted from a contract at Prasa but could not deliver (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/07/15: 4). The newspaper uses the metaphors of the "honey pot" and reporting on the involvement of cadres of the ANC who also benefit, in its reporting (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4).

The *Rapport's* specific word used for the allegations at Prasa on the front page "korrup" [corrupt] is very distinctive as none of the newspapers in any report uses the word corruption on its front page, when reporting on the allegations of corruption at Prasa (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2). It shows the newspaper's commitment to report on corruption. The report on the IT employee that Mr Montana allegedly instructed to confiscate documents (*Rapport*, 2016/06/19: 2), as well as the negotiated salary increase of his allegedly using a ghost firm (Myburgh, 2016/07/3: 2) that would assist in the investigation at Prasa also afford a unique perspective on the case.

9. 5 Conclusion

In this chapter I engaged the various reports of the four selected newspapers on the allegations of corruption at Prasa and reported on the rhetorical strategies each employs. The chapter however raises certain questions as to why the *Sunday Independent* did not report, like the other three newspapers, on the allegations of corruption at Prasa. It also queried the priority that the *Rapport* places on this case of corruption, while in the other newspapers it remains at the bottom of the list in terms of its frequency of corruption reports. This shows that there might be more than reporting on corruption at stake, and the reason for this might relate to the newspapers' business interests.

²⁸ In the report "Rail body targets staff in a bid to plug leaks" (Macanda, 2016/10/30: 2) the newspaper states in the opening sentence, "Transnet has hired auditors to identify employees who leaked information to the press about a controversial deal it made with a company in which Gupta associate Salim Essa has a 60% stake". It also makes reference to harassment and intimidation of such employees, "However, a source close to the investigation said employees had been harassed and intimidated".

10. The Rhetorical Strategies of Four Weekly Newspapers: A Comparative Assessment

10. 1 Introduction

The previous four chapters reported on each of the distinct rhetorical strategies, of the four weekly newspapers. In this chapter, I discuss the most common traits of each newspaper, followed by a comparison of some common traits. In the final section, I assess the newspapers' distinct rhetorical strategies in terms of their appropriateness given their role in moral formation.

10. 2 The common traits in the reporting of the four weekly newspapers

10. 2. 1 The Sunday Times

a) A Quantitative assessment

In its reporting, the *Sunday Times* focuses mostly on the allegedly corrupt relationship between the Gupta family and public officials. Regarding the Gupta case, the *Sunday Times* publishes fifty-eight (58) reports including its twenty-two (22) front-page reports.¹ In terms of the Nkandla case study, the newspaper has twenty-two (22) reports and seven (7) front-page reports. In terms of the SABC case study, the newspaper contains twenty (20) reports of which four (4) feature on the front page. In terms of the PRASA case study, the *Sunday Times* includes seven (7) reports with not one on the front page. In sum, the *Sunday Times* reported a hundred and seven (107) times on all the corruption case studies (which are part of this study) for the calendar year of 2016. The *Sunday Times* places thirty-three (33) of all its reports on its front page. The large number of reports (107) on corruption does indeed show the emphasis on and the serious nature with which the *Sunday Times* regards such issues. However, a closer analysis might provide more clarity on the *Sunday Times*' reasons for the relatively low number of news reports, which relate to the allegations of corruption at Prasa.

I subsequently discuss the *Sunday Times*' other distinct traits and rhetorical strategies. It is not possible to reflect (again) on each strategy²; the focus is on some general traits and some of the distinctive features of the four newspapers in the case studies.

b) A Qualitative assessment

i The president's perspective

The *Sunday Times* particularly reports in some instances from the perspective of President Jacob Zuma. This does not occur in all cases, but is quite distinct in

¹ It is important to state from the start that in my view, these figures relate to cases of corruption. There might be others but the identified reports reflect, either by referring to a keyword in a specific report on corruption or the headline, that they are related to one of the four selected case studies.

² See the previous chapters (6-9) that deal with each case study, and the *Sunday Times*' distinct rhetorical strategies.

comparison with the rhetorical strategies of the other three newspapers. Though it acknowledges the involvement of the president in the allegations of corruption at his private residence in Nkandla, the newspaper also includes in its reporting other circumstances that might mitigate his situation. For instance, it reports on the incorrect legal advice he received (Shoba, Gordin, Hunter & Rampedi, 2016/02/7: 1) and his apology (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6) as well as providing the audience with some background on the socio-economic conditions of President Jacob Zuma's family (Olifant & Hunter, 2016/07/3: 1). It also focusses on what it calls the 'good faith' of the president in reference to the words of the Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng (Jika & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 6). This is unique, as the other newspapers do not balance their reporting with this information. Whether or not this is to show sympathy for the president is not certain, but it is indeed striking.

In addition, the *Sunday Times* includes a report 'A triumph for the rule of law...it showed courage' (Joubert, 2016/04/3: 6) which emphasises the 'triumph' of law over a case of corruption. However, its placement, on the sixth page, is somewhat worrying since in the same edition, on the first page, it emphasises the 'chorus' against President Jacob Zuma, with a big front-page headline, 'For the sake of your country, Mr President GO NOW!'. Although the front-page report calls for the president to step down, it does not really point to his guilt, which the report on the sixth page, 'A triumph of the rule of law...it showed courage' correctly does.

ii The impact of corruption on all levels of society

The *Sunday Times* also emphasises how corruption affects the most vulnerable in society, in particular when it compares what it calls a 'new road' passing the Nkandla homestead of President Jacob Zuma, with roads in other towns in South Africa. The *Sunday Times* reports of a 'new road' that has been rehabilitated while other roads, in other towns are neglected (Mthethwa, 2016/07/10: 2).³ The *Sunday Times*' focus in its reporting on the amount that the president will 'actually' pay back for the non-security features at Nkandla is also a method of reporting to the audience the effect that the alleged corruption at Nkandla will have on them. It exposes how South Africans will suffer the brunt of corruption, when it reports that although he was ordered to pay back some of the money that was spent as his Nkandla residence, this would still not restore the damage already done (Hunter, 2016/05/8: 4).⁴ It also reinforces the perspective of the newspaper: the serious impact of corruption on South African society. It furthermore includes in its reporting this impact on the middle class (Hunter, 2016/08/7: 5)⁵ as well as on the business elite and the negative impact

³ In the report by Mthethwa (2016/07/10: 2) "'New" Nkandla road repaired for R45m', reference is made to the words of the DA MPL Rafeek Shah, who 'questioned why money was spent on one road in Nkandla when so many others required rehabilitative work'.

⁴ I quote from the report, 'While the public expects Zuma to repay the millions spent on features he personally "unduly benefitted" from, Zuma's legal advice is that the bill to be handed to him would be a fraction of what was spent. Lawyers involved in the Constitutional Court process seem to agree'.

⁵ In the opening paragraph of the particular report one reads, 'THE ANC has admitted that scandals associated with President Jacob Zuma influenced the middle class to ditch the party, especially in Gauteng metros'.

corruption has on the transformation project in South Africa (Tsamela & Skiti, 2016/12/11: 1).⁶

iii Those who combat corruption

The *Sunday Times* reports on what it refers to as the 'heroes' (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/7a: 4) in its reporting of one of the corruption case studies, as well as of those who were negatively affected by blowing the whistle on corruption (Van Onselen, 2016/02/7: 4).⁷ It also depicts the minister of finance, Pravin Gordhan as closing the tap on illegal deals and improper contracts (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).⁸ It should also not be taken lightly that the *Sunday Times* would place a report on a call for the president to step down on its front page (Jika, Joubert & Hunter, 2016/04/3: 1). The *Sunday Times* emphasises the 'right' acting of the deputy minister of finance (Mcebisi Jonas) and provides a graphic account of his refusal (Jika et al., 2016/01/31: 1).

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the whistle blowers (Vytjie Mentor and Mcebisi Jonas) and those who are corrupt (Joubert, 2016/03/20: 4).⁹ It includes others too; for instance, Mr Pravin Gordhan and Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa. The *Sunday Times* associates the Guptas' persecution of Gordhan with the allegations of state capture (in which the Guptas are alleged to be involved) (Hofstatter et al., 2016/08/28: 1) when it quotes the words of Mr Pravin Gordhan in which he pledges to 'save the country from the thieves'. It reports on the deputy president, Cyril Ramaphosa, who vows to curb corruption, in his speech to black businesses (Msomi, 2016/02/14: 4). It also refers to an ANC faction which wants to oust Mr Popo Molefe in particular, in his efforts to root out corruption at the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa. These and other reports indicate the *Sunday Times'* emphases on some of the whistle-blowers in the fight against corruption.

iv Public leaders' involvement in corruption

In most of its reporting, the *Sunday Times* focuses on specific public leaders who are corrupt. The newspaper reports on the direct involvement of the president in allegations of corruption (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).¹⁰ He is presented as someone

⁶ The front-page report of Tsamela and Skiti (11/12/2016: 1) 'Gupta's R10bn Jackpot' refers to Mr Atul who is on top of the list of the richest 'black' South Africans compared to 'other black business people, whose presence in both the top 100 and top 10 has waned'.

⁷ The report by Van Onselen (2016/02/7: 4) 'Casualties of the Nkandla debacle' is very extensive, covering almost the entire fourth page of the particular edition.

⁸ I quote from the report 'Transnet deals fall into Gupta man Essa's lap' (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4), 'In January this year [2016] government defence contractor Denel formed a joint venture with VR Laser Asia in a R10-billion deal to build and supply combat vehicles for the defence force. Gordhan flagged the deal and ordered that it be scrapped because it had been concluded without treasury permission'.

⁹ In the particular report of Joubert (2016/03/20: 4) "'I was really, really, really shocked, and turned him down'" the newspaper plays off the vehement repudiation by Vytjie Mentor of being complicit in corruption against the lure to corruption by the Gupta brothers and the president who are very clearly presented in the report as corrupt. The report goes into the finer details of this description of corruption.

¹⁰ One such an example occurs in the report, 'Transnet deals fall into Gupta man Essa's lap' (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4): 'Essa has been the subject of numerous reports over his links and

who is reluctant to sign a bill which the newspaper reports would strengthen the fight against corruption (in particular, money laundering). The *Sunday Times* already assumes that there is a corrupt relationship between the president and the Guptas, referring to his associates (the Guptas) as ‘close friends of Zuma’ (Jika et al., 2016/03/13: 1).¹¹ The *Sunday Times* in its reporting presents President Jacob Zuma as the one who is solely responsible for allegations of corruption at Nkandla, having ignored advice from ANC quarters (*Sunday Times*, 2016/02/14: 1).

The reference of the *Sunday Times* to the ANC’s ‘change of tune’ is noteworthy. It is as if the newspaper wants the readership to see this change as a result purely of the voters’ influence.

The *Sunday Times* also reports on the corrupt activities of Mr Motsoeneng, Mr James Aguma, the SABC Board as well as the then Minister of Communication, Faith Muthambi.¹² The *Sunday Times* contributes reports on the dire financial situation as well as the exodus of good employees at the SABC because of the leadership of Mr Motsoeneng. The *Sunday Times* also emphasises the corrupt activities of Mr Lucky Montana while he was still CEO of Prasa. It is therefore very striking how the newspaper focuses on those public officials who are in leadership positions and emphasises their alleged corrupt behaviour.

v The mismanagement at State-Owned Enterprises

The newspaper allows the audience to see the matters at the SABC that have occurred because of mismanagement by the executive and the board of the SABC (Hofstatter, 2016/07/10: 6). It counters all the claims of Mr Motsoeneng that everything is fine at the broadcaster, while the reality is the opposite. In fact, most of the reports relate to the rampant corruption there. President Jacob Zuma is also linked (via his daughter) with allegations of corruption at this entity.

vi The Gupta family

The *Sunday Times* refers to the Gupta family’s involvement in allegations of corruption in three of the selected case studies on corruption. It is the sole newspaper that includes them in three of the four cases. In reporting on Prasa the *Sunday Times* enables the audience to perceive the Gupta family as benefiting from state contracts through its networks and associates. In one of its reports, the newspaper shows how Mr Salim Essa, referred to as a ‘Gupta-link’, benefits from a Transnet contract (Skiti & Jika, 2016/05/22: 4).¹³ In its reporting on the allegations of

partnerships with the Gupta family, who have been accused of using their proximity to President Jacob Zuma to score government deals’.

¹¹ In the report ‘How Guptas shopped for new minister’ (Jika et al., 2016/03/13: 1) the newspaper states, ‘The London-based Financial Times reported this week that the Guptas – close friends of Zuma – met Jonas before Nene was fired, to tell him they wanted him to be next political head of the National Treasury’.

¹² At the time of the analysis (2016) she was still the Minister of Communications.

¹³ I quote from the report, ‘Transnet deals fall into Gupta man Essa’s lap’ (Skiti & Jika, 2016: 4), ‘Salim Essa, who recently benefitted from a multibillion-rand partnership with state arms contractor Denel that Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan wants reversed could now be in line to score billions more. This follows a decision by the board of Transnet last week to approve the cession of major

corruption at the SABC, the *Sunday Times* links Mr Motsoeneng to the Guptas and their attempts to strike deals with the SABC (Ndenze, 2016/12/11: 6). It is in the Nkandla case study alone that the Guptas are not mentioned in the *Sunday Times*' reporting.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Times* in its reporting reveals attempts to combat corruption, through its reports on accounts by whistle blowers of their experiences as well as on public leaders' involvement in corruption. The *Sunday Times*' particular focus on the circumstances that give rise to the corruption of the president is rather striking and distinct, compared to that of the other three newspapers.

10. 2. 3 The Sunday Independent

a) A Quantitative assessment

The *Sunday Independent*, like the *Sunday Times*, dedicates most of its reporting to the Gupta case.¹⁴ The *Sunday Independent* publishes thirty-six (36) reports including its seven (7) front page ones that were dedicated to reporting on allegations of a corrupt relationship between the Gupta family and some public officials. In terms of the SABC case, the *Sunday Independent* contains twenty (20) reports of which four (4) feature on the front page. The newspaper has twenty-two (22) reports and seven (7) front-page reports on allegations of corruption at the private residence of the president at Nkandla. In terms of the allegations of corruption at Prasa, the *Sunday Independent* did not report on this case in 2016. This is a rather significant number of reports on corruption, including the amount of reports on its front page. However, what is striking, and at the same time disturbing, is the absence of reporting on the allegations of corruption at Prasa, making this one of the distinctive features of the *Sunday Independent*.

In sum, the *Sunday Independent* reported seventy-eight (78) times on all the corruption cases (which are part of this study) for the calendar year of 2016. In total, the *Sunday Independent* published sixteen (16) front-page reports on all the four selected case studies on corruption.

I subsequently discuss other distinct traits and rhetorical strategies of the *Sunday Independent*. It is not possible to reflect (again) on each strategy as discussed in each case¹⁵ but I shall note certain general traits and some of the distinctive features of the four newspapers as regards the four case studies.

advisory contracts from Regiments Capital to Trillian Capital Partners, a company registered last year in which Essa holds a 60% stake'.

¹⁴ This is in comparison with the other three case studies (Nkandla, Prasa, SABC) that were selected for this study.

¹⁵ See the previous Chapters (6-9) that deal with each case study, and the *Sunday Independent*'s distinct rhetorical strategies.

b) A Qualitative assessment

i An economic perspective

The *Sunday Independent* makes reference to the cost to taxpayers (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6)¹⁶ as well as how it would 'cripple' the operation of the state (The *Sunday Independent*, 2016/02/7a: 4) if the president were to step down.¹⁷ In its reporting, it goes beyond the guilt of the president in terms of his involvement in allegations of corruption. It puts an emphasis on the economic consequences for taxpayers, when it places on its front page, the bold headline, 'More to high cost of Nkandla than the 246m' (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6). The focus of the *Sunday Independent* on the economic impact that government corruption might have is striking, and distinctive if compared with the other three newspapers' accounts. It is from this perspective that the *Sunday Independent* reports that the resignation of President Jacob Zuma will not be good for the economy of South Africa; in fact, it is reported to have the potential of 'crippling the state', economically. It is therefore evident that the newspaper's audience and concern is for those that are economically active and vulnerable in society.

ii The 'no-show' of the allegations at Prasa

Another striking feature of the *Sunday Independent* is the absence of reports on allegations of corruption at Prasa. This leaves rather more questions than answers. It is difficult to understand why a state-owned institution implicated in various corruption scandals, such as those stipulated in the Public Protector's report *Derailed* and which is reported by the Auditor General in 2016 as having the highest percentage of non-compliance, would not merit a single report by the *Sunday Independent*. Certain conjectures may include less reporting about the President on allegations of corruption at Prasa, the less featuring of the ANC (as the majority political party in parliament), and other characters which are not necessarily closely linked to the president, other ministers, as in the other three case studies (Nkandla, Guptas and SABC) on corruption. This is indeed telling as this case is different from the other cases in terms of its role players, which include Mr Lucky Montana, Minister Dipuo Peters, as well as Mr Popo Molefe. It is clear in its omission of the Prasa case, unlike that of the three other papers, that the *Sunday Independent* was selective in its reporting on cases of corruption in 2016, and did not necessarily report every allegation of corruption at a state-owned enterprise.

¹⁶ The newspaper reports, 'The Nkandla matter is likely to tie up the public protector's office in lengthy, and costly, legal proceedings. In fact, it is not possible to estimate the costs at this stage, but they are likely to run into (even bigger) millions' (Makatile, 2016/02/7: 6).

¹⁷ The *Sunday Independent* (2016/02/7: 4) states in the report 'Why President Zuma is likely to survive', 'So, removing Zuma will only heighten political theatre drama, but not improve the quality of the arts'.

iii The rejection of President Jacob Zuma's apology

The *Sunday Independent* shows its commitment to combating corruption in some of its reports, especially those on the front page.¹⁸ It vehemently rejects the apology of President Jacob Zuma, as a way of settling the allegations of corruption levelled against him for the upgrades at his private residence in Nkandla. The *Sunday Independent's* (2016/04/3a: 1) reporting is quite different from the other newspapers, by according such a report a front-page headline: "'Sorry'" not enough'. The *Sunday Independent* places the report within the context of the Constitutional Court's ruling, which found that he did not respect and uphold the Constitution. The word 'blink' on one of its front pages is also a method of showing the fierce resistance of the president against admitting his guilt, after the Constitutional Court's ruling on allegations of corruption at his private residence in Nkandla.

iv Requests for probes into corruption

The *Sunday Independent* largely focuses on those that appreciate the rooting out of corruption. Therefore, the newspaper reported on such as: the South African Communist Party (SACP) (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3: 2); some Catholic priests who lauded the release of the *State of Capture* report (Zungu, 2016/11/6: 7);¹⁹ former President Thabo Mbeki, who calls for a judicial probe into the matters at the SABC (Ndaba, 2016/07/10: 1), as well as Cosatu (Magome, 2016/02/21: 1).²⁰

The *Sunday Independent* also focuses on calls from various fronts in society. The newspaper uses the 'chorus' metaphor to reflect a certain consensus in society that the president should resign (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3b: 2). This newspaper enables the readership to be aware of the call for the resignation of the president as being at the heart of most South Africans. This might be a strategy of the newspaper to persuade its audience to join the 'chorus' in a call for the president to resign because of his being implicated in allegations of corruption.

The newspaper also focuses on a certain consensus by and protests from society in which its members express their dissatisfaction with matters at the SABC.

The newspaper, also, in a very distinct manner, singled out some individuals in the ANC; for instance Jackson Mthembu as well as the former president, Thabo Mbeki. The *Sunday Independent* focuses particularly on the critical voices within the African

¹⁸ Here are some of the headlines which indicate its commitment to report cases of corruption: "'Sorry' not enough" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/04/3a: 1); "Defiant Zuma digs in" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1); "Guptas bolt out at last" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/08/28: 1); "Defiant Zuma digs in" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1); "Heads set to roll in cabinet bloodbath" (*The Sunday Independent*, 2016/05/15: 1); Mr Motsoeneng, "SABC dictator gone rogue" (Dodds, 2016/07/17: 1) and "Foxy Hlaudi runs out of survival tricks" (Dube, 2016/10/2: 1).

¹⁹ See also the reports in which indicates their initial application in the report 'Madonsela weighs up call to probe Guptas' (Ndaba, 2016/03/20: 4;) in which the newspaper states: "Madonsela's spokeswoman, Kgalalelo Masibi, said the most recent request was from the Dominican Order, a group of Catholic priests and brothers in southern Africa".

²⁰ The headline on 21 February 2016, 'Angry Cosatu, SACP slate ANC "parasites"' refers to the anger of Cosatu.

National Congress (ANC) and their utter condemnation of the corrupt relationship of the Guptas with some ministers and public officials.

c) Conclusion

The *Sunday Independent's* particular perspective on the impact of the corruption on the economy of South Africa is indeed one of the distinctive, but also most important perspectives on corruption. Its rejection of the apology of the president is also a strategy by which the newspaper shows its commitment towards fighting corruption, but additionally establishes its position in opposition to the political head of the ANC and president of the country. It does not spare the latter in cases of corruption, as corruption is affecting the most vulnerable in society.

10. 2. 4 The Mail and Guardian

a) A quantitative assessment

The *Mail and Guardian's* reporting on the four case studies reflects a somewhat significant interest in the Gupta case, compared to the other three selected newspapers. The *Mail and Guardian* reports fifty-nine (59) times on the allegations of corruption between the Gupta family and public officials, of which ten (10) of the reports feature on its front page. The newspaper has dedicated twenty-four (24) reports and seven (7) front-page headlines to the allegations of corruption at the president's private residence in Nkandla. The *Mail and Guardian* is different from the other three selected newspapers, in terms of their reporting on allegations of corruption at Prasa. It has published more reports on the Prasa case, than allegations of corruption at the SABC. In terms of the allegations of corruption at Prasa the *Mail and Guardian* has included ten (10) reports and one (1) on the front page, while it includes six (6) reports, of which just one (1) that relates to allegations of corruption at the SABC features on the front page. In sum, the *Mail and Guardian* reported ninety-nine (99) times on all the selected cases of corruption (which form part of this study) including its nineteen (19) front-page reports for the 2016 calendar year.

I subsequently discuss other distinct traits and rhetorical strategies of the *Mail and Guardian*. It is not possible to reflect (again) on each strategy as discussed in each case²¹ but rather to consider some general traits and a number of the distinctive features of the four newspapers in all the case studies.

b) A Qualitative assessment

i The president as corrupt

The *Mail and Guardian* includes a graphic front page in which it reflects President Jacob Zuma as an accused in allegations of corruption. The *Mail and Guardian* particularly emphasises the president's involvement and guilt in allegations of corruption. It also reports on how the president manipulates those around him, and how those around him face dire consequences if they break ranks with him. The *Mail*

²¹ See the previous Chapters (6-9) that deal with each case study, and the *Mail and Guardian's* distinct rhetorical strategies.

and *Guardian* speaks of a 'broken system', and the leadership style and business interests of President Jacob Zuma, his family and friends as: 'a vast rot in the broken system [Prasa]' (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4).

The *Mail and Guardian* specifically states the ruling of the Constitutional Court: the president's failure to uphold, defend and respect the constitution (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).²² The words 'blatant deception' with reference to corruption (De Wet, 2016/02/5: 4),²³ as well as possible theft charges that could be instituted against him. This reflects the bias of the newspaper – that the president is the cause of allegations of corruption. The newspaper's slant is apparent when it furthers the notion of 'theft charges' through including in its reporting law experts to substantiate the guilt of the president (Pilane, Letsoalo & Bezuidenhout, 2016/04/8: 2).²⁴ The newspaper also reports that President Jacob Zuma is on a 'spree' with reference to his involvement in allegations of corruption (De Wet, 2016/02/5b: 4).

The *Mail and Guardian* (2016/03/4: 1) does not put the blame in terms of allegations of corruption on the ANC, but rather shows how others in the ANC are deserting President Jacob Zuma,²⁵ and reports the unwillingness of his friends, colleagues to support him financially (Segodi & Letsoalo, 2016/07/1: 2).²⁶

The *Mail and Guardian* also focuses on the reasons within the ANC and the SACP on why the president should resign (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/6: 1). It provides reasons why ANC stalwarts, such as Ronnie Kasrils petition for the latter's resignation, and his disapproval of the actions of the president (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8: 2). The *Mail and Guardian* uses the same words as the *Sunday Independent* 'chorus', when it reports on calls from society for the resignation of the president. However, it goes further by using the word 'deafening' in the headline 'Chorus of ANC disapproval becomes deafening' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2) which signals the urgency of the call. The *Mail and Guardian's* particular reference to the ANC NEC members, as 'the highest decision-making body in the ANC' is striking because it signals to its audience that there might be a chance that the NEC could

²² 'Delivering the Judgement, Chief Justice Mogoeng said that by failing to comply with the public protector's recommendations to repay a portion of the money spent on security upgrades to his home, Zuma had failed to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the land' (Letsoalo, 2016/04/1: 3).

²³ The opening sentence of the report states, 'President Jacob Zuma's bald statement that the public protector never found wrongdoing on his part, continues a long tradition of blatant deception on the issue of Nkandla...' (De Wet, 2016/02/5: 4). The report then lists from 2009, when the story was first broken by the *Mail and Guardian* until 2015, all the public statements that point to the president's 'deception'.

²⁴ See the reports of Pilane, Letsoalo & Bezuidenhout (2016/04/8: 2) 'Zuma could be charged with theft, say experts'. See the work of Carvalho (2007: 231; cited in Lester, 2010: 68-69) on the use of experts and non-experts as a way of sustaining an ideology. This is discussed in Chapter 3 (Moral formation) of this thesis.

²⁵ A particular front page headline that supports this observation is: 'Watch your back, JZ' (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/03/4: 1) in which it provides hints in this regard on its front page, 'SACP leaders call for the president's head', 'ANC: We wanted him to pay all along', and 'Dramatic signs of power shift show there may be more than one Brutus waiting in the wings'.

²⁶ The newspaper reports, 'But this week, as a R7.8-million invoice landed on the desk of the president Jacob Zuma, the *Mail and Guardian* could not find a single one of his friends willing to commit to helping him pay the state back some of the money spent on his Nkandla home' (Segodi & Letsoalo, 2016/07/1: 2).

call the president to order (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8b: 2).²⁷ This and other examples are intended to turn the minds of the audience to perceive the allegations of corruption, not necessarily as a result of the ANC but because of an act of the president.

ii Active Citizenry

The *Mail and Guardian's* reporting reflects on the electorate too. In its reporting the electorate are not passive, voiceless individuals, but citizens who had indeed voiced their concerns through the polls, and in such a way responded to allegations of corruption. It reports on the negative effect of the latter on the electorate (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9).

iii Its depictions of corruption

It also refers to allegations of corruption in government as a 'scandal' (Pilane, 2016/04/15: 9) and describes the Gupta family as the 'elephant in the ANC lounge' (Letsoalo, 2016/01/29: 1). Other metaphors include state-owned enterprises as a 'honey pot' for cadres (when Molefe refers to Prasa) as well as a 'farm' which is used to 'harvest' (Van Wyk, 2016/07/15: 4). The *Mail and Guardian* also uses the words 'self-enrichment' of certain individuals instead of showing 'selfless-leadership' with reference to the allegations of corruption that implicate President Jacob Zuma.²⁸ The newspaper reflects poorly on the moral character of the president, compared to others ANC leaders whom he succeeded.

iv The combat against corruption

The *Mail and Guardian* also focuses also on those who are not corrupt. It refers to Mr Popo Molefe as the 'new broom that wants to sweep clean' (Van Wyk, 2016/06/17: 3), as well as the parliamentary committee (into allegations at the SABC) that is reported to have 'take-no-prisoner' [sic] moments, reflecting a 'ham-fisted' response (De Wet, 2016/12/18: 2). It also reports on the unsettled, uncomfortable public, as well as the angry ANC that is contrasted with the attitude of Mr Motsoeneng (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3) in the context of allegations of corruption levelled at him.²⁹ These are just some of the responses that the *Mail and Guardian's* reporting reflects in terms of those individuals and organisations who seemingly combat corruption. The mere

²⁷ It refers in the report "Chorus of ANC disapproval becomes deafening" (*Mail and Guardian*, 2016/04/8: 2), to 'Senior members of the NEC, the highest decision-making body in the ANC, spoke of their support for the civil society initiative that hopes to topple Zuma from office'.

²⁸ The use of Lamola is an attempt to reflect on the current values of the ANC and allow the audience to assess the current leadership with special reference to the events of Marikana, Nkandla and the Guptas' Waterkloof Air Force Base landing. The newspaper reports employ the voice of Lamola to hark back particularly to the values of the ANC under the leadership of Oliver Tambo. Lamola is quoted as saying 'We need to return to the ANC of OR Tambo, who was an embodiment of the movement – he subscribed to its values of selfless leadership, which were not rooted in self-enrichment.' This might be an attempt of the newspaper to allow the audience to compare the current values with the values of the ANC from its birth, reflected in its former leaders.

²⁹ The *Mail and Guardian* refers to the ANC Chief whip's comment that Motsoeneng's new position as COO at the SABC is unlawful, 'How did that make him feel? "I don't care", Motsoeneng said' (De Wet, 2016/09/30: 3).

reporting of such responses allows the audience to see the handful of those who do so. It shows, therefore, some form of resistance against corruption, and indicates that not all colleagues and public officials support government corruption.

c) Conclusion

The *Mail and Guardian's* particular emphasis on the agent in corruption is one of its distinct features. This is particularly evident from its reference to the 'harvest' and the vast broken system, but also the 'rot' there. It is very frank in its reporting on President Jacob Zuma. The newspaper reflects in its reporting those who do not support government corruption, irrespective of collegiality or friendship.

10. 2. 5 The Rapport

a) A Quantitative assessment

Rapport dedicates most of its reporting to the allegations on the Gupta family's corrupt relationship with some public officials. In terms of the Gupta case study, *Rapport* has included thirty-five (35) reports including six (6) front-page reports. In terms of allegations of corruption at the SABC the newspaper published thirteen (13) reports of which not a single one (0) features on the front page. In terms of the allegations of corruption at Prasa, the newspaper has included eleven (11) reports including one (1) on the front page. The newspaper included ten (10) reports and one (1) front-page report on the Nkandla case study. In sum, *Rapport* reported sixty-nine (69) times on all the selected cases of corruption, including its eight (8) front-page reports.

I will subsequently discuss other distinct traits and rhetorical strategies of the *Rapport*. It is not possible to reflect (again) on each strategy as discussed in each case³⁰ but I shall concentrate on certain general traits and some of the distinctive features of *Rapport*.

b) A Qualitative assessment

i The broader system that perpetuates corruption

Rapport uses the president as its central figure in its reporting on corruption. However, it is noteworthy that *Rapport* mostly focuses on the responsibility and guilt of the president in relation to the corruption that transpired at his private homestead in Nkandla: the facts that he did not listen to his colleagues (in the ANC), that he had enough time to abide by the public protector's report, as well as the newspaper's report on the fault lines in his arguments in parliament on the reasons why he could not be held accountable for the alleged corruption at his homestead. This is central in its reporting. President Jacob Zuma is depicted as careless, without integrity, lawless (breaking his oath of office), and one who disrespects the values enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa. However, it also goes beyond pointing fingers at the president.

³⁰ See the previous Chapters (6-9) that deal with each case study, and the *Rapport's* distinct rhetorical strategies.

Rapport focuses on the colleagues in the ANC who seemingly have no control over President Jacob Zuma and are not able to bring him to book (*Rapport*, 2016/02/14: 2). It places on its front page a report which focuses on possible strategies that the ANC might use to get rid of President Jacob Zuma (*Rapport*, 2016/03/27: 1).³¹

In the newspaper's comparison between him and Donald Trump, it highlights the role that the young and fragile democracy of South Africa plays and the impact of corruption. *Rapport* suggests in its reporting that this is the reason why the leadership of President Jacob Zuma is not ideal - considering the larger system in which the allegations of corruption levelled at the president feature. This is a perfect example of how the newspaper focuses on the 'bigger system' that should be taken into account when speaking about issues of corruption (*Rapport*, 2016/11/13b: 2). In the Prasa case study *Rapport* also reports on the 'network' of the president (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1),³² so that although the Gupta family might depart, there is a larger network that will allow corruption to continue.

Rapport's (2016/10/9: 2) reference to political interference³³ (in particular affairs at the SABC) also reinforces the perspective of a broader system of corruption at work than merely the corrupt act(s) of an individual. *Rapport's* headline 'Die Guptas is uit! Maar Zuma is nog in...' (*Rapport*, 2016/04/10: 2) also supports the concepts that a bigger system is responsible and that the president's broader network of connections and influence of power will allow the perpetuation of corruption in South Africa (*Rapport*, 2016/04/10: 2).³⁴

Rapport is also distinctive in the way it refers to the SABC under the leadership of Mr Motsoeneng. The newspaper refers to his leadership as similar to being 'under the state' in the same way as the media were repressed and censored under the Apartheid government. This indicates the focus of *Rapport* on the involvement of the state through various politicians. This also supports the perspective of the newspaper that the 'bigger system' allows corruption to flourish. It is also evident, in the reference to the broader network, that President Jacob Zuma forms part of it. The newspaper warns its audience that the involvement and links between the president

³¹ In the report 'Só kan Zuma val' (*Rapport*, 2016/03/27: 1) the newspaper speculates on the judgment of the Constitutional Court, which could find President Jacob Zuma as having violated the Constitution. It also includes in its reporting the motion of no confidence in him, and focuses the attention of the audience on the idea that it could be easy to get a 50% or more votes from the ANC's members in parliament. These are some of the techniques the newspaper uses to position its readers to believe that there is a good chance of the president being removed from office this time round (at the seventh vote of no confidence in his presidency).

³² In the report the newspaper states, 'Dit is nie omdat Trump 'n goeie ou is en Zuma 'n skurk is nie. Dit is omdat Amerika 'n diepgewortelde demokrasie het' (Myburgh, 2016/01/31: 1).

³³ It refers to a sudden change of plans by the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi in terms of who should represent her at the parliament inquiry. The newspaper raises suspicion when it includes in the report, '...maar dieselfde aand het Muthambi per telefoon vanuit Mauritius gereël dat Ramatlhodi as waarnemende minister vervang word deur Mosebenzi Zwane, minister van mineralebronne, sodat Zwane eerder die vergadering met die raad hou' (*Rapport*, 2016/10/9: 2).

³⁴ In the report, 'Die Guptas is uit! Maar Zuma is nog in...' *Rapport* (2016/04/10: 2) states quite blatantly for the first time that President Jacob Zuma is the problem and not the Guptas, 'Maar ondanks hulle [Guptas] hul beeld as "openbare vyand nommer een" was (en is) die Guptas nooit ons grootste probleem nie. Een van ons probleme, ja, maar nie die grootste een nie. Suid Afrika se grootste probleem sit nogsteeds veilig in sy kantoor in die westelike vleuel van die Uniegebou. Sy naam is Jacob Zuma...'

and his 'network', NPA, Hawks, SABC, SAA, Eskom and others under his control make him a powerful but also a dangerous man (*Rapport*, 2016/11/6: 2).³⁵

In depicting corruption as part of a system, a 'network' or institutional corruption, the newspaper's reporting on the sixty (60) loyal supporters of the president is significant. The newspaper remarks on the 'salvation' of South Africa, which lies in these supporters. The newspaper in particular reports, if they (the 60 loyal supporters) change (their minds), the country will also change (Rooi, 2016/12/4b: 4).³⁶ The newspaper allows the readers to see the sixty (60) loyal supporters as being in a more powerful position than a single individual, namely the president. This is crucial in the newspaper's reporting and shows subtler nuances between the other newspapers in terms of the role of institutions, 'networks', 'loyal supporters' and systems in the perpetuation of corruption. It does not speak of the ending of a specific act of corruption but a change of mind by certain loyal supporters of the president who allow corruption to flourish.

The newspaper's reporting lays bare its concept of corruption that goes beyond the involvement and participation of an individual. Its reporting on the Prasa case also demonstrates its reflection on the broader, institutional corruption that is at work at the state-owned enterprise.

ii It does expose various corruption deals

Rapport focuses on various contracts, which it argues were irregularly allocated.³⁷ It reports on Mr Montana who it alleged unduly benefitted from contracts of R4-billion, in terms of an irregular bidding tender process (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2).³⁸ It includes allegations that the ANC might have benefitted from contracts at Prasa (George, 2016/08/28: 4).³⁹ These are just some of its exposés.

³⁵ The report 'Zuma kan nog baie skade doen' (*Rapport*, 2016/11/6: 2) draws parallels between the two presidents, Donald Trump, as well as Jacob Zuma.

³⁶ In the report, 'Land se heil lê in NUK en grille van ANC' (Rooi, 2016/12/4b: 4) the newspaper states, 'Suid Afrika se politieke heil lê tans in die hande van net sowat 60 lojale ondersteuners van pres. Jacob Zuma: nasionaliste, tradisionaliste, die premierliga en die sogenaamde tenderpreneurs. Hulle is kripvreter wat hoop Zuma se netwerk van patronaatskap oorleef – en dit is hulle en hul meelopers wat die president verlede naweek 'gered' het in die brutale vergadering van die ANC se nasionale uitvoerende kommittee (NUK), wat altesame 104 lede het'.

³⁷ The newspaper for example reports on the integrity of the new boss of the 'Staatsveiligheidsagentskap (SVA)' [State Security Agency] who it reports has a share in a company that was allocated a tender at Prasa, without any tender processes (Mashego & Myburgh, 2016/10/2: 2). In another report, 'Prasa-geld na Myeni se seun' (Myburgh, 2016/09/11: 4) the newspaper asserts, 'Sonder om 'n vinger te lig het Thelente Myeni, seun van Dudu Myeni, SAL-voorsitter, en ander belanghebbers met politieke bande munt geslaan uit die Passasierspooragendskap van Suid-Afrika (Prasa) se kontrakte van R51 miljard vir nuwe passasierwaens'. In the SABC case, it includes a report on the second page 'Motsoeneng oes nóg R11 miljoen in' (Blignaut & Tau, 2016/09/25: 2). It makes reference in this particular report to the bonus that Mr Motsoeneng received.

³⁸ In the opening paragraph of the report, 'Lucky was korrup, sê Prasa' the newspaper states, 'Lucky Montana, die voormalige Prasa-baas, het op 'n 'korrupte' manier voordeel getrek uit sy verhouding met 'n maatskappy wat 'onwettige' kontrakte van R4 miljard met die staatsbeheerde vervoermaatskappy beklink het' (Myburgh, 2016/02/7: 2).

³⁹ In the report, 'ANC en trein-fiasko: "Dis nou in Valke se hande"' (George, 2016/08/28: 4) the newspaper asserts, 'Geen bewyse is by die hof ingedien dat die ANC wel betalings ontvang het

iii The Afrikaans farmer communities

What is completely distinct in *Rapport's* reporting is its additional focus on the Afrikaans community. The newspaper reports specifically on the effect of corruption on the Afrikaans community; a radio programme, 'Kommentaar', on *Radio Sonder Grense* (RSG), was discontinued. This newspaper feeds this into the bigger context and metaphor of mismanagement and maladministration at the SABC.

The newspaper also focuses in its reporting on the farming community. This is apparent in its report on mine activities in the region of Mpumalanga. *Rapport* concentrates more on the farmers, by referring to the name of the farm rather than the broader society that is affected by the 'Gupta mine' as in the reporting of the *Mail and Guardian*.⁴⁰

c) Conclusion

Rapport is an Afrikaans newspaper, which would also be aware of the ideology of its readers and how corruption impacts on their interests and resources: for instance, their farms and their culture, with reference to the discontinuation of an Afrikaans programme on RSG. However, one of the distinctive features in its reporting is also its reflection on corruption as part of institutions, organisations and the broader society and networks. It emphasises that this bigger system, the (government) institutions, and organisations is considerably involved, operating as a breeding ground, perpetuating corruption, but could also play a key role in combatting it.

10. 3 Comparison

In this section, I compare the four newspapers' rhetorical strategies, and discuss the similarities and differences.

10. 3. 1 A Quantitative comparison

Carvalho (2007: 231; in Lester, 2010: 68-69) notes that this is indeed important. The quantitative data has much to tell about the emphases of the newspapers. Cohen (1997: 69) argues that this is an important part of media analysis – to identify on what cases the newspaper reports frequently as well as the placement of the reports.⁴¹ In view of this, I briefly compare the number of the four newspapers' reports on corruption.

When I do so, the results indicate that the *Sunday Times* has the most (107) reports on corruption during the 2016 calendar year, followed by the *Mail and Guardian* (99) then *Rapport* (69) and *Sunday Independent* (67) who has the least. In terms of front-page reports on issues of corruption, the *Sunday Independent* (16) has included

nie, maar Molefe sê Prasa is op vergaderings met Auswell Mashaba, besturende direkteur van Swifambo, ingelig dat Gomes hom (Mashaba) gevra het vir geld vir "die beweging". Luidens Molefe se verklaring is dié betalings "verdoesel" deur onder meer belasting in Prasa se boeke verkeerd te bereken en onnodige konsultasiegelde'.

⁴⁰ See specifically the *Mail and Guardian's* (Kings, 2016/04/1: 6) report on the mine activities of a Gupta-linked business.

⁴¹ See the discussion on Cohen (1997) and his reference to the various devices of media institutions in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

slightly more than the *Mail and Guardian* (15) in terms of the placement of reports. However, the *Sunday Times* demonstrates having published the most reports on corruption as well as front-page reports (33) and is far in the lead compared to the other three selected newspapers. While the *Sunday Times* did focus on all corruption cases, and allocated the most space to them, the fact that it published the fewest reports (7) on the Prasa case is perturbing.

It is apparent, in terms of the statistical data, that all the selected newspapers rely heavily in their reporting on the Gupta case. Nevertheless, *Rapport* publishes fewer reports on the case of the Gupta family's undue influence on public officials than the other three selected newspapers. It is quite striking that, at times when the other three newspapers report on this, *Rapport* at times decides to place events and issues that are not related to corruption on its front page.

10. 3. 2 A Qualitative comparison

a) *The Sunday Times*

The *Sunday Times'* reporting on the circumstances of President Jacob Zuma in allegations of corruption that would mitigate the case against him brings a different focus to the discussion on corruption.⁴² The *Sunday Times* reports on instances of corruption that relate to the president but at the same time allows the audience to take cognisance of the circumstances of the president's family. The *Sunday Times* therefore allows sympathy and empathy into the discussion and reflection on corruption. The *Sunday Times* also allows a unique emphasis on the allegations of corruption levelled at the president when it particularly focuses on the circumstances that led to him to ignore the public protector's remedial action. Could this be because the newspaper is more sensitive to the president? Alternatively, to any president, or any person with political power for that matter? On the other hand, is this type of reporting just a result of the newspapers' main interest – business?

b) *The Sunday Independent*

Nonetheless, there are a few other significant differences between the *Sunday Independent* and the other three newspapers: the *Sunday Independent's* focus on the impact of corruption on the South African economy is quite significant. Its reporting from an economic perspective is quite significant and a distinct method of reporting on corruption. The audience may also include some other characteristics, but it is certainly important to note that the newspaper directs its reporting to the middle class, black business elite, and all those who are economically active.

The *Sunday Independent* does not concentrate in detail on the attitude of Mcebisi Jonas, Vytjie Mentor or the close connections of President Jacob Zuma with the Guptas as in the case of the *Sunday Times*. There are not many instances in which its reporting focuses on the tension within the ANC and the relationship of this case with the prosecution of the finance minister Pravin Gordhan. However, the

⁴² See the work of Westerståhl (2007: 396-397), in which he cautions the media in terms of the choice of their topics and content. The argument of Cohen (1997: 60) is also relevant that the perspective of the newspaper might indirectly push the audience to believe and perceive a story in a certain way.

newspaper reports fairly extensively on the behaviour and character of Mr Motsoeneng as central to the issues of corruption at the SABC. Both the management of the SABC as well as of Mr Motsoeneng are characterised as providing poor leadership at the state-owned enterprise.

c) *The Mail and Guardian*

The *Mail and Guardian* has very distinct ways in which it reports on corruption, but its central focus on the agent in acts of corruption is evident. Its front-page reports concentrate a great deal on President Jacob Zuma and depict him as an accused. This does not mean that the other newspapers do not make such a connection, but this is mentioned just to point out that this insinuation is rather central in its reporting. Its specific employment of law experts to prove the guilt of President Jacob Zuma is noted. This is what Cohen (1997: 58) refers to as 'confirmation bias' when the newspaper would quote solely those that support its version of events. It does not place an emphasis on the good stories, those people who took a stand against corruption, but rather places much emphasis on the connections between the Guptas and President Jacob Zuma.

d) *The Rapport*

The most distinctive feature is *Rapport's* focus on the broader system⁴³ that allows corruption to flourish. It is not only the act of corruption, but, as Burke would refer to it, as the scene (the environment) that allows more prominence in the newspaper's reporting on corruption.

10. 3. 3 An overall comparative reflection

In the discussion on the background of the four selected newspapers, in Chapter 1, I hinted at the speculation of various members of the public that some of the newspapers were serving the interest of a specific group and individuals. Nevertheless, recently some of the newspapers in this study picked up this discussion again. The *Sunday Independent* recently (September 2017) reported on the extramarital affair of the Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa. It was therefore interesting to read the comments and editorial of the other newspapers with regard to this issue. It is clear that the other newspapers like the *Mail and Guardian* as well as the *Sunday Times* in their editorials are arguing that the *Sunday Independent's* owner, Mr Iqbal Survé, is biased, and they allude to the idea that he exercises some influence over the reporting, as well as the editorial content. The *Mail and Guardian* bases its argument on the reports that Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa had some reason to believe that the owner would probably be able to assist him to ensure that the story would not be published. The newspaper also makes reference to Ramaphosa's lawyers in court arguing that the owner promised that the article would not be published. The *Mail and Guardian* argues that after the editor of the *Sunday Independent*, Steve Motale went ahead and published the article, he was later reported to have taken 'stress leave', which the newspaper argues could be because of pressure from the inside and the newspaper's allegiances with portraying

⁴³ See also my assessment on this approach and the perspective on corruption expressed by Friedrich De Wet (2015).

Ramaphosa positively. This is why the *Mail and Guardian* state that the newspaper, in the absence of the editor Steve Motale, made a ‘flip-flop’⁴⁴ or a ‘u-turn’,⁴⁵ and took a different stance on the issue, reinforcing the notion of Ramaphosa being a victim of a ‘smear campaign’ so as also to ‘colour the character of the deputy president in the minds of ANC supporters’ (*Mail & Guardian* online, 2017/09/8). It is evident in the response of the *Mail and Guardian* that it would argue that the *Sunday Independent* is closely allied to the Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa.

The *Mail and Guardian* states that the ‘danger for the *Sunday Independent* lies in reporting the Deputy President in terms of “a definite narrative of good guy” that they put forward without question’, and that this is not objective journalism (*Mail & Guardian* online, 2017/09/8).

Furthermore, the editor of the *Mail and Guardian* (2017/09/8) warns, ‘It is therefore imperative that all of us who work in the media remember what happened in the run-up to Polokwane. Journalist and publications take sides, they were proxies for factional battles, and they were betrayed’. This would play into the notion that the *Sunday Independent* is more favourable to the Ramaphosa camp, and that the owner (not the editor) of the newspaper is meddling in the reporting of the newspaper.

In the online Weekly Expose the political commentator, Clyde Ramalaine, talks about the ‘Ramaphosa issue’ and responds on what he claims the ‘hypocrisy of the media’. He clarifies:

Not only do the Ramaphosa allegations reveal challenges on the part of Ramaphosa, but its also brings the media into glaring hypocritical sense as biased and choosey on who it wants to support. Motale despite being reputable and seasoned media personality and editor is not having support from SANEF and its leadership. There are no campaigns led in similarity of the much made and choreographed martyrdom of an SABC 8AmaBhungane does not ask why the rights of investigative journalism are trampled upon as this situation attests. There is no energy exerted to defend one of media’s own in this instance, Steve Motale. Perhaps we should not take the media seriously when they next time cry wolf, because it appears only some journalists matter.

If I had to take the above arguments of the *Mail and Guardian* seriously and those of the *Sunday Times*, and their relation to the traits of the four selected newspapers, it would support the notion that the *Sunday Independent* would serve the interest of a certain faction in the ANC – specifically when it places the emphasis (a front page report) on President Jacob Zuma’s public apology – arguing that it should be rejected, while on the other hand the *Sunday Times* seems to evince more sympathy towards President Jacob Zuma, still showing his guilt, but simultaneously focusing on his family, the suggestion that he may have received the wrong legal advice, which would probably evoke sympathy from the audience.

⁴⁴ See the *Sunday Times*’ reference to *Sunday Independent*’s “flip-flop” <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017-09-11-sunday-independents-flip-flop-over-ramaphosa/>

⁴⁵ See the *Sunday Times*’ headline in their online Business Live <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/media/2017-09-11-sunday-independent-changes-its-tune-on-cyril-ramaphosa-after-backlash/>

10. 4 An assessment of the four newspapers' reporting: Its role in moral formation

In analysing the four newspapers, it is evident that they do not employ the same rhetorical strategies in the reports on corruption in South Africa. The comparison of their traits does show that the newspapers made certain value judgements and that their choice of topics is biased (See Westerståhl, 2007: 396-397). In this section I therefore provide a brief comparative assessment of the rhetorical strategies that they employ.

10. 4. 1 The *Sunday Times*

The *Sunday Times* reported most frequently on all the four cases of corruption. The *Sunday Times* plays a pivotal role in moral discourse through its frequent placement of reports on corruption. It does indeed contribute to how its audience views issues of morality. The *Sunday Times* balances its reporting when it comes to President Jacob Zuma. It differs greatly from the *Mail and Guardian*, which would address him as the accused without reporting on other perspectives, like the possible 'good faith' of the president and the allegedly wrong legal advice he received. The *Sunday Times* therefore encourages the audience through its reporting not be too hasty to judge on issues of corruption, without taking into account the circumstances which give rise to it. The newspaper differs slightly in its reporting when it mitigates the allegation of corruption by the president when reporting on the circumstances in which the latter flourishes. Its sensitivity to the president's circumstances is an appeal to the audience to see corruption as a contextual phenomenon. The *Sunday Times* persuades its audience to consider all circumstances. Though this might be true, it is still the responsibility of the newspaper not to dilute the arguments against the president through drawing on the circumstances, as mentioned above (the suggestion wrong legal advice he received, as well as its focus on the socio-economic conditions of his family) surrounding him as part of its reporting.

The *Sunday Times* also dims the focus on President Jacob Zuma when it differs in its reporting from all the other three selected newspapers and includes the Guptas in all the case studies. The focus is therefore on the role of the Guptas and the president, and not the primary accused as in the case of the *Mail and Guardian*.

The manner in which the audience would view corruption is indeed very different from other perspectives on the president, or any other case in which a corrupt act occurs. This could indeed shift the focus away from the seriousness of cases on corruption.

The *Sunday Times* also differs from the *Sunday Independent* in how it describes the impact of corruption on society. The *Sunday Times'* emphasis is on service delivery and the effect on the poor and the vulnerable in society, while the *Sunday Independent* addresses the middle class and business elite. The government's role is to serve the communities and build a 'home for all' and not just for an elected few beneficiaries. It is the *Sunday Independent* that focuses on the business elite and on how corruption affects them.

The *Sunday Times* therefore appeals to its audience's reason to see the imbalance in the service delivery of the government. It allows the audience to see how

corruption affects the poor and enriches a selected few. The placement of such reports is intended to sensitise and alert the audience to the government's neglect of the plight of the poorest of the poor.

10. 4. 2 The Sunday Independent

The *Sunday Independent* demonstrates its commitment to the society, especially the middle class, in reporting on corruption. However, this is a different approach from the other newspapers that specifically cover the circumstances of the president on the allegations of corruption against him. The audience of the *Sunday Independent* comprises those who are economically active, and ideally citizens that would be affected economically by government corruption. The business elite would be one of the audiences that the *Sunday Independent* addresses in its reporting. The state of the economy is close to the heart of many South Africans, and therefore a focus on this could easily influence them if they perceive the link between corruption and its negative consequences for the economy of South Africa.

The erosive effect of corruption on society might be an effective way of persuading the audience and possibly deterring its members from corruption. It might also keep the government leaders accountable when they become aware of the dire consequences of corruption for the economy of South Africans. The reporting on the various civil society organisations and those who want to stamp out corruption is also a technique used by the *Sunday Independent* to influence the audience to view corruption as an act that undermines societal norms and values. The audience is indeed encouraged to join such calls to oppose it, which the newspaper displays as a consensus among a wide range of organisations and even of influential people.

The *Sunday Independent's* rejection of the president's apology is antithetical to the balanced focus of the *Sunday Times* which takes into account his personal circumstances. The *Sunday Independent's* use of a front-page headline 'Sorry' is not enough' directs the audience towards strong opposition against corruption and the president, and does not call for any objective account of the matter.

10. 4. 3 The Mail and Guardian

The *Mail and Guardian's* focus on the government, the president, and other agents in the selected cases on corruption is evident. This represents a technique for the newspaper to hold the public leaders to account. It exposes the corrupt deals taking place in government and brings the specific acts committed by the leaders to the attention of the audience, which is then supposed to keep the leaders accountable. It is evident that the newspaper takes its role as 'watchdog', particularly in terms of corruption of political leaders, very seriously. The *Mail and Guardian's* emphasis on the public leaders is designed to ensure that voters and members of society will carefully consider for which party and leaders they will vote. Its focus on the investigative journalism and on employing law experts in some of its reports has the purpose of persuading its audience to change its mind or its support for the current leaders involved in allegations of corruption.

10. 4. 4 The Rapport

Rapport speaks in the interest of the Afrikaans community and describes how corruption affects them. It focusses on the scene (see Burke), and the broader network which gives rise to corruption. The processes in government institutions as well as the rules and regulations, policy documents are at the centre of the discourse on corruption in the newspaper's reporting. The *Rapport* is critical not only of the president (specifically in comparison with the *Mail and Guardian*) but also of the societal institutions and their management. This is how the newspaper assesses and evaluates corruption in South Africa.

Rapport's reference to the 'netwerk' [network] in which President Jacob Zuma is involved makes its reporting more than merely a discussion on the corrupt act of an individual. This reporting therefore allows the reader to go beyond such a discussion and to engage corruption in terms of a societal, institutional and organisational issue. The newspaper positions itself as supporting the concept that corruption is not merely an issue that could be dealt with just through prosecution alone, but instead one that should be addressed much more broadly – on a societal level. The remarks of De Wet (2016: 1) illustrate the newspaper's focus on the impact of other systems, perpetuating corruption:

The unsettled state of South Africa's post-apartheid systems where the democratic dispensation, for example, is indicated by factors like growing poverty and income inequality, dominance by one party, the ineffective management of health-care services, an ineffective deployment of the developmental role of education and lacking service delivery in the post-apartheid era. In such a fragile system, corruption – as a means of relocating public resources for private enrichment or with the purpose to gain coercive power over people – can become one of the final straws that break the camel's back.

Though *Rapport* might at times specifically focus on the effect of government corruption on the Afrikaner and farmer community as its main interest groups, these communities (like the specific audiences of the other newspapers) might be persuaded to collaborate with initiatives that are launched to combat corruption. Through the lens, the rhetoric, of the newspaper, these communities should be able to realise how they are impacted by government corruption. In the newspaper's specific reporting, they are indeed encouraged to petition against widespread corruption.

10. 5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the most common traits of each of the four selected newspapers. The chapter by means of comparison indicates the distinct similarities and differences in the newspapers' reporting. The results of this contribute to the discussion of the newspapers' close allegiances with certain factions within the ANC, serving the interest of certain individuals and groups. This indeed reveals the underlying bias of the different newspapers in terms of their reporting.

In the final section, I assessed the role and contribution that each newspaper makes through the rhetorical strategies it employs, given their role in moral formation. The four selected newspapers with their small nuances and distinct ways in which they report on issues of corruption might lead to different outcomes amongst their readers.

However, all the newspapers are interested in issues of corruption and include such cases in their news coverage during the 2016 calendar year. In the next chapter, there will be an overall assessment of the four selected newspapers' reporting in terms of their distinct rhetorical strategies and their role in moral formation.



11. Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I firstly discuss the distinctive role of the media among the various agents of moral formation. I will focus specifically on the significance of my findings in terms of the ideological influence of the media. I will focus specifically on recommendations that may be offered on the basis of this study regarding responsible journalism. Secondly, I discuss the significance of the findings of this study in terms of the role of the media in moral formation per se. Thirdly, I place the newspapers' corruption reports within the context of Christian discourse on sin in order to probe the depths of corruption in society.

11.2 The significance of newspapers' reporting on corruption

This study shows that the reporting on corruption of the four selected newspapers' in 2016 varied significantly from each other. It demonstrated that these papers with their editors, journalists and management (in particular the decision makers and news producers), do not share the same ideas on what is important, which events should be reported on, the perspective from which a particular case should be presented, as well as which case should be emphasised (for instance what should feature on the front page or not). While certain newspapers would give preference to a specific case of corruption, others focus on other events, which, at times, are not linked with any case of corruption. Therefore it can be concluded that what the selected newspapers want their readership to know or to act upon differs significantly.

This also indicates that the selected newspapers each have their own goals. This is well illustrated where two of them refer to the call for President Zuma to step down. They indicate that they intend more members of society to join the "chorus" of those who express this desire. Through the use of the word "chorus" the two newspapers influence their readership: If 'most' people have said so, is this not the right thing for him to do? It is interesting and significant though, in terms of the results, that the "chorus" is never substantiated by those newspapers using any statistical data, which would scientifically prove that the "chorus" indeed comprises the majority of South Africans as the newspapers claim. These two newspapers also do not compare the "chorus" with other critical voices in society, such as the ANC Youth League, as well as the ANC Women's League, that might outweigh the "chorus".¹ This confirms how the newspapers intend to achieve a certain purpose, irrespective of statistical data or scientific evidence which might prove that their arguments are not factually true. Another striking illustration is the ways in which the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent* report on the allegations of corruption against President Jacob Zuma. While the former would emphasise the 'mitigating circumstances' in terms of his role in the Nkandla debacle and allegations of corruption levelled against him, the latter would emphasise and request its readership not to accept the public apology that the

¹ Though these two newspapers selectively choose those who support the call for the president to step down, the other newspapers in this study, as well as other media institutions (such as the broadcast media) do, however, repeatedly allude to those in opposition to this "chorus".

President made to the nation on national television, after the Constitutional Court had found that he had violated his oath of office, and should pay back a portion of the money spent at his Nkandla residence. These comprise only a few examples from the ample available evidence, which indicate how the newspapers serve the purpose of a particular readership, but also possibly their owners and advertisers. Burke notes² that the speaker (in this case the newspapers' editors, owners and journalists) identifies with the audience through common topics and their shared interests. The selected newspapers' circulation figures attest that members of society choose one newspaper over another. Moreover, a further deduction can be made: that the readership of these four newspapers is encouraged to share in the particular ideological positioning of the specific one which is being read. It is therefore also fair to argue that in terms of issues of corruption the newspapers' readership might think differently in relation to the particular ideological position of the newspaper they read. This study supports such a notion, because the newspapers in this study position themselves in a particular way in terms of the selected cases of corruption.

The newspapers' rhetorical strategies differ in terms of the logic (*logos*) and the reasons they provide on the cases of corruption, and how they want the readers to feel (*pathos*), on a specific case of corruption. The newspapers use differing metaphors to describe corruption, and to depict the moral character of those allegedly involved in the said cases differently – to support their own ideological stance.

However, it is also evident that the newspapers at times send mixed messages on issues of corruption. For instance, a particular newspaper focuses in one of its reports on the corrupt behaviour of the president while in another the same newspaper would focus on the circumstances surrounding his corrupt action – which suggests that readers should not be harsh in their judgement on allegations of corruption.³ One of the reasons for this might be related to its key business interests: to sell newspapers and make profit. It could also be that the newspapers are at times sensationalist, and solely interested in the maximisation of profit.

However, besides the latter as a possible reason why newspapers convey mixed messages, Isola and Babatunde (2009: 62) refer to other reasons that might also constitute the impetus behind such reporting:

Unfortunately the media often fall victim of political manipulations sometimes due to its inherent competitiveness and around the clock reporting of events, which does not permit it to do thorough investigations before reporting conflicts and social clashes. This trend has deprived the world of many lives and will continue to do so until the media re-examine its news reporting process.

The findings of this study support such a view – that the newspapers might also be involved in aligning themselves politically, and in supporting certain factions within a certain political party. This is especially addressed in the previous chapter (10), which

² See Lawrie's (2005: 46) explanation of Burke and the notion of *topoi*. Lawrie (2005: 46) states, "The commonplaces are not what one argues about but what one accepts as the area of argument".

³ In this case I specifically refer to the *Sunday Times*, that reported on the allegations of corruption against the president, but also focused in other reports on some of the reasons why society should not judge him harshly.

suggests that the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Independent* might each align themselves ideologically to a particular faction within the ANC.

The study also raises another concern – the relationship between the editors and owners of the various newspapers. Though the owners are not allowed to interfere with any editorial content of the newspaper or influence the editor in terms of editorial content, there is still much concern in terms of the undue influence of media owners. Though editors might strictly adhere to the ethical codes at times, the newspaper owners⁴ might want to direct the reporting in such a way that it supports a certain group, a political faction or particular individuals whose rights and interests they wish to protect and serve.

The distinct ways in which the newspapers report on issues of corruption affirm the notion that they hold distinct ideological positions and therefore adopt distinct ways of reporting on various moral issues. The newspapers construct their reports within a particular ideological framework. Sonderling (2007: 308) observes that ideology produces “people with attitudes and beliefs that enables them to take their given social positions”. Consequently, societies reproduce such ideas and beliefs. As Sonderling (2007: 308) maintains, “A more effective method to make them [citizens of a country] accept their position, respect their government and maintain the social order is to communicate to them ideas and images, or ideology that present their society’s structures and relations of inequality as the natural order of the day”. It is apparent in this study that the selected newspapers allow their readers to think in a particular way about corruption,⁵ which may then become the “natural order” through which such readers will view related issues.

This is not to say that the newspapers do not report the “truth”, or that their reports are imbalanced (see the Ppress Code), but rather that not every issue is dealt with in the same depth, breadth and emphasis. This indeed confirms the ideological biases of each newspaper. This is not apparent through a superficial reading of the newspapers’ content; however, upon conducting a close analysis of the reports, it becomes apparent that the editors of the newspapers (as well as owners in some cases) have their own purpose and perspectives that they want their readers to know and also to act on.

Hence, this study shows and defies the concept that the media is only reflecting “reality” as it occurs in society. If this had been the case, it would have meant that the newspapers would have reported verbatim on each case and that there ought to have been no need for different media. The findings of this study demonstrate that the selected newspapers present a particular “reality” as regards the selected cases of corruption. For instance, while one newspaper employs a certain perspective towards a corruption case, another would deem such a perspective unnecessary or even peripheral.

⁴ See my reference in Chapter 10 to Deputy President Ramaphosa’s lawyers who argued that the newspaper owner, Iqbal Survé, had promised that *the Sunday Independent* would not publish the story of his alleged extramarital affair.

⁵ See also my argument in the latter part of this chapter, that the selected newspapers allow their readers to see corruption as an individual act, and not as ‘structural’ and pervasive sin, in other words a situation which makes all members of society responsible for the state of corruption in society (in terms of a Reformed perspective).

The study also found, in terms of the four selected newspapers' reporting, that there is no single view on the existence of corruption (and related actions), but instead multiple lenses through which the issue of corruption (or any moral issue) can be viewed and presented. The Press Code of South Africa does not address this. As it stands, the said Code was not in any sense violated in terms of the newspaper reports, yet there were still different views of "reality" with respect to corruption in South Africa.

This implies, as intimated, that the newspapers transmit different values, prejudices, attitudes, opinions and ideas that form (or deform) or shape the way in which their readership view, judge or will respond to issues of moral concern (for instance corruption). As a remedy, it would be impossible to suggest that the newspapers reconcile their ideological differences. This is not an issue that can be done away with by making amendments to the South African Press Code. The ideological positioning of the newspapers is the "world" through which they filter, evaluate and analyse moral issues as these emerge in society. Nevertheless, the media should be encouraged to be transparent to readers about its choices, prejudices and biases. It should be critical of "reality" and not direct society against the moral values enshrined in the constitution, especially in building a human rights culture.

It is also evident that a particular readership is sharing in the worldview of the newspapers and vice versa.⁶ The newspapers allow their readers to perceive corruption as a phenomenon that exists, but in addition to take note of how it affects society, positively as well as negatively.

While they do emphasise the negative effects of corruption in relation to the moral values enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, at this point it is also important to caution that the media can create a false reality.⁷ Eyerman (1981: 268) defines false consciousness (reality) as "...a way of cognizing the world and of understanding one's experience in an undialectical way; that is, the acceptance of the world one is 'thrown into' unhistorical, fragmented and as natural and fixed and, as 'objective' and therefore external to oneself."⁸ Sonderling (2007: 311) discusses the notion of ideology and false consciousness in terms of the theory of Karl Marx. He (2007: 311) explains the latter's notion of ideology and false consciousness: "the ruling class'

⁶ See Van Gijsen's (1993: 19-31) definition of ideology in chapter three of this thesis: "what the individual and the society see as common sense, their view of reality..."

⁷ Hawkes (1996: 15) in his book *Ideology* traces the discourse on ideology as far back as the Greek philosophers such as Plato who argue, "...the visible world is made up of mere shadows of ideal forms, which is inaccessible to normal human perception. Not only is the perception flawed, he suggests, but [it] is in the nature of this flaw to disguise itself, so that it appears self-evident to human beings that the visible world is the only real one". Ideas in society merely function as representations of the "real" ones.

⁸ See also the distinction made by Allan (2013: 37) between ideology and false consciousness (and religion): "Ideologies can change or vary. For example, the ideology of consumerism is quite different from the previous ideologies of the work ethic and frugality, yet they are all capitalist ideologies. The ideologies behind feminism are different from the beliefs behind the racial equality movement, but from Marx's position, both are ideologies that blind us to the true structure of inequality: class. Yet false consciousness doesn't vary. It is a state of being, somewhat like alienation in this aspect. We are by definition in a state of false consciousness because we are living outside of species-being. The very way through which we are aware of ourselves and the world around us is false or dysfunctional. The very method of our consciousness is fictitious".

explanations that the existing relations were the natural order of things were accepted by the dominated majority, preventing the dominated from seeing their own oppression". Sonderling (2007: 312) asserts that this is indeed how the media function in society:

...because the mass media are often owned by politically and economically powerful minority groups in a society, the mass media may purposefully communicate false information in order to support their owners. According to this theory the mass media function as important agencies of social control and reinforce domination by communicating the ideology of the dominant class, legitimising the social status quo, manipulating the thinking of the dominated groups and creating false consciousness.

Sonderling (2007: 312) cautions that people's "reality" is not only directed by economic and material interest (as Marx suggests), but also by a person's experiences that influence his or her view of the world. The crucial point here is, that the perspective the media provides on moral issues in society is able to create for its readership a "natural order"; all members of society may not share such a view. The result of the media's rhetorical strategies might lead to the construction of a world through which its readership perceive, argue, interact and engage with issues of moral significance.

The newspapers' different ideological positions allow their readers to develop a certain "reality" as to what is occurring, such as the "reality" in terms of corruption in South Africa. However, such a reality is also embedded in terms of certain value systems, which will transpire through the newspaper's reporting. The newspapers' readerships align themselves and associate with such an ideological position, and it will be crucial in the quest for moral resolve that readers should become critical of the perspective, and the ideological framework of each newspaper.

It is important that the readers do so, though the newspapers might argue that they are simply presenting the "truth" of the matter. Newspapers including any form of mass media could create a "false consciousness"; a reality that might not foster conditions for moral formation.⁹ Though this may create vigilance, it might at the same time reproduce certain "structures", institutions and ideas, which are not helpful in countering the scourge of corruption. It may for instance reinforce stereotypes, factionalism, immoral behaviour, destructive value systems and so forth, which might not be obvious but in fact become obscured in reports on moral issues.

As outlined in chapter 4 of this thesis, the study finds that the Press Code is not sufficient for ethical reporting. Though the said Code covers various aspects relating to the ethics of the printed media, including the reporting of news, it is still inadequate to deal with issues of bias, prejudices, and to provide leeway for newspapers to report in such a way that they serve and protect their own interests. In terms of the above discussion, I will now offer some recommendations in terms of ethical

⁹ In chapter 3 of this thesis, I discuss the newspapers' reporting on apartheid and their selective view of "reality" (apartheid ideology). It was only a few independent newspapers such as the *Vrye Weekblad* that opposed the apartheid ideology, while others selected and focused only on the "parts" and "views of society" that would support such an ideology at the time. The findings of this study point to the same results: that newspapers show a particular perspective, which they allow the readers to see as the reality.

reporting, specifically directed towards the Press Ombudsman, newspaper editors, South African journalists, and the Press Council of South Africa.

11. 2. 1 Recommendations in terms of newspaper reporting

a) *The Press Ombudsman*

Despite the principles stipulated in the Press Code, the four selected newspapers displayed different slants and perspectives on the four selected cases of corruption. The newspapers were also selective in terms of what case(s) of corruption they would report on. Nevertheless, it is possible to be biased without being held accountable for violating the Press Code. I suggest that the Press Ombudsman approach each newspaper and assess its reporting over a longer period (biannually or annually), and not base its judgement on one particular report or complaint from the public, taking into account that some members of society may object inwardly but might not lodge a formal complaint.¹⁰ In this way the ombudsman would gain an adequate sense of the ideological positioning of each newspaper. The ombudsman could assess the emphases of the newspapers in terms of the placement of reports, the frequency of such reports as well as the values that are embedded in them. It is also advisable that the ombudsman conduct such an analysis as part of a multi-disciplinary team, including representatives from the public and other organisations, that could keep a watchful eye on the types of values embedded in the reports. These reports can be made available biannually, and need to offer judgements as well as constructive recommendations.

b) *Newspaper editors*

Although the Press Ombudsman is the ideal office to assess the reports and subsequently the moral implications thereof, the newspaper editors could play their part in instituting certain preventative measures. It is the role of the latter to decide on editorial matters and news content. Therefore it is important that the editors' focus be to ensure that the content of each report promotes the values prescribed in the Constitution, and provides equal treatment of all moral issues. The newspapers' editors should intentionally and regularly report on moral issues irrespective of their relation to certain individuals and organisations.

Newspaper editors could also arrange between themselves, perhaps through SANEF, discussions and workshops to discuss certain moral issues in society. They could also reflect on their own values and bring these into dialogue with the Press Code as well as the values enshrined in the Constitution. This would be valuable for the entire process of keeping themselves in check. As part of such conversations, the editors might also arrange sessions where they discuss the ethics and values of the Constitution and subsequently integrate these in their newspaper's reporting.

This study confirms that newspapers do indeed demonstrate their own ideology, which is not obvious at a glance. The Press Code does indeed have a meaningful purpose, but a more honest approach would certainly be that the newspaper organisations are transparent in terms of their own ideological positions.

¹⁰ I am cognisant of the fact that it might have huge financial implications.

c) *South African Journalists*

The results of the study also demonstrate that the selected newspapers in most cases assign a particular journalist, or a particular group of them, to a specific story or event. This might be an efficient decision in terms of time and economic constraints because he, she or they are familiar with the background of the story which they are working on, and can therefore continue and build on it. However, in terms of the argument raised in chapter three of this thesis, specifically the discussion on the personhood of the journalists, this would not be the most appropriate decision to ensure and maintain good ethical judgement. It is advisable that the newspaper editors regularly rotate and assign journalists with different profiles to report on a particular case of corruption. This process will aim to provide another layer in terms of checks and balances.

d) *The Press Council of South Africa*

The Press Council in South Africa has been effective in providing ethical guidance to the printed media. However, the said Council's Press Code is not a guarantee that newspaper reports are not biased.

From this study it is apparent that the newspapers do provide all role players in a specific event or issue with a right of reply. However, this, as the findings attest, is not enough to ensure that each newspaper's report is balanced and fair. For instance, the space that the newspapers allocate for certain individuals to express themselves in the reports per se is not the same as the space they provide for others to reply or respond, and to present their case.

Therefore, although the Press Code states that the newspapers in their reporting should provide each person involved in a particular case with the right of reply, it does not elaborate on the proportion and space that should be allocated for all the parties involved and implicated. The Press Code also does not deal with the structure of the newspaper reports in detail, which unfortunately permits newspaper institutions enough space and freedom to produce a one-sided report. I would suggest that attention could be given to the opening and closing paragraphs of each of the newspapers' reports.

I also propose that the Press Council encourage newspapers to operate an inter-research ethics group that will focus on the values which are embedded in the reports of all the newspapers in South Africa. The team's mandate should move beyond comparing news reports of one particular newspaper, to comparing all the newspapers' reports on a specific moral issue and critically assessing the newspapers' reports in terms of their contribution in building a human rights culture.

It is also recommended that the Press Council establish a team that, in partnership with the Press ombudsman, is responsible on a yearly basis for a different newspaper institution and presents an annual report on the assessment of the newspapers' reporting. It is suggested that the team include representatives from all the newspapers, to be involved in assessing the values embedded in the newspaper reports of their partners, or in some cases competitors, in the media industry.

11. 3 The role of newspapers in moral formation

Chapter three of this thesis dealt with the role of the media in moral formation. This study contributes to such a discussion and specifically answers the question as to how the newspapers play a role in this respect. Van der Walt (2001: 697) argues that in order to be able to address the issue of corruption, it is not sufficient and adequate for people merely to be aware that they are doing wrong. In fact, he states, “Corrupt people know that they are doing wrong – that is why they are not doing it openly”. Consequently he argues that what is crucial is that the character of people in society is changed: “...we have to recover virtues like responsibility, integrity and honesty to replace graft, greed, avarice, etc...” (Van der Walt, 2001: 697). The findings of the study confirm that the newspapers do the former, make people aware of corruption, but also go further and contribute in other ways too, in terms of the moral character of South Africans. This section will discuss it in more detail.

The findings in particular identify the newspapers’ role in creating an awareness amongst their readership on moral issues, but also position them to judge such issues in a specific way. The newspapers are especially helpful in making their readers aware of cases of corruption in South Africa. Through regular reporting the latter become aware of moral issues. Frequent reporting on such cases (see chapter 10) conscientises readers by making them vigilant. This could well influence the perceptions, attitudes, behaviour and responses of their readers, and encourage them to act on issues of corruption.

The results demonstrate that the newspapers are instrumental in the dissemination of information to their readers. They provide the latter with an opportunity to live vicariously through others¹¹ and also furnish them with an opportunity to reflect on issues of corruption.¹²

In relation to this the newspapers allow their readers to identify and associate with certain values that are important for moral formation.¹³ The newspapers’ reporting on public leaders, and keeping them accountable through their reporting, positions their readers to differentiate between showing respect for such leaders, and keeping the same leaders accountable, should they fail in their moral duties.

The findings indicate that certain newspapers vigorously report on the immoral behaviour of public leaders and hold them accountable. This might instil values of equality – since such leaders are held to be as responsible as the rest of society, and are encouraged through the newspaper’s vigilance to uphold their moral duties in relation to the society they serve.¹⁴ In their reporting on such leaders, readers are

¹¹ See the reference to Kendall (2003: 119) in chapter 3 of the thesis. He lists five ways in which the media contributes to the change of behaviour. These two are the most appropriate ways that the study demonstrates.

¹² See the reference to Hoekstra and Verbeek (1994: 212-233) in chapter 3 of this thesis, in which they argue the media serves as “distinctive sources for moral reflection”.

¹³ See the list of conditions for moral formation in the work of Robert Vosloo (1994) which is also listed in chapter three (3) of this thesis. Vosloo argues that moral formation takes place “where virtues are usually embodied and carried through narratives, through paradigmatic stories”. Robert Vosloo is drawing in his doctoral work from the renowned theologian, Stanley Hauerwas.

¹⁴ The *Mail and Guardian’s* emphasis on leaders’ involvement in corruption is noted. The newspaper holds the president accountable in terms of some cases of corruption in its 2016 reporting.

able to see as well as denounce the moral wrongness of such an act irrespective of the public office or position a person holds. This remains crucial in the discussion on both corruption and moral formation because of the myriad of allegations levelled at those public leaders who engage in corrupt activities because of their relatively easy access to resources, but also owing to the high regard people have for them, which makes them susceptible to the abuse of authority and power. The newspapers' vigorous reporting on powerful figures might also inspire other members of society to blow the whistle on people in power and authority as well as other public officials in government departments and institutions. The newspapers' reporting focuses on issues which they believe amount to corruption. This effort creates conditions for moral formation to take place.

The newspapers' readership will not necessarily consult the South African legislation, for example the Prevention and Combatting of Corrupt Activities Act (Precca), but might conveniently rely on the expressions, the metaphors and the ways in which the newspapers present issues of corruption. The distinct rhetorical strategies that the newspapers employ in reporting on corruption provide a basis upon which the readership perceives, and will eventually respond to, issues of corruption. The newspapers do this in various ways, such as referring to a case of corruption as "scandals", "mismanagement", "harvesting" and so forth. It is apparent in this study that the newspapers comprise a medium that can, alongside the said legislation (Precca), provide particular reference points that could allow their readers to identify and perceive corruption, though in terms of their own ideological framework. Though it might be possible to argue that the legislation is adequate, legal documents (such as Precca) remain technical, and at times not entirely understood by every member of society. The newspapers with their distinct ways of reporting offer alternative ways for society to reflect on issues of corruption, which interest their readers in such a manner that they can make sense of what is happening, as well as grasp, on a conceptual level, what constitutes corruption.

In chapter 3 that relates to the role of the media in moral formation, I make reference to the conditions that Vosloo (1994) argues are important and conducive for moral formation. Some of these conditions are apparent in the result of this study. I will briefly discuss those instances.

Vosloo (1994) argues *inter alia* that such formation takes place because of the presence of role models within communities.¹⁵ In relation to this, the findings of this study affirm that the newspapers might inspire their readers through their vivid reporting. The newspapers go to great lengths to demonstrate the strong stance that certain individuals took against offers made to them that would amount to corruption, as well as how certain individuals blew the whistle on acts of corruption.¹⁶ The reporting on such moral courage might inspire the readers to be vigilant and courageous and encourage them to take to task public officials, as well as those in

¹⁵ Vosloo observes that moral formation takes place where role models, examples, heroes, saints, martyrs, significant adults, (all inspiring figures) play a key role in guiding people through such processes of moral formation, providing direction, motivation and inspiration.

¹⁶ The *Sunday Times* allocated much space to Vytjie Mentor and Mcebisi Jonas in the case of the Guptas' alleged corrupt relationship with public officials.

positions of power.¹⁷ Moreover, the kinds of moral values and character that the newspapers illustrate in their reports could inspire their readers to adopt these. The newspapers' reporting also makes the readers aware of other citizens who display the kind of moral values, attitudes and behaviour that South Africa needs. In doing this, the newspapers might encourage other members of society towards good moral behaviour. This might not be the case in terms of other newspapers in South Africa, but it proves that such kind of reporting by other South African newspapers could contribute to moral formation.

According to Vosloo (1994), moral formation also takes place "where regular exercises, rituals and (spiritual) disciplines are the context within which virtues can be internalised". In terms of this condition, the findings particularly illustrate the newspapers' role in terms of their significant placements and frequent reporting on the selected cases of corruption, which contribute to the constant awareness of the phenomenon. The findings¹⁸ also show how the *Sunday Times* in particular plays a significant role in this regard because of its inclusion of fifty-eight (58) reports, of which twenty-two (22) feature on the front page. The latter, as well as headlines, could effectively capture readers at first sight, and consequently oblige them to become aware of the sad state of corruption in South Africa. Although the other newspapers might report less material than the *Sunday Times*, this is still significant. It is apparent in their reporting that the newspapers play a crucial role in terms of exposing corrupt activities as well as those involved in corruption. The newspapers' particular emphasis on the effects of corruption raises public awareness that might discourage and deter their readership from engaging in corrupt activities. This might allow the inculcation of moral values that are needed to bring a halt to the moral decline in South Africa.

Moral formation also takes place in the context of a vision for a good society (Vosloo, 1994).¹⁹ The newspapers' reporting reflects the kind of society and values that are envisioned in the South African Constitution. Examples include certain newspapers' reporting on the unequal distribution of resources,²⁰ the poverty in the country and slow economic growth²¹ because of the rampant corruption. It is clear that each newspaper has its own respective ideas of what kind of society South Africa should be. However, all their reporting affirms their commitment to the moral values enshrined in the Constitution. The newspapers place corruption in the context of the broader society, but also of the role that institutions play in fighting or breeding

¹⁷ This is especially evident in the *Mail and Guardian* that would report on the president as "Accused No.1" on its front page.

¹⁸ See chapter ten.

¹⁹ See the reference to the conditions of moral formation in the work of Vosloo (1994), also listed in chapter three (3) of this thesis.

²⁰ See the report of the *Sunday Times* on the comparison between the road passing the private residence of the president in Nkandla as well as the roads in other towns that do not receive attention.

²¹ See the report from the *Sunday Independent* related to the effect of corruption on the economy and the state of South Africa.

corruption.²² It is evident that the selected newspapers have a particular vision for South Africa, which is also probably shared by their respective readership.

The results also indicate that the newspapers have an impact not only by raising awareness on issues of corruption but also by allowing their readers to take a certain moral position (exercising moral judgement) on such issues. Prinsloo (2007: 212) argues that this is one of the functions of media texts. The media invites its readers to "...symbolically enter the inner sanctum of belonging by sharing the ideas and their orientation. The text is a product of a range of semiotic decisions that act to position the reader. It invites the reader to adopt one position and, at least implicitly, reject another" (Prinsloo, 2007: 212).²³ This is particularly evident in the reporting of the four selected newspapers.

As noted, the way in which the selected newspapers report on the cases of corruption indicates that they intend to persuade their readers to take a particular position. In some cases, they encourage and or suggest that the readers blame a specific individual (the president), or a political organisation (the ANC). At other times the readership is encouraged to criticise, to support, and to reject a certain position and or person, and make a particular judgement on a case. The newspapers also create a "us" and "them" dichotomy in their reporting. It is evident that the "them" consists of those who do not share the particular ideological stance of the specific newspaper, while the "us" represents the newspapers' readership, those who share the ethos of the newspaper.

However, simply to be aware of issues of corruption as well as take a certain position on moral issues is not sufficient for moral formation. It does not mean that because the readership of a particular newspaper is aware of, and is encouraged toward, moral reform, that the audience will ultimately heed such a call. Moral formation requires more than what newspapers provide: awareness and moral judgement. This question is often picked up in the discourse of moral formation. The newspapers may inform and make their readership aware of issues of corruption, but this does not mean the readers will act on the advice or warnings of the media. Lawrie (2005: 126) observes that a speaker (represented by the newspapers in this case) cannot predict whether his or her readership will take action or respond to a particular message:

If anyone were ever to understand human motivation fully, that person would be in a position to manipulate other people at will. Perhaps it is fortunate that our understanding is limited and that our fellow humans are always able to surprise us by confronting us with problems for which we have no ready-made solutions.

In the above discussion I focused on at least two ways in which the results of this study demonstrate the media can play a role in moral formation. Notwithstanding, this is not adequate for moral formation to take place. In terms of other conditions which are needed, I refer to the principles devised by Vosloo (1994) that should also be present, excluding those that the media provides:

²² This is particularly evident in the reporting of the *Rapport* newspaper.

²³ See also the discussion of Rossi and Soukup (1994: 209) in chapter three of this thesis. They argue that the media shapes the readers' "early perceptions of good and bad" as well as "constitute[s] a new, separate and powerful dimension of that (moral) formation".

1. Where friendships (in a variety of ways and forms) are crucial in order to sustain people on this road of moral formation
2. Where credibility is born from the concrete practising of central convictions and virtues; such credibility eventually serves as the criterion for whether or not moral formation has actually taken place
3. Where such paradigmatic stories are carried by “communities of character”, namely groups, traditions and communities of people who live with integrity, honesty and loyalty
4. Where conversion, transformation and discipleship are necessary for those who participate in such “communities of character” (this also requires a long, intense and often painful process of moral formation).

The study in particular points to the limited role of the media in terms of moral formation. The media can play a significant role in articulating a vision for a good society, and through regular reporting (e.g. on corruption) make its readership vigilant, and able to identify, address and denounce immoral behaviour. The newspapers have a role to play in terms of making South African citizens aware of issues of corruption, but also to allow them to make certain judgements and take a particular position. However, the newspapers cannot act as role models; they cannot act as communities of character, although they reflect in their reporting on such communities and individuals. The media is only able to act as a role model of vigilance, in exposing the acts of corruption. Here it is evident that the media’s role in formation is limited. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that newspapers and the other media should understand their unique role and the contribution in terms of moral formation, but at the same time also acknowledge that their role in this regard is restricted. They need other role players and agents of moral formation. In chapter three of this thesis, reference is made to other such agents, for instance the school, the church and peer groups which should supplement the role of the media.

11. 4 The newspapers’ reports on corruption in theological perspective

As indicated above, the media has a role to play in terms of awareness raising and moral judgement. However, this is not enough to confront and eradicate corruption. In the previous section, I referred to other conditions which are needed (Vosloo, 1994) as well as to other role players who may supplement the role of the media in moral formation. In this section, I focus specifically on how the four selected newspapers report on one of the major moral issues in South Africa, namely corruption. Although the media’s role cannot be underplayed, it is still important to note that the newspapers do not allow their reader to reflect deeper on issues of corruption, to focus on the root causes of corruption (and not just the symptoms) as well as the guilt of all human beings for the corruption in South Africa, because the selected newspapers’ reporting were particularly focused on blaming particular individuals and organisations for corruption, while other members of society is only reflected on as the victims thereof.

Christian reflection on sin may assist discourse on corruption by probing the root causes of corruption. Here a discussion on various manifestations of sin is relevant, and will offer insight into the root causes of corruption in South African society.

In the discussion below I will move beyond personal manifestations of sin and corruption, and consider the structural, pervasive, and radical nature of sin in the world. This section will illustrate the still rather shallow reporting of the newspapers on issues of corruption. I will argue that the newspapers and other forms of media do not have any final solution for corruption. In this discussion I will draw especially on a Reformed perspective on sin – in which the notion of total depravity (*totalis corruptio*) is typically emphasised.

11. 4. 1 Theological reflection on the notion of corruption

In this section, my aim is to reflect deeper on what has gone wrong in South Africa and the pervasiveness of corruption in our society. Where does corruption come from, and what are the root causes thereof? Is it a case where someone woke up one morning and decided to be corrupt? In an attempt to answer these questions, I draw from the Christian discourse on sin.

Various Christian theologians discuss corruption with reference to the notion of sin. Pope Francis has made particular reference to corruption and its relation to sin in some of his homilies.²⁴ In one he refers to the biblical passage of King David and his sin as described in the second book of Samuel (11:1-4, 5-10, 13-17). Pope Francis states (2016: n.d),

David begins; he takes the first step toward corruption: he obtains power, strength. For this reason 'corruption is an easier sin for all of us who have certain power, be it ecclesiastical, religious, economic or political power...and the 'devil makes us feel secure'...there is a moment when the tendency to sin or a moment when our situation is really secure and we seem to be blessed; we have a lot of power, money, I don't know, a lot of things'. It can happen even 'to us priests: sin stops being sin and becomes corruption'.

There are numerous theological views on the nature, expression and manifestations of sin which help us to reflect deeper on what is morally wrong with corruption – going well beyond the information on corruption provided in South African legislation as well as the depiction of corruption in the newspapers' reporting. However, as Durand (1978: 152) cautions, we cannot readily define sin; it remains elusive. Therefore the discussion below is not an attempt to grasp the nature of sin as such, but is offered to indicate ways in which corruption can be perceived with reference to the Christian notion on sin.

I proceed thematically, and focus on at least four expressions of sin, namely pride, greed (or concupiscence), moral failure, as well as broken relationships. There are also other expressions of sin,²⁵ but I will reserve my discussion to these four in an

²⁴ See the reference made by Pope Francis on 29 January 2016, and his theme "From sin into corruption". It can be accessed online at http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/cotidie/2016/documents/papa-francesco-cotidie_20160129_from-sin-into-corruption.html

²⁵ There is for instance the view of sin as to be alienated from God. Durand (1978: 145) explains this - that for Augustine pride reflects human beings' desire as well as *privatio boni*, which means the deprivation of the good. He also states that the latter became the point of distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed tradition. Roman Catholics interpret the *privatio* as the deprivation of the grace of God, while in the Reformed tradition the *privatio* refers to the total corruption of human beings (*corruptio totalis*). Hence, for Reformed theologians sin is more than a deprivation of the good; it is indeed an active, destructive power (Durand, 1978: 145).

attempt to diagnose what is wrong with corruption. It is not adequate merely to diagnose a form of corruption and to reflect on what is wrong. I will take such a diagnosis further in terms of Christian discourse on redemption from sin: Is there any redemption for South Africans from the scourge of corruption? What is the role of the media with reference to the latter? I have based most of the discussion on the seminal work of Reinhold Niebuhr (1996) *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, which also reflects on the said discourse above. I did, however, only select those themes that are relevant for the discussion on corruption.

a) Sin as pride

In classical Christian theological discourse, sin is often described as pride. St. Augustine was one of the earliest theologians who articulated sin primarily in terms of pride (Niebuhr, 1996: 187).

Thomas Aquinas argues that sin manifests in the form of self-love. He sees pride as the essence of sin; it is the love for the self; it is self-importance. Protestant Reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin continue in the same vein. Luther uses the words pride and particularly self-love in his reflection on the nature of sin. In his work, he describes human beings as people who allow self-righteousness to creep in, and then consequently fail to admit their wrongdoings (Niebuhr, 1996: 187). John Calvin continues this train of thought but argues that sin manifests itself through the way human beings desire to surpass human knowledge (Niebuhr, 1996: 187). Niebuhr (1996: 188-90), argues that pride has many faces, for instance in the form of power (including greed), knowledge (also discussed as intellectual pride) and of virtue (moral pride, self-righteousness). Niebuhr also adds spiritual pride as an extension of the latter.

According to Karl Barth (1961: 413-415; see also Durand, 1978: 147) sin as pride should be seen in the context of human beings' obedience to Jesus Christ. He argues that as long as a person does not come to the knowledge of grace, he or she will not come to the knowledge of sin. Barth expresses pride as an attitude of disobedience and unbelief, as well as a rejection of the grace of God, which alienated human beings from God (Barth, 1961: 418; see Durand, 1978: 147). Therefore, as long as human beings do not accept the redemption and salvation of Jesus Christ, they are opposed to God's humility and the divine grace of God. This in effect would mean that human beings who reject the grace of God are engaging in "self-help". This, Barth contends, is in essence what sin is.

b) Sin as greed (concupiscence) or covetousness

In classical discourse, Christian theologians describe sin essentially as pride.²⁶ However, some theologians also describe sin in terms of covetousness and greed (concupiscence). Pannenberg (1994: 239 – 240) refers to Paul's reference to covetousness and the desire of human beings for material wealth. He quotes the words of Paul in Romans 7: 7, "Do not covet".

²⁶ See the previous discussion.

Augustine's argument on pride that he regard as the basic manifestation of sin is noted, however, he also refers to sin as a human being's desire (including sexual desire) (cf. Durand, 1978: 145). Thomas Aquinas (1991: 260-268) argues in similar vein that, "Every sin arises from disordered desire for some temporal good and that arises from disordered self-love". This tradition (sin as greed) is also reflected in the works the Protestant Reformer, Martin Luther. Luther articulates desire and greed as "lust". He argues that lust is the consequence of human pride and that it has to do with sinful pleasure – a turning away from God and ultimately an act and consequence of pride (cf. Niebuhr, 1996: 232).

Reinhold Niebuhr (1996: 228) articulates sin as a manifestation of self-love and the sin of sensuality as a secondary expression of human beings' sin (pride) and their rebellion against God. He elaborates that the sin of sensuality includes physical desires, for instance extravagance, gluttony, drunkenness, abandonment but also sexual desire. Niebuhr (1996: 239-240) argues that sensuality is always,

- (1) an extension of self-love to the point where it defeats its own ends; (2) an effort to escape the prison house of self by finding a god in a process of a person outside the self; and (3) finally an effort to escape from the confusion which sin has created into some form of subconscious existence.

Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich reflect on the deeper causes of sinful desire of human beings. I briefly refer to their reflection in this regard.

Plantinga (1995: 61) presents Niebuhr's argument as follows,

Our base problem is unbelief. Failing to trust in the infinite God, we live anxiously, restlessly, always trying to secure and extent [sic] ourselves with finite goods that can't take the weight we put on them. We climb social ladders, buy securities, and try to make a name for ourselves or leave a legacy. We deliberately put others in our debt (name a federal dam after somebody and he will listen with interest to your next request). We strive for raw power or for intellectual transcendence or for moral superiority. Alternatively, we try to escape all these strivings, calming our restlessness with flights into lust or drunkenness or gluttony. Unbelief, says Niebuhr, yields anxiety, which yields alternating pride and sensuality.

The argument of Niebuhr above is closely related to the reporting and articulation of the selected newspapers' and how they present the issue of corruption. It is often reflected in their reporting – that corruption revolves around a member of society that enriches him/herself. Nevertheless Niebuhr goes further in arguing that this is because of a person's unbelief and anxiety, which lead such a person to sin, and in the context of this study, to be corrupt.

The twentieth century Protestant theologian, Paul Tillich (1957: 29-55; cf. Durand, 1978: 149) argues that the desire for human beings towards sin is as a result of their state of estrangement. He argues that in terms of the 'Fall' (in the book of Genesis), human beings moved from a state of perfection (essence) to a state of estrangement (existence). They became estranged from God, themselves, as well as other human beings. He declares that this estrangement, which he also refer to as *hybris* means that a human being in his/her totality is removed from God. This removal is what caused human beings to satisfy their desire by drawing their whole world into themselves. This phenomenon is what Tillich refers to as concupiscence. It occurs

when human beings place themselves at the centre of their world. He argues that this is often demonstrated in human beings' physical hungers to knowledge, sex, power, material wealth, food and spiritual values. He uses the Roman Emperor Nero as an historical example to illustrate the idea of concupiscence. Conradie's reflection on sin brings the concept of corruption closer to home. He argues that corruption escalates when a person places his or her interests beyond that of others (anthropocentrism),²⁷ which could lead to their detriment for his or her personal gain. This sounds almost similar to one of the definitions that the South African legislation (Precca) provides for corruption. The definition of Conradie (2016) brings the notion of sin as covetousness, greed in conversation with the manifestation of corruption in South Africa. In his contribution on the recent scourge of corruption in South Africa the Christian theologian J.M. (Koos) Vorster (2016: 108-109) also reflects on corruption, and his definition ties well with the abovementions discussion on sin as greed, and selfinterest, when he states is in essence about self-interests,²⁸and manifests in the forms of nepotism, careerism and favouritism.

In terms of the analysis of the newspaper reports on corruption the notion of greed, selfishness, jealousy and egocentrism is often closely linked with the newspapers' reporting and reflection on corruption.²⁹

c) Moral failure (*Hamartia*)

Some Christian theologians in their work reflect on sin as a moral failure (cf. Durand, 1978: 149-153) or moral shortcomings. They base their position on an analysis of the original Biblical Greek and Hebrew words that are often used to refer to sin. In terms of the New Testament the Greek word, *hamartia*, is often employed. It means "falling short" or "missing the mark" in relation to "God's desires for us and of our own potential". The word also expresses human beings' rebellion against God, missing the mark, or turning away from a norm or standard. The verb *hamartano* is used by Paul in Romans 3: 23 when he states, "... all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God ...". Then there are the Biblical Hebrew words in the Old Testament with reference to sin, which include *chattaat*, *awoon* and *pesja* (cf. Durand, 1978: 153). These express the same concepts as *hamartia*.

In the Augustinian era, this notion is understood as signifying that sin includes any deed, action or desire of human beings, which brings them in opposition to the law and commandments of God (cf. Peters, 1994: 22). Sin as moral failure is described as a decision and the exercising of the will of human beings to act voluntarily against God's commandments ("missing the mark"). Thomas Aquinas (1991: 252) follows in this tradition and describes sin as a disorder that turns human beings away from their ultimate goal in God. John Calvin argues that the responsibility lies with human

²⁷ See the discussion by Ernst Conradie (2016), "Penultimate Perspectives on the Root Causes of Environmental Destruction in Africa" in which he explains how ecological destruction occurs as a result of sin in the world.

²⁸ In this sense corruption would therefore correspond with the view of Tillich (1957) who argues that sin boils down to self-interest.

²⁹ See the work of Ernst Conradie (2016: 10-11) "Penultimate Perspectives on the Root Causes of Environmental Destruction in Africa" in which he discusses the classical notion of sin for modern society.

beings to decide to succumb and to act on their desires; to commit an act of sin (cf. Durand, 1978: 153).

If we follow this tradition, it would imply that in terms of corruption, a person should have violated or broke a commandment of God. A person that is corrupt is one that is not obeying God's commandments as prescribed in the Bible. It would mean that such a person is missing God's goal in their lives and the world. Because we understand God as a missionary God, the one present in the world, and who's *Shalom* should be present in the world, it means that any act that disturbs the peace of God in the world is sin. This can happen through violating and showing disregard to society's policies or moral consensus. It also occurs when a person disturbs the peace in society, and breaks a moral rule. Conradie (2016: 9) provides us with a further analysis of what sin as a "moral shortcoming" includes: "acts of wrongdoing – including murder, rape and theft, but also adultery, defamation, regulations around not keeping the Sabbath – and an entire list of violations. In a secularised context this may be reduced and trivialised to smoking and drinking on which 'sin tax' has to be paid". It includes all the vices (as opposed to virtues) that are antithetical to the moral and social agreement of society. In this instance, corruption in South Africa is indeed that which does not foster the good virtues of society, but instead breaks the moral rules. The act of corruption goes against the "Golden Rule" which states, "Don't do to others that you don't want them to do to you". The newspapers' reporting reflects the disastrous effects of corruption, for instance the escalating anger from the poor in terms of slow economic transformation, and poor service delivery as a direct result of corruption.

d) Sin as broken relationships

De Gruchy (1991) avers that sin has to do with the breakdown of human relationships and communities. He (1991: 118) states,

We need to recognise that the dehumanising divisions within Church and society are the result of sin, that is, they contradict God's purposes. Sin is, after all, that which, in separating us from God, destroys human life, breaks up human relationships and communities, undermines those values which enable life to flourish, and separates us from the source and Giver of life. This is why the letter to the Ephesians reminds us that it was only through the death of Christ on the cross that the divisions, which separated Jew and Gentile, are overcome (Ephesians 2: 11f).

For Van Til (2012: 59) sin is indeed that which brings about conflict in all kind of relationships, and disturbs the peace,

...peace or *shalom* is not merely a place that does not experience much noise or violence. *Shalom* is a picture of wholeness, health, and goodness. It is a condition in which relationships between God and humans, relationships between humanity and creation are delightful. We are not at odds with anything or anyone; we don't have conflict. There is something of a cosmic sigh that says, 'Yes, this is the way it should be'. Sin breaks that peace.

Brunner, Butler and Swoboda (2014: 129) examine the theological categories of creation, sin, redemption, salvation and eschatology. They argue that sin should be understood as a disturbance of the relationships between all of creation.

Sin is not just personal. As creatures that exist in relationship with each other and the rest of the world, our individual broken relationships contribute to and are interwoven with a systemic brokenness. Wherever there is relationship – any relationship – we find both the invasiveness of sin and the possibility of restoration. Those distorted relationships are manifest among individuals, societies, and the natural world. One way to see systemic sin is as the disruption of shalom in our world. Walter Brueggemann describes shalom as a ‘central vision’ in the Bible. Whereby, ‘all of creation is one, every creature in community with every other, living in harmony and security toward the joy and well-being of every other creature’.

Brunner et al. (2014: 129) describe sin as broken relationships, but also the exploitation of power that leads to oppression, classism, sexism, and racism:

Sin is anything that disrupts the harmony of God’s creation. The classic pillars of oppression – classism, sexism, and racism – are representative of the systemic disruption of shalom. In each of these interconnected systems, those ‘on top’ maintain power and privilege – marginalising and silencing those who are unlike them. Most importantly in terms of our discussion of sin, oppression becomes integrated systematically in society. The inescapable reality is that those in positions of power have the freedom to ignore the connection between their choices and the welfare of others and of the planet. Ignorance and indifference (intentional or not) perpetuate systems of injustice and oppression that must be named for what they are – broken relationships and disruption of shalom. These sins are the kind of actions that Apostle Paul spoke of in Romans 8 when he addressed the groaning of creation under the exploits of humanity. The newspaper reports illustrates how corruption breaks down the relationship between former ‘comrades’, as well as current colleagues, and negatively affect people’s friendships. It shows how the corrupt behaviour of the one causes many casualties in the process. The newspapers’ reporting does reflect the result of sin – resulting in broken relationships. However, it is not all the selected newspapers that have such a perspective on the consequences of the scourge of corruption in South Africa. The discussion above provides a deeper reflection on the root causes of corruption in South Africa. It is also much broader than what the four selected newspapers furnish. It supplies us with the necessary conceptual resources to undertake a deeper diagnosis of the endemic problem and essence of corruption in South Africa. In terms of the four manifestations of sin, as discussed above, corruption can be argued to be in essence the result of pride, for example the demonstration of individuals’ self-love, their self-righteousness, but also their disobedience to God. The newspapers’ reporting demonstrates how those who are corrupt often put their own interests above that of the society. A most notable discussion that is picked up by the newspapers in their reporting is undoubtedly the notion of greed that, Paul Tillich asserts, believes is because people draw their whole world into themselves.

The discussion by De Gruchy (1991) is also helpful in the discussion on the manifestation of corruption in a post-apartheid South Africa. Corruption breaks down human relationships, and divides South African society. It leads to the disintegration of communities and widens the gap between the rich and the poor.

The discussion on the various manifestations of sin is relevant and appropriate, but what is also needed is a further and important discussion on the pervasive and

radical nature of sin in the world. Conradie (2005: 13) cautions that we should not be distracted by the many descriptions of sin because “sin is not only something we do in the sense of specific wrongdoings, but a self-destructive situation into which humans have collectively fallen”. Conradie (2005: 13) emphasises that sin is:

a state, an all-inclusive predicament, from which we cannot escape. Sin refers to more than just specific violations of a moral code or transgressions of a divine law. To sin is not simply to ‘trespass’ [sic]. Sin is primarily a theological concept which describes our alienation from God and only secondarily refers to specific forms of moral behaviour.

The following section will move beyond the discussion on the personal nature of sin, and specifically focus on the said discussion in Christian Reformed doctrine: the fallen, sinful nature of all human beings, and subsequently the pervasive and radical nature of sin in the world. It will also centre on the guilt of all human beings in terms of their contribution to the pervasive sin, and in this case, corruption, in the world.

11. 4. 2 Sin as a human condition

Van Til (2012: 52) asserts that in terms of Christian discourse, and specifically a Reformed perspective, sin is understood as a human condition, a state into which all human beings are born. He (2012: 52) explains,

We are ‘born in sin’. This means that all humans are naturally at odds with, and alienated from, God. As a result, we are also at odds with and alienated from other people, ourselves, plants, and animals. This is now the common state of affairs for all humans...This understanding of ‘sin’ gets at the notion that we are, right from the beginning and in our essence, not right with God or God’s moral standards. Each of us – and all parts of each of us – are touched by the conditions of sin into which we were born. And this will not change. Our children and grandchildren, people in China and Russia, astronauts and deep-sea divers – all have the same problem. It is inescapable.

The idea that human beings are inherently sinful, as Van Til points out is discussed in the classical works of St. Augustine as well as those of other Reformed theologians. I will briefly concentrate on their discussion.

According to Augustine sin is not merely an individual act, or a specific behaviour, but a state, a condition, and an orientation of one’s will, which is directed towards a desire. McFarland (2007: 148 - 149) explains his view:

Though it remains possible to define sin as a transgression of divine will, in Augustinian perspective such transgression must be understood as a turning from God that inheres in the very structure of fallen humanity. It is the absolute priority of this orientation that guarantees that every particular human act will be sinful.

The idea of fallen humanity and human beings’ sinful nature is equated with the notion of total depravity (*corruptio totalis*). In terms of such a notion, “each and every human being is tainted with sin from the very inception of life” (Allen, 2010: 95).

Guthrie (1994: 225) explains the Reformed notion of total depravity:

Total depravity, correctly understood, means that although both Christians and non-Christians can do much good, nothing we do is free from the corruption of sinful self-interest. It means that although there may be all kinds of progress in history, human beings themselves are monotonously the same, repeating all over

and over again the little drama in the Garden of Eden (They are no longer savages who throw hundreds of our enemies to the crocodiles. Now we are savages who neatly kill hundreds of thousands with weapons developed through scientific 'progress').

McFarland (2016: 303) argues that in terms of an Augustinian perspective moral failing is not "something that takes place over time through an individual's committing evil deeds but is rather a congenital state that renders such deeds inevitable". Sin, therefore, is rather a state of "being than doing...we are not sinners because we commit sins; rather, we commit sins because we are already sinners".

Paul Tillich refers to a state of estrangement (from God): out of this condition, human beings act (Peters, 1994: 23). Peters (1994: 23) refers to Tillich's perspective:

It is the condition in which we find ourselves estranged from God. Our relationship with God is broken, and this fundamental break causes other breaks, such as alienation from other people and even from ourselves. The broken relationship with God, who is the source of all life, is what subjects us to death and to anxiety over the prospect of nonbeing. In this situation of estrangement, we act. And an act that expresses this estrangement is an act of sin.

Peters (1994: 24) argues in similar vein that no human present evil for the first time to a previously innocent world:

As we grow and come into our own personal consciousness, we wake up to find ourselves already within the state of sin. When we commit a sin, we do not present evil for the first time to a previously innocent world. Sin was here before we arrived. We are drawn into sin by forces that surround us. In this sense, we are not the sole authors of what we do. There is no question that temptation to sin comes to us from beyond ourselves. It is not just an internal affair. Evil is bigger than we are. It is something in which we participate while at the same time it is something we produce through wilful decision.

The view of Augustine, that human beings are born with a sinful nature and are inherently corrupt, was and still is, not the only Christian view on human nature. In fact, the view of Augustine is in opposition to that of the British ascetic, Pelagius. Berkouwer (1971: 432) explains the difference between their perspectives. He (1971: 430-431) elaborates that Pelagius' argument on human nature is the direct opposite of Augustine. Pelagius argues that human beings are inherently good and have a choice to sin (or not). Berkouwer (1971: 430) explicates Pelagius' view:

Man's will is not inclined, in itself, in a depraved direction, and certainly, it is not in the sense that all the acts of men are 'predetermined' by his sinful nature. He [Pelagius] saw that doctrine [original sin] as a flagrant contradiction to the essence of a free man, who was created by God as a good creature.

According to Berkouwer (1971: 431), "Pelagius wished to accentuate the *responsibility* of man in his sinful activity; he wanted to eliminate the possibility that man might escape *responsibility* by pointing to his own sinful character". Therefore, for Pelagius, "[S]in is visible and real in the concrete acts of man's *own will*. It is neither deducible from man's nature nor derivable from a further 'act' which precedes the act of man".

On the contrary, Augustine argues that human beings are inherently corrupt and have lost their freedom to choose after the fall. Ted Peters (1994: 26) elucidates Augustine's argument in this regard:

Augustine used the disease metaphor to describe the fall. Good health prior to the fall consisted in our ability not to sin (*posse non peccare*) as well as the ability to sin (*posse peccare*). In other words, we as a human race had freedom. We could choose good health, or we could choose infection. We chose the latter. Once having made this choice, however, we lost something, something thereafter irretrievable: we lost freedom.

Augustine also argues that to be born in sin does not mean that human beings do not have a day-to-day choice, to decide what to do and what not to do; they have freedom to choose, though in a state of alienation from God. Peters (1994: 27) argues similarly and explains the loss of freedom by human beings after the fall:

...the doctrine of original sin in no way denies the observable fact that we daily enjoy the freedom to decide between what we want and what we do not want, to decide between eating a chocolate ice cream cone or a vanilla one, to decide between choosing a career in the business or a career in the education. But once we have left the realm of the good [when Adam sinned] and established ourselves in what we at first imagined to be a neutral zone, the zone of human autonomy, then there is no way we can on our own return to the realm of the good proper. All of our decisions will inevitably reinforce our alienation from what is good. Every choice we make will only establish us more firmly in our independence and, hence, our estrangement. It is in a sense that we cannot choose the good on our own. It is in this sense that we find ourselves alienated from God and existing in a state of original sin.

Augustine opposed Pelagius' thesis, contending that sin should not be viewed as the new and 'actual' deed of one's own will but "as tied together, in its actuality, with one's perverse and apostate nature". He further adds that this nature must be regarded in the light of man's *peccatum originale* (original sin) (Berkouwer, 1971: 432). McFarland (2016: 306) comments, "Augustine has no doubt that universal human sinfulness was both evident in history and well-attested in Scripture, but his claim wasn't just that all people sin as a matter of fact (something Pelagius would have been happy to affirm), but that all are inherently and unavoidably sinful".

McFarland (2016: 305-306) also assists in explaining the difference between the Augustinian view of original sin, and the view of Pelagius (that humans are born with inherent good nature) which places the emphasis on human freedom, before and after the 'fall'. McFarland observes that Augustine maintains the same view as Pelagius: that human beings have freedom to choose, however he cautions that such a view might lead to an understanding that human beings can save themselves, which, he argues, would make the salvation effected by Jesus Christ unnecessary. Augustine places his argument in the discourse of soteriology and states, "the conviction that the proclamation of Jesus Christ is the Saviour of all only makes sense if all need to be saved" (cited in McFarland, 2016: 306). McFarland (2016: 306) observes that for Augustine,

the good news that Jesus saves has as its corollary that all without exception *need* saving, which means that human sinfulness must be viewed as a congenital state and not just as a condition we acquire through our own individual actions subsequent to birth. Whatever the particular ensemble of *actual* sins each of us commits over the course of our lives, all of us are equally beset by *original* sin from birth.

A related question on the notion of total depravity concerns the way in which all human beings, since birth, come to inherit sin. In the following paragraph, I therefore clarify this question.

I briefly refer to two responses in relation to the abovementioned query. Peters (1994: 25) draws from the work of Paul Tillich, and argues that sin is passed on congenitally. He quotes the Psalmist, "Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me" (Psalm 51:5). Subsequently he explains that this biblical text refers to the "situation in which we all are born, symbolized as a contagion that has been passed down not only through three or four generations (Exod. 20:5) but all the way back to the mother and father of our race". There are also those that argue that sin was transferred through imputation (Allen, 2010: 99). Those who espouse such a view argue that through the sin of Adam, sin was transferred to every human being, and consequently all human beings are born with a sinful nature. The question on how sin came into the world (the origin of sin) is not of paramount importance for the main argument of this section and therefore it is only briefly discussed.

The discussion thus far of Augustine as well as Reformed theologians, on the sinful nature of all human beings (total depravity), is important. However, such a discussion goes further than that on individual, personal sin. The notion of the total depravity of all human beings subsequently implies that sin is in nature also universal (affecting all human beings) and radical (affecting every aspect of human life; Migliore, 2004: 155). Therefore, I will proceed to discuss such a perspective, and bring it into dialogue with the scourge of corruption in South Africa and the role, as well as the limitations, of the media in this regard. I will refer to a few theologians and their perspectives on the nature of sin, and its implications and consequences for the world.

Durand (1978: 125) argues that there is one idea that is compatible with all the positions taken on original sin (historical, personhood, evolutionary),³⁰ which is that none of them denies or defies the pervasive nature of sin in the world. Though these might also differ on the understanding of the origin of sin,³¹ all of them agree on the universality of sin. Therefore, Durand contends that the experience of sin should not only be focused on the fragmentary and individual events or acts, but on how it manifests in society through the latter's structures and systems.

Ray (2016: 417) also goes beyond the discourse of individual sins (the discussion on the various manifestations of sin) and focuses on the manifestation of sin in the structures of society and how it "shape[s] the material reality of our planet and all life on it". He (2016: 418) (drawing from the work of St. Augustine and the Apostle Paul) observes that all parts of the world are "touched" by sin and "'the devil' is inhabiting the structure of things such that evil is the norm rather than the exception". Though he emphasises that sin is still flowing from the actions of individuals he declares that the scope is different. It goes beyond individuals, to groups of people.

³⁰ See the work of Jaap Durand (1978) in *Die Sonde* in which he explains the different positions that Christian theologians take on the notion of original sin.

³¹ The evolutionary perspective focuses on the incompleteness of nature, that there was no perfect creation at the beginning (as posited by Augustine) but that everything started very small, imperfect and incomplete.

O' Keefe (1990: 32-33) also provides a helpful description of what structural sin constitutes:

A social structure can be sinful in its source as it emerges and develops out of individual and personal decisions which are biased, narrow, and destructive. A structure can be sinful in its consequences when 'others confronted with a situation so structured are provoked to react defensively and so to reinforce the destructive characteristics of the situation...

The sin in the world which is also described as social sin, and structural sin, is based on the Reformed notion of total depravity – as mentioned, that all human beings are , inherently sinful and born into a world of sin (sin predates human beings).³² But that is not the end of the discussion. Human beings have, since the inception of sin in the world, contributed to the evolvment of sin in the world, through their actions. There are numerous examples of such sins that have contributed to the current state of corruption and sin in the world. I will refer later to such examples.

Peters (1994: 9) explains this escalation of sin in the world as comprising seven steps: anxiety, unfaith, pride, concupiscence, self-justification, cruelty, and blasphemy. Sebastian and MacDonald (1995: 109) also discuss the evolution of sin in the world, and describe it as follows:

Social sin begins with personal sin, but an entanglement with the surrounding culture and its customs and institutions gradually develops. At that point the harm it inflicts on others, both people and institutions, begins to magnify, beyond the persons originally responsible for it, so that there is little or no possibility of identifying any individual responsible for it. As a result it lives on, even after the death or change of heart of the early agent.

If sin, then, according to the reformed notion on total depravity, predates all human beings, who then is responsible for the sin in the world? A relevant question in terms of this study would be: who is responsible for the pervasive corruption in South Africa? The findings of the study show that the selected newspapers would put the blame on a certain individual, or individuals, who committed a corrupt act; therefore the notion of social and structural sin questions the way in which newspapers report on corruption. The focus of the newspapers on specific individuals' corrupt behaviour undermines the notion of sin as pervasive, and as being part of the fibre of society. The abovementioned question relates to the broader question on social or structural sin in the world and subsequently, who is responsible for sin and corruption here. The latter question is addressed by various scholars in different contexts to explain society's collective responsibility for social, structural sin which also has relevance to the scourge of corruption in South Africa.

Kerans (1974: 67) argues in his work *Sinful social structures* that everyone, including those who are passive, is to blame for what is happening in the world and society. The wrongs committed and the prevalence of social sin, for example war crimes and,

³² Theron (2013: 2) also points out the role that political systems play in the occurrence of corruption. Gutiérrez (1973: 175) explains the notion of social sin: 'Sin is evident in oppressive structures, in the exploitation of man by man, in the domination and slavery of people, races, and social classes. Sin appears, therefore, as fundamental alienation, the root of a situation of injustice and exploitation'.

in South Africa, particularly the well-known promulgation of Apartheid are examples of sin as manifested in the social structure. He explains, for example in the American context, how everyone in society is responsible for black discrimination, “How many people have refused blacks entry to their shop or office, saying, ‘I have nothing against them; it’s just that if I let them in I’ll lose the business’. Kerans (1974: 67) cautions, “The person who says that is not only captive to social opinion, but he also contributes freely to his own and others’ captivity”. Gestrich (1989: 250) alludes to the words of the Lutheran Hans Asmussen in the aftermath of World War II, “The German citizen..., who for the sake of his peace sacrificed justice, is guilty”.

Menninger (1973) in his work *Whatever became of sin?* focuses on corruption through the use of American case studies. Notwithstanding the difference in context, his discussion on the collective responsibility of sin is relevant for this study. In reflecting on corruption, the newspapers might find it much easier to identify and crucify a particular individual or individuals and present them as the ones responsible for corruption (as was observed in the media reports earlier in this study). However, Menninger (1973), like Kerans (1974), argues that it is not only a particular individual or certain individuals that are responsible for sin, which in this study would be corruption.

It seems to be acceptable for the newspapers to blame a certain individual or individuals for corruption. This is definitely not erroneous, as those specifically responsible for committing an act of corruption should be held accountable. But will this indeed solve the problem of corruption? Is this perhaps not to seek superficial solutions to a much deeper and complex phenomenon in South Africa?

Menninger discusses the case of the ‘legitimate’ war in America, in which the so-called guilty ones would be separated from the “not guilty ones”. He contends that this is problematic. In response, he uses as an illustration the period of the slave trade in America. Menninger (1973: 107) focuses on those who were non-owners of slaves (who might claim they are not guilty), and argues that they should also be seen as complicit, because they “supported the system”.

In terms of Menninger (1973) and others (see discussion above) sin is so entrenched in society that it seems impossible to make a distinction between the “guilty” and the “not-guilty” ones. In fact, in terms of a Reformed perspective it is impossible to be born inherently good (which is a view held by Pelagius). Therefore, this would leave the media, with its journalists, editors and owners, with some material for internal reflection – that they might also be part of the systemic problem of corruption in society. They are part of the evolvment of sin and corruption in the world. The newspapers cannot therefore regard themselves as occupying a better position (in terms of the Reformed notion of total depravity) to expose the culprits without acknowledging their own contribution to the current state of corruption in South Africa.

The complex notion of guilt and who is responsible for sin in the world is well addressed by some scholars. Such a discussion will be relevant and appropriate for the purposes of this study, to respond more specifically to the question and to further elaborate on the discussion – who is to be blamed for corruption in South Africa?

De Gruchy compares the Confessing Church in Nazi Germany's response in the Stuttgart Confession of Guilt [1945] in relation to the war crimes that were committed in their country. He addresses the said question, but concentrates specifically on the questions: Who is responsible for the war crimes? And related to this: who should confess guilt for the social sin?³³ He (1989: 34-35) states:

Several things need to be noted about this confession [Stuttgart Confession of Guilt]...The first is the expression of solidarity with the nation in its suffering and guilt. They [Confessing Church] were not standing in judgement over against a guilty nation which had been brought to its knees; they were experiencing the pain of the nation, and acknowledging their part in its guilt. They were certainly not giving any excuses. 'We accuse ourselves' they declared. At the same time, and secondly, they did not have a false sense of guilt. They stated that they had in fact opposed the Nazi regime and suffered as a consequence. But this did not take away their share in the guilt of the nation. In the third place, their sense of guilt did not drive them to despair but to fresh commitment. They committed themselves to a new beginning; repentance, they discerned, should lead to real change and a commitment to action.

De Gruchy (1989) clarifies that the said confession of the church at the time was in no way a 'guilt trip', not denying its opposition to the Nazi regime in Germany, but acknowledging that all human beings are guilty because of the sin of Adam.³⁴ He (1989: 39) explains, "Just as a nation, a group, or a congregation can acknowledge its sins, so the confessing of guilt is as much a corporate action as it is one which involves individuals". De Gruchy (1989: 39) subsequently argues that all human beings shares in the guilt, that can be derived from "our rejection of Christ, our share in the fallenness of humanity. Hence none are guiltless, and it is pointless to apportion blame to others. We are guilty, and it is in the church that this guilt should be most acutely felt and recognized precisely because it is the community which has known and acknowledge the saving grace of Christ".

Gestrich (1989: 249) also refers to the declaration of guilt that was drafted by the Evangelical church, after World War II, and illustrates the acknowledgement of collective guilt by those who would have been regarded as 'innocent':

On October 18 and 19, 1945, the Evangelical Church formulated its well-known Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, in which prominent church leaders who knew they were not only in a 'community of suffering' but also in a 'solidarity of guilt' with all Germans confessed [sic] as representatives for all Germans: 'Unending suffering has been brought upon many people and countries by us'. On August 8, 1947, the 'Darmstadt Word' of the Brethren Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany commented on 'the political path of our nation. We must allow ourselves to be absolved of our total guilt of our fathers as well as our own, we must allow ourselves to be called home 'by Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd and from all the evil paths on which we Germans have gone astray in our political intentions and actions'.

³³ It is important to note that De Gruchy (1989: 36) explains the difference between guilt and sin. He states, "Sin is a general term which indicates that we have done wrong, particularly in relation to God; Guilt is a legal term that indicates we are responsible for what we have done".

³⁴ De Gruchy (1989: 35) quotes the words of one of the early leaders of the confessing church, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "It is not a morbidly egoistical distortion of reality, but it is the essential character of a genuine confession of guilt that it is incapable of apportioning blame and pleading a case, but is rather the acknowledgement of one's own sin of Adam".

Gestrich (1989: 249) observes that there are various scriptural texts, especially in the Old Testament, that speak about the nation of Israel's collective guilt.

Ernst Conradie (2013) also critically discusses the issue of proportionality of guilt specifically in terms of structural sin (structural violence and resistance) in South Africa. His emphasis is on the complexity existing between the two notions, victim and perpetrator, specifically in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. He declares that the said notions are not easy to define, because in some cases the victim might claim to be the perpetrator, while in others the perpetrator might assert he or she is the victim. As an illustration he uses the example of 'gangsters' on the Cape Flats to elucidate the complexity of defining the two, but also to make the point that sin and guilt have much to do with the whole of society, and that often the victim may be the perpetrator, or vice versa, or a person or group could be both (victim and perpetrator), as the following example by Conradie (2013: 50) illustrates:

It would be appropriate to suggest that gangsters are victims of economic and social forces far beyond their own control. Gangsterism on the Cape Flats may be regarded as a function of forced removals under the Group Areas act, economic deprivation, educational disadvantages, drugs trafficking and so on and so forth. At the same time, gangsters also commit horrendous crimes (such as gang rape) where the vulnerable in society are further victimised. Add to that the violations of human rights that occur in the name of protection of the neighbourhood, self-defence, vengeance and an ensuing spiral of killing. In short, such gangsters are both victims and perpetrators.

Nolan (1988: 89) brings the notion of collective guilt closer to home, to the South African context, and the years of Apartheid. He likewise argues that those who were active as well as those passive in the construction and prevalence of the Apartheid system in South Africa are equally responsible for the sins of Apartheid.

The system [apartheid] was created by numerous human beings in numerous ways. There were those who made the policy decisions along the way; there were those who supported and worked for the system; there were those whose greed, arrogance and hypocrisy made them fanatical architects of the system; and there were those who committed the great sins of omission by remaining silent and doing nothing to change the course of events. We can even point to those among the oppressed who did not join in the resistance but became passive accomplices in their own oppression. We can look back and see generations of sinners behind this system stretching back beyond South Africa and beyond colonialism into the distant past.

I finally refer to another scholar who addresses the notion of collective guilt and responsibility of all human beings for the pervasive sin in the world. Cynthia Moe-Lobeda (2013) in her work *Resisting Structural Evil* focuses on the guilt of the whole of society in terms of the current ecological crisis. She also refers to other examples, including: racism, classism, sexism and imperialism.³⁵ She argues, like other

³⁵ O' Keefe (1990: 32-33) also tabulates the views of a range of scholars to explain some examples of structural sin: "the formal set of relationships which results in oppression of groups of people, while [enabling] other groups of people to benefit from that oppression" (McVerry); the structural establishment and official sanctioning of sinful attitudes and disordered, alienated, and unjust relationships (McCormick); economic relationships which prevail between first and third world nations and between the rich and the poor within third world countries themselves (liberation theologians); patriarchy by which male dominance is assured by structures which oppress women (feminist theologians).

scholars,³⁶ that sin manifests in “social structures” (Moe-Lobeda, 2013: 58). Moe-Lobeda (2013: 58) states,

...in many faith communities, response to sin is aimed at the individual’s sin, rather than at social structural sin in which the individual participates simply by living as we do...sin exists not only in the individual, but also in the social structural relationships that shape societies and their impact on ecosystems.

After the reflection on sin and its relation to the discourse on corruption, I will finally focus on the relevance of such a discussion for this study, and the role as well as the limitations of the media in the campaign against corruption.

11. 4. 3 The relevance of the Christian discourse on sin

In this regard the work of Moe-Lobeda (2013) is particularly relevant in the discussion of the widespread corruption that is entrenched in South African society, its systems and structures.³⁷ Corruption has become embedded in the social fabric of society, and institutionalised to such a degree that it is no longer easy to identify and address. It is beyond the issue of individual and personal sin, but is structural and should be “unmasked” (cf. Moe-Lobeda, 2013: 258). Moe-Lobeda (2013: 258) describes how structural sin operates, “...one might grow in moral goodness in personal life, while yet continue in paths of structural evil because one does not recognize that evil for what it is; structural evil hides”. It may therefore be well and good that the newspapers report on the individual acts of corruption, as well as the events, but this is not sufficient to address corruption, which is inherent in societal structures. Moe-Lobeda (2013: 58) links the idea of the pervasiveness of sin also to the notion of St. Augustine who refers to the humanly insurmountable reality of “selves curved in on self” (*se incurvatus in se*). She (2013: 60) presents four often ignored moral challenges that structural sin causes:

1. The relative invisibility of structural injustice to those who do not suffer directly from it
2. The fact that structural injustice continues regardless of the virtue or vice of people involved
3. Its transmission from generation to generation unless exposed and confronted, and
4. Its expansion as a result of concentrated power.

What is indeed relevant in this study is the pervasive nature of sin, in particular corruption. To reiterate, the systemic nature of corruption is so entrenched within society that it often goes unnoticed. The findings of this study show that the newspapers’ reporting on corruption is directed at individuals’ and organisations’ acts of corruption, while corruption per se still continues as if it is the norm, merely a component of society. It remains “invisible” for those who are not directly affected, those who are also part of the organisations and institutions of government or

³⁶ See my discussion above; in particular the works of Ray (2016); O’ Keefe (1990); Migliore (2004) and Ted Peters (1994).

³⁷ Moe-Lobeda’s work is a form of US contextual theology aimed at US readers. Nonetheless her discussion of structural evil and sin to address the challenge of environmental degradation in the world is also relevant for the discussion of the widespread corruption in the South African context.

political parties in which corruption has become so interwoven and part of their culture that it is difficult to confront and address it. This phenomenon was well illustrated in Apartheid South Africa when “virtuous” people at the time were nevertheless supporting the evil apartheid system. This is an example of how people were so entrapped by a system of structural injustice that they were complicit in, and often did not ‘see’, nor were aware of, the injustice. However, in terms of the above discussion on sin, all South Africans are responsible for the current situation of corruption, whether directly or indirectly involved in a specific act.

When corruption is addressed in this sense, there are also some implications for the media’s efforts in combatting and rooting it out. As noted, the reporting of the newspapers on corruption is only directed at certain individuals and organisations who are corrupt. However, in terms of the notion of sin as pervasive and universal, everyone is implicated, even the media. This implies that the systemic corruption needs to be confronted, because in a certain way everyone in society has contributed³⁸ to the pervasive and widespread corruption in South Africa. In terms of Moe-Lobeda’s (2013: 60) argument³⁹ on the structural nature of sin, the scourge of corruption will not be easily eradicated, but will remain part of the social fabric of future generations.

Therefore, the hullabaloo made by the selected newspapers over recent (2016) acts of corruption might present such an issue as a novel phenomenon, and one that is shocking in a post-apartheid South Africa. However, if placed in the Christian discourse on sin, corruption, though appalling, has been part of the history and structures of society since sin’s inception in the world.

Corruption therefore cannot be isolated from the apartheid era in South Africa, or colonialism in South Africa and abroad, or from other periods in history because sin can be traced as far back as the fall of humanity. It is also present not only in government institutions but also in the corporate sector.⁴⁰ Corruption was also prevalent as far back as the establishment of the institutional church, and therefore is entrenched in the very nature of our societal structures. In fact, taking into account the view of Augustine and of Reformed theologians, since before our birth sin has been in the world, and we are so entrapped in the system (our inherited nature) that not even the newspapers, nor any media institution, nor church will be able to eradicate us from corruption. This does not mean that the media should discontinue its role of vigilance, fostering awareness and persuading its readership to combat corrupt activities, but that it should be conscious of its limitations.

Though such a distinction might be made in terms of the newspapers’ reporting in terms of government corruption, as well as presenting such (government) corruption as one of the most destructive acts in the new and democratic South Africa, it is as serious in nature as other manifestations of sin in the world. It is evident in the

³⁸ See the discussion by Conradie (2013: 13-83) in “Reconciliation as one guiding vision for South Africa?” on the proportionality of guilt with South Africa as a case study.

³⁹ We note here specifically her reference to and argument regarding the structural nature of sin.

⁴⁰ An interesting study that should also be undertaken is a comparative study between government and corporate corruption in South Africa. It would be interesting to assess the newspapers’ rhetorical strategies in terms of government corruption compared to corporate corruption.

newspapers' reporting that one newspaper would place many emphases on corruption, as well as certain individuals' acts of corruption, while other newspapers would focus on other moral issues during the same weekend. It raises concern in terms of the newspapers' categorisation as well as prioritisation of moral issues. What if it was not the president, or a specific individual, will it still be front-page news? Are the newspapers really interested in the issues of corruption per se? Or are they interested in a specific person who has been corrupt, as the results suggest. The manner in which the newspapers report, can establish a skewed understanding of corruption in the mind of their readers.

In the endeavour of combatting, and rooting out, corruption in South Africa, the involvement and participation of each member of society is needed. In addition Moe-Lobeda (2002) reflects on the role of society in the eradicating of structural sin, which could also be relevant to the discussion on corruption. She particularly addresses the systems that perpetuate an unjust economy as well as the burden on the environment. She argues that structural sin can be dealt with when members of society in the first place "see" and become aware of structural sin, and secondly "judge" and discern the wrongness. Although the selected newspapers play a role in the awareness and encourage their readership to adopt a particular position on corruption, they are still lacking in focus – they should include the responsibility of and contribution of all members of society to the current state of corruption in South Africa.

She argues, however, that more is needed than the above: all human beings should act. This, as she asserts, is needed because the system was constructed by human beings; therefore it can also be changed by (all of) them (Moe-Lobeda, 2013: 238). She proposes that all members of society play a role through the:

1. Non-cooperation with evil – not to participate in systems that are doing harm
2. Cooperation with good – supporting more just and healthy living and all that contributes to the good of society.

How does this assist in reflecting on corruption in South Africa? In terms of Moe-Lobeda's arguments it would mean that members of the South African society, alongside the media, should denounce all forms of corruption and work towards a just society. The newspapers are not assisting society if those that are corrupt are only critiqued, which is much needed to combat, expose, and "unmasked" corruption, but more constructive ways are needed, and that would be to construct a society that also admit their own contribution, and together with the 'corrupt' deal with the pervasive corruption in society. There have been many discussions on those that held unto the economic monopoly of the country, and those who benefited out of the wealth of the country, but the question remains: why are they the ones that are not emphasised in the corruption reports of the selected newspapers? How is it possible that only one or a few individuals can be isolated in terms of corruption? Why can they not be easily brought to book? Is this not a small indication of the deep entrenched corruption in society and that all members of society have to be involved in addressing pervasive corruption in society?

One of the pertinent questions to ask in terms of this study is: Has corruption become so mundane and entrenched in the structures of South African society that it

implicates all citizens, so that instead of confessing *our* guilt some citizens (including the media) blame a certain portion of society even though all human beings, South Africans in this case, contributed to the spread of sin and corruption in the world, if not equally?

Albert Nolan (1988: 90-91) discusses the structural sin of Apartheid, and avers that all human beings, because of their sinful nature, are guilty in terms of the devastating effects of it.

Original sin is the sin we inherit. It is a given. It is something with which we are born. In South Africa, it is apartheid as a total system. Perhaps more accurately, original sin is mediated to us in South Africa by the system of apartheid. That is not a mere theoretical speculation, it is our experience. From a religious point of view, the system can be experienced as original sin. People are taught to believe that the human weakness or alienation they experience is an inherent characteristic of human nature – ‘our fallen nature’. One hears Christians saying, ‘We are selfish by nature; there is nothing we can do about it; we are all sinners’.

Though Nolan is speaking in the context of the post-apartheid discourse and racism, his argument is also relevant to this study – investigating (the sin of?) corruption. In conversation with his argument, this would imply that all South Africans, including the media, bear the burden of the guilt of corruption that is prevalent in the country. Therefore certain critical questions could be posed to the media: Is the media not, by singling out certain individuals, also simultaneously mitigating the guilt of other members of society? What about those who are passive, and not doing anything to stop the corrupt system, and who are indirectly benefiting from corruption? Are they not all sharing in the guilt of the current state of corruption in South Africa?⁴¹ In terms of the Reformed perspective on the total depravity of all human beings, all South Africans have contributed in some way to the current state of corruption and sin in the world. It is therefore not satisfactory to address corruption only as particular acts by individuals, in the way the media typically does in its reporting.

11.5 Conclusion

Christian discourse on original sin (which is dealt with in the paragraphs above) assists one to understand the pervasive impact of corruption. It radicalises an understanding of the latter by saying that it cannot be isolated and then eradicated. It is more pervasive, and in fact manifests itself in the structures of society. Corruption is not only the act of an individual but, in terms of Reformed doctrine, all human beings are corrupt and inherently sinful. Every human being in one way another has contributed to this corrupt, sinful state of human beings as well as of society.⁴² This study therefore acknowledges the role of the media in moral formation, as well as its limitations: that though it can play a pertinent role in the quest to root out corruption in South Africa, it can unfortunately not redeem human beings (including the media itself) from its corrupt nature.

⁴¹ See also the discussion of Menninger (1973) above on the guilt of non-slave owners in America during the time of slavery, who were just as guilty as the slave-owners because they supported the system.

⁴² This argument links with that of Sebastian and MacDonald (1995: 109) that sin, did “magnify beyond the persons originally responsible for it

It is also not helpful that the media reports in such a way that it suggests that there are only a few corrupt people in society who should be dealt with in order to redeem society from the scourge of corruption. The Reformed perspective on sin opposes such an understanding of sin, including corruption. It is not only one or two persons that are corrupt but all members of society. Therefore we, as human beings, cannot escape the conclusion that even the most noble and most virtuous person in society is inherently corrupt.

In terms of Reformed doctrine, it is ultimately only through the saving work of Christ that humans can be redeemed from the sin in their lives and in the world. Corruption is so widespread in government that it cripples the economic lifeblood of vulnerable communities in our society. It is the sin of those in power who allow many to suffer and still be held captive in abject poverty.

This makes the role of the media in moral formation, specifically in terms of the Reformed tradition, not an easy one, especially when the media wants to argue that the blame for the prevalent corruption in South Africa should be apportioned to certain individuals, parties or institutions. It might also be possible to include the media as part of the problem, especially its influence in spreading propaganda during the apartheid era, and its consequent role in structural oppression.

The Reformed perspective on the sinful nature of human beings, in particular its notion of total depravity, therefore has implications for the role of the media in the combatting of corruption in South Africa. In terms of the above discussion the following pertinent question could be posed: Is the media also not guilty, in terms of the guilt of all human beings and the notion that every human being is, in her or his nature, sinful?⁴³ Is it therefore not important that the media not only perceives its role in terms of opposing corruption, but also acknowledges, and confesses its own contribution and share in the evolvment of corruption in society? As Menninger (1973: 126) argues, to acknowledge one's sin is a start, but it is not enough; each member, organisation and institution must join hands, oppose all forms of structural sin and "become noisy enough to attract the attention and gain the support of some of the previously indifferent". The argument by Menninger (1973) that the "non-guilty ones" might be complicit indubitably raises serious questions and concerns about the position of the media in terms of the state of corruption in the world. Is the media not part of the 'despoilment' (Migliore), the moral decline, and pervasiveness of corruption in South Africa? The media cannot therefore be regarded as the "not-guilty-one" (Menninger, 1973), but as a factor that has contributed in some way or another to the current state of corruption in the world. No one, not even the media, can be regarded as innocent, especially in terms of a Reformed perspective on sin.

However if we are all corrupt, as well as the media, how could it act as the 'saviour' of society? Are the members of the media not also to be blamed for the corruption in society? These newspapers and other media therefore should still continue in their crucial role and quest to eradicate corruption, and to act as the watchdogs of society, but not act as the 'saviours' or the 'blameless'. Instead, through acknowledging their

⁴³ See earlier my reference to De Gruchy's (1989) argument and discussion on the Confessing Church's confession of guilt in the war crimes of Nazi-Germany.

own contribution in terms of the widespread corruption, they should seek solutions together with the rest of society.

Newspapers play a pertinent role in the moral formation of South African citizens. A newspaper's vigilance and reporting on issues of moral concern may lead to the alteration of moral attitudes and behaviours. The media's role is nevertheless limited and we therefore need other role players in the quest for moral formation in South Africa. The media's role is also not adequate since it cannot provide a deeper analysis or reflection on moral issues, apart from making its readers aware of these and encouraging them to take a certain position.⁴⁴ Though the media cannot ensure that the readership does act on its moral guidance and direction, its role is still significant in the overarching action as an agent in moral formation. It is also crucial for the media to understand that it is also part of the problem, especially in terms of the Reformed perspective on sin. South African society will need everyone, including the media, to assist in combatting corruption. The study also leaves us with the question as to whether corruption will ever be eradicated especially in terms of our Reformed understanding of the universal and radical nature of sin in the world.



⁴⁴ It is perhaps possible that the editorials of the newspapers are able to provide such a reflection, but this was not the focus of the study.

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