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South African press and social sustainability projects

— A qualitative study with journalists and people
managing projects in the agriculture sector

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Abstract

South Africa is a country in transition with struggles and structures in society reflecting a past of colonialism and apartheid. The government has implemented new laws such as the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act to achieve sustainable development and companies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have started projects to improve living conditions of previously disadvantaged persons.

The purpose with the thesis is to bring understanding to how journalists and companies/NGOs look at their roles in society and understand their relation to sustainable development projects and policies. Qualitative interviews with ten journalists from different newspapers and freelancers were conducted. Also nine representatives of seven companies and NGOs with projects concerning extreme poverty, inequality, social mobility, discrimination and social cohesion on farms were interviewed.

Normative theories of the media and social responsibility theory were used to analyze the qualitative interviews. The study showed journalists' and people working with projects' views on government's inability of tackling societies' struggles alone and the requirement of private initiatives. Furthermore, the study showed the aim of spreading information about social sustainability projects differed among persons on both sides. Journalists highlighted the importance of news value, pleasing their readers and inform the public about good examples. Journalists expressed that companies, NGOs and government have also responsibilities to spread information. Some companies did not feel this responsibility however; they believed in word of mouth and did not approach the press or public about their social work.

Key words: agriculture, print press, journalist, responsibility, social sustainability, South Africa.

Abbreviations

ANC- African National Congress

BEE - Black Economic Empowerment

BBBEE - Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment

SDG - United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals

MFS - Minor Field Study

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

SCLC - Southern Cape Land Committee

WFP - Women on Farm Project

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1 Introduction

About a year ago I read about a project in a Swedish food magazine which would later bring me to the other side of the world, to a new democracy in middle of change. Apartheid and colonialism is part of the South African history, but it is also reflected in today's society and struggles. The project that caught my attention gave 50 previously disadvantaged black and coloured women 40 percent shares in a table grape farm. White commercial farmers own almost 70 percent of the land in South Africa and when violent farm worker protests began in November 2012 the media's attention was caught and coverage of the challenges that employers, workers and producers face followed.

Many rural poor depend on agriculture to survive and post apartheid the government has made attempts to improve the farm workers' social and labour conditions. New laws, such as the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, have been introduced to reduce the gaps between different groups in society and many companies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have started projects to uplift communities and their workers.

Do mass media spread information about these social sustainability projects? I have interviewed ten journalists from different newspapers and freelancers to get their views on this question. Furthermore I have been to farms, interviewing people managing social sustainability projects to learn about their relation to mass media.

Sustainable development is a concept for solving global problems and understanding the world. The seven companies and NGOs included in this research have projects concerning extreme poverty, inequality, social mobility, discrimination and social cohesion which are notions for wellbeing stated in the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals.

This study is part of the Minor Field Study (MFS) Scholarship Programme which focuses on development issues in Third World countries. Fieldwork took place in South Africa between 24 October and 21 December 2015 and it was financially supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

2 Purpose & Research Questions

2.1 Purpose

The purpose of the study is to investigate the media's role when it comes to spreading information about social sustainability projects. The case study used is connected to the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act. Interviews with journalists, companies and NGOs were conducted to understand how they look at their roles in society and understand their relation to the projects and policies.

The intention with the MFS is:

- To bring understanding to how or if the South African media society aims to circulate information about social sustainability projects.
- To increase the knowledge about how NGOs and companies who are active in social sustainability projects reflect on their relationship to journalism and mass media in South Africa.

2.2 Research Questions

How do South African journalists look at their professional role when it comes to writing about social sustainability projects?

How do companies and NGOs view their relationship to journalism and massmedia in SA?

3 Background

3.1 Transformation and Black Economic Empowerment

About two decades ago South Africa officially became a democracy. The whole population was allowed to participate in the election 1994 and it marked the end of the apartheid era (Wasserman & Garman 2014: 393). Apartheid symbolizes a period when blacks' rights were restricted by government policies. The black communities became underdeveloped as the citizens' right to property ownership, potential of self-employment and entrepreneurship were suppressed. In the 1980s a structural divide in the economy was evident with high levels of unemployment and low salaries and among the racially suppressed population (Arya & Bassi 2011: 676-677).

Social and economic inequalities marked society and they are still apparent (Wasserman & Garman 2014: 393) despite the ruling African National Congress's (ANC) attempts to reduce the imbalances by abolishing old laws and establishing new. Since 1998 ANC has introduced social development laws such as the Employment Equity Act, Skills Development Act and Promotion of Equity and Prevention of unfair Discrimination Act to give the blacks the rights that were previously restrained. In 2003 the transformation process took a big leap, according to Arya and Bassi (2011: 677-678), when the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act was established. It has two objectives: to reduce the inequalities in income and increase the blacks' influence on economy by ownership, management and control. One of the requirements in the legislation is the development of *The Codes of Good Practice* which focuses on social issues and aims to change the work environment by empowering blacks both directly and indirectly. From 2007, companies in all sectors have to follow the codes and fulfill targets of social responsibility (Arya & Bassi 2011: 678). The targets are measured on a score board and depending on the company's size, different goals have to be reached. Enterprises with an annual income over 35 000 000 Rand (22 050 000 SEK) have to follow guidelines concerning ownership, management, employment equity, skills development, preferential procurement, enterprise development and social investment. Small enterprises with an income of 5 000 000 Rand (3 150 000 SEK) have to follow four of these (Arya & Bassi 2011: 682-686).

3.2 Agriculture in South Africa

Many rural poor depend on agriculture to survive and the government has made attempts to improve the farmworkers' social and labour conditions through a shift in legislation and

interventions (Visser & Ferrer 2015:6). The government’s target of redistributing 30 percent of the land in 2014 to blacks has not been reached; white commercial farmers own 82 million hectares, about 67 percent of the land, and approximately 5 percent has been redistributed (Zenzo 2013).

The farm worker protests that began in Du Doorns area, Western Cape (see appendix 9.3), and later spread throughout the country has put the farm workers’ conditions on the media agenda. The violent protests that began in November 2012 has generated coverage of the challenges employers, workers and producers face. According to Visser and Ferrer (2015:1) media and the general public still have a simplified and stereotypic image of agriculture however, despite more divers shifts in ownership patterns, broken feudal relationships between workers and farmers and land reforms.

When the wave of protests began, the mainstream media also reported on alleged underpayment at a farm near De Doorns (Visser & Ferrer 2015:154). In 2003 minimum wages had been introduced in the agriculture sector and striking workers demanded a raise. They wanted R150/day (91SEK) instead of R70. The minimum wage first increased to R105/day and then R120 (BFAP 2015:1-2). Nonetheless, the annual wage of two working adults is too low to support a family of four (BFAP 2015:31). There are almost 3 million agricultural households and 30 percent of them had no reported income 2013 as figure 1 shows (Lehohla 2013a:12). About 22,9 percent lack education and the majority working in the sector is black.

Figure 1: Agricultural households annual income

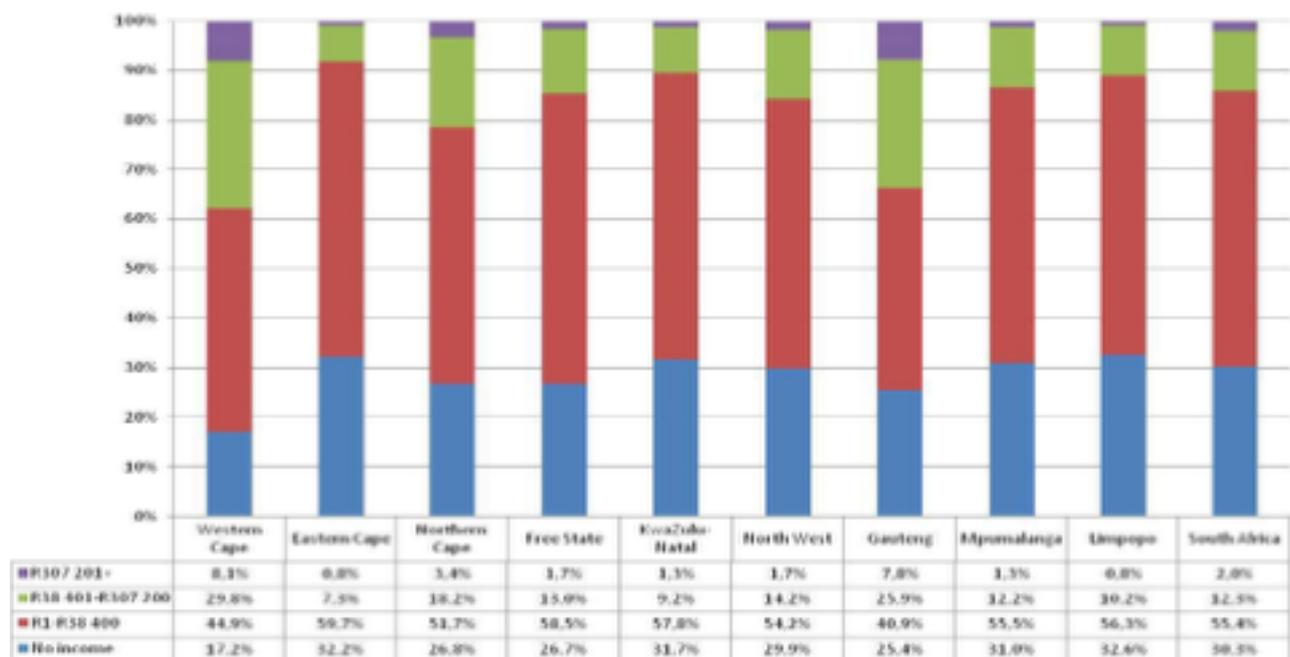


Figure 1. shows the agricultural households annual income in South Africa and its provinces (Source: Lehohla 2013a:4).

3.3 Media

The media landscape changed when South Africa became a democracy 1994. Many senior journalists were replaced by the younger generation and the juniorisation is ongoing. Ties between media and political parties broke and the media joined the competitive global marketplace with its increasing commercialization. The commercial pressure has resulted in less investigative journalism, informative political reporting and in-depth projects (Wasserman 2011: 799). In addition, a study of ten young groups from different regions showed this affects the readers' knowledge and willingness to act; asked if they had done something socially helpful because of media coverage, the response was that issues were highlighted in media, but follow-up steps were not adequate to get involved (Wasserman & Garman 2014: 403).

An increasing owner concentration and control followed the apartheid era. Also the commodification played a crucial role in the media's transformation. Advertisers became more important and alternative publications closed due to funding issues. At the same time the first attempt to establish an independent partnership between the private sector, civil society and government arose; in 1996, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) was introduced to ensure greater media diversity and assist community media (Pillay 2010: 168-173).

The regime used the South African Media Council to control and censor newspapers during apartheid. Since then a Press Ombudsman's Office has been established and later replaced by the Press Council of South Africa, in 2007. Both the Press Ombudsman's Office and the Press Council distance themselves from the previous South African Media Council. The current Council has generated much debate however and it is the main regulator of the press. The Print and Digital Media South Africa (PDMSA) is the council's representative body and even though not all publications are members of the PDMSA, most are and approximately 640 publications subscribe to its code. The Council functions as an independent co-regulatory body between the media and public. It obtains this function by reviewing the media's self-regulatory system, for example the Press Freedom Commission (Duncan 2014: 167-168).

Journals are struggling against time; fact-checking and investigating stories properly are disregarded under pressure. The Council's Press Ombudsman has received complaints of the media's lack of balance and context, accuracy and not letting people criticized by the media give their point of view (Duncan 2014: 168-169). The effectiveness of the media's self-regulation is criticized by the ruling ANC and it proposes the establishment of a statutory Media Appeals

Tribunal. The purpose of the tribunal, according to the government, would be to protect the rights of individuals, communities and society as a whole. The tribunal would enable them to put the press under justice when the media has made transgressions. There is tension between the press and the ANC leaders however and the press questions if the ANC's motives are pure. The press has exposed when ANC leaders have abused power and used it illegally which has strained their relationship. During apartheid, the press was regulated by the government and the press's capacity of investigation was affected. A fear that the tribunal is an attempt to reintroduce this statutory regulation is voiced by the press (Duncan 2014: 168-169; Wasserman 2011: 798).

The notion of race, hence if somebody has coloured, black or white skin, is part of the country's history. Its importance is receding, but is still reflected in the workforce and ownership of the media. Furthermore, the advertisers preference of communities witness that distinction of class remains. Media with a readership in rural areas, small towns or low-income communities have difficulty finding sufficient advertising. Hence, these areas are not covered well and residents are rarely heard in the public discourse. Also the size of publications' circulation, distribution area and notion of sympathies with certain movements affects the capacity to find advertisers (Pillay 2010: 170-173). Social and economic inequalities marks the society and this is reflected in the distribution of the media (Wasserman & Garman 2014: 393)

Moreover, the advertisers' preference of media with an audience consisting of middle to upper-class communities affects the manufacturing of news. Articles' angles and coverage of certain news, opinions and activities while not others are examples where a free agenda setting is constrained by commercialism. Pillay (2010: 171) argues that journalists' aim of independence from owners, government and powerful individuals and groups is not enough in a free market society to protect them from pressure and constrains from the surrounding. The increasing focus on entertainment rather than current affairs and quality news also shape the media landscape. This commodification is evident in South Africa and globally.

4 Method

When a researcher examines an issue from different angles and aspects the validity of the findings are assessed, according to Kaijser (2005: 26). Hence, I have chosen to look at the South African media's role when it comes to spreading information about social sustainability projects from two sides; the MFS is two folded with qualitative interviews with journalists and people managing social sustainability projects.

4.1 Qualitative interviews

In qualitative interviews it is possible to gain knowledge about individual's thoughts, ideas, norms, values and points of view. According to Fägerborg (2005: 61) the researcher is able to get insights about personal universes which are not reachable from the outside as an observer. Interviews are essential to trace cultural patterns and get knowledge about the interviewees.

Qualitative interviews are used rather than a quantitative approach as the study aims to distinguish behavior patterns within media organisations. According to Trost (2009: 14) a quantitative approach is advantageous when measuring occurrences and a qualitative approach when the ambition is to understand or find patterns. In qualitative interviews a researcher can obtain a deeper understanding of individuals' experiences and the answers are more complex (Trost 2009: 7). The intention with this study is to bring understanding and increase knowledge about how the South African media society looks at its role and interviews with journalists are therefore appropriate. Analysing media coverage for example would not give a well grounded view on how journalists look at their professional role as published material is influenced by external agents such as editors, advertisers and owners (see Theoretical framework 5.2).

4.2 Type of interviews and interviewees

Approximately 51 million persons live in South Africa and the country is home to many native tongues. Twelve official languages are recognized by the government and even though 77 percent of the population does not have English or Afrikaans as its first language the mainstream print press is dominated by these languages (Lehohla 2013b: 25). As a result, this thesis focuses on interviews with English and Afrikaans journalists.

The attempt to go through news editors and journalist associations to reach suitable interviewees failed as they did not want to give recommendations or respond. Therefore, I used Hanson's (2009: 154) method of creating a contact list by searching media websites and articles connected to my subject. I first emailed the journalists and then followed up with phone calls and more emails until I got a response. Moreover, I kept adding journalists to my list by asking the once I got in touch with if they knew somebody else whom I could speak to. In the end 30 journalists were contacted.

According to Hanson (2009: 152) most people want to speak about themselves and their experiences and many people answer questions for good manners. The majority of the journalists I contacted however did not say yes to an interview out of kindness; 20 declined because of personal

reasons, lack of interest and time or forgot our meeting and were not able to reschedule. As a result, ten journalists were interviewed 28 October to 1 December 2015 (see reference list for further details). The aim was to get variety of their workplace, work experience and gender. Eight interviewees work for different Afrikaans and English newspapers and two are freelancers. Both junior and senior journalists were included with work experience ranging from 5 to 35 years. One of the freelancers works for Swedish instead of South African newspapers. She was included as many journalists underlined global media issues and she could give a perspective from the outside.

The journalists, with one exception, had written about social sustainability projects. The investigative journalist at Mail & Guardian had not been active in the field. There are only two journalists from that newspaper in Western Cape and as he brought new insights to the thesis the interview was included. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, except three where Skype and FaceTime were used due to distance. Journalists worked at *Sunday Times*, *Son*, *Beeld*, *Die Burger*, *Cape Times*, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Weekend Argus*. The newspapers were chosen because of their distribution area, readership and variety of owners (for further details, see 8 Reference). The owners *The Times Media Group*, *Media24*, *Independent group* and *M&G Media Limited* were included.

Companies and NGOs were chosen because of their social work. Nine persons at seven companies and NGOs were interviewed. They have projects in line with the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act which was established 2003 to achieve sustainable development. It involves ownership, management, socioeconomic and skills development and gives black and coloured Africans privileges that were previously unavailable to them (Republic of South Africa 2004).

The original plan to focus on two companies and one NGO was not satisfactory to get a diverse view and understanding of the media's relation to the private sector working with projects. More companies and NGOs with different ambitions to approach the media were therefore added. One company that was intended to be included in the study did not show up for the interview. Since the farm was located 3.5 hours from Cape Town, the meeting was not rescheduled. All meetings were conducted in person at farms located in Western Cape, see figure 2.

Figure 2: Locations organisations and NGOs



Figure 2. shows a map of Western Cape with the location of Excelsior, De Bos, Graham Beck, Solms Delta Wine Estate, Lourensford Estate (Karsten Group), The Southern Cape Land Committee Trust and Women on Farm Project. (Source: Google Earth)

4.2.1 Companies and organisations

Excelsior grows wine grapes and citrus in Ashton and it provides for an extra school teacher, after care with sport activities and substitute 70 percent of a crèche in the community. It also gives the 65 permanent workers and their families houses on the farm and two hektars of irrigated land to grow vegetables. In 2017, an employers ownership programme will be in place. 20 hektar will be allocated to form a new company where 70 percent will be owned by the farm workers.

De Bos is a fairtrade vineyard in Wellington, owned by the Bosman family and The Adama Appollo Workers Trust. Since 1994, De Bos has initiated many social sustainability projects involving education, music practice and access to the choir, computer training, sport activities, dance school and men and women clubs. The 460 workers and their children also get help from the health and social workers on the farm.

Graham Beck has two vineyards and the first social sustainability projects were introduced 25 years ago. In 2007 the Graham and Rhona Beck Development trust was set up to provide education, skills development, land and housing initiatives and health care. 87 families live on the farms and they and the workers living in town get access to elderly houses, primary schools, crèches for babies,

aftercare center, extra school courses, training to handle money, a music school, choir and financial support for university studies. On the farms they also work against domestic violence, poverty and building relationships between sons and fathers. Furthermore, there is an Agribound project for children and grownups, some of which struggling with drugs and alcohol problems, to go camping and a skills training center with activities and training in various professions.

Solms Delta Wine Estate is a vineyard in Franschoek where the employees and people living on the farm own one-third stake in the estate's land and production business through the Wijn de caab trust. Profits in the trust goes to education, housing, health care, recreation such as music and sport and benevolence. 140 people live on the farm with a full time social worker who takes care of social and psychological problems and about 200 people benefit from the trust. In 2007 a Delta trust for all families in the community and valley was introduced to fund education, cultural, social and sporting programmes.

The Karsten group owns 17 fruit farms, manages an additional seven and another joint farm in Western and Northern Cape. Karsten group started social sustainability projects from the start, in 1968, and gives workers and their families housing with electricity and running water, social training, baby stimulation, nutrition and health training and education. There are social and health care workers on the farms to deal with issues such as domestic violence, drug and alcohol abuse. About 50 women that had worked on Newgro farm for 10 years got 40 percent shares of that land in 2012.

The NGO Southern Cape Land Committee Trust (SCLS) has worked with farmworkers and small scale farmers for 27 years. SCLC turns to rural women and men and is currently working on redistributing land to the poor and give them more control over natural resources. SCLS promotes ecological food gardens and the set-up of farmers' cooperatives with joint management, production and marketing. It aims to improve working and living conditions by educating workers of their rights and policies, link them to departments and support projects such as community gardens where women grow their food and talk about issues such as violence.

Women on farm project (WFP) is a rights based NGO working with vulnerable women living and working on commercial farms in Cape Wine lands and Northern Cape. WFP has trained farming women for 20 years about issues, farm dwellers' rights and agricultural food gardening. It works with structure building, which means that women from different areas and farms receive training to

be able to assist others in their neighborhood. WFP also works with case work like evictions, labour rights, abuses, gender based violence and gives paralegal support. It engages with government, supports campaigns such as one hektar per woman and lobbies to change land reforms.

4.3 Semi-structured interviews

The interviews with companies, NGOs and journalists were semi-structured. According to Trost (2011:42) this term has been questioned because of its broad meaning. To clarify, the interviews focused on a predetermined subject and question guides (see Appendix 9.1) were used to navigate. Many questions were of open kind to give the interviewees the opportunity to express their opinions and thoughts without feeling constrained. The purpose is to give the interviewees the chance to express themselves in their own way (Zoonen 1994:137). As the aim with the study is to bring understanding to how journalists look at their role and work environment, a more formalized interview was not chosen as it is not expected to give the interviewer as diverse and rich answers (Deacon *et al* 1999:66). The interviews were loosely controlled and the order of the questions in the guide was not followed to allow a natural flow in the conversations. To get more extensive information the respondents answers were also followed with questions that arose.

4.4 Analysis of collected data

To analyze the collected material, a shorter version of the respondents answers and quotes were transferred to a code templet (see Appendix 9.2) and divided into the 3 categories: the view on social sustainability projects, the journalists relation to companies/NGOs and the journalists' role. Despite the reduced amount of material, the essence of the answers were still clear which was essential (Esaiasson *et al* 2007:305). Trost (2009: 24) note that interviews on their own are not of importance in science; they have to be analysed within theoretical frameworks first. Hence, the code templet was complemented with comment sections after each question to connect answers to theories.

4.5 Reliability and validity of the study

The interviews were recorded and notes were taken. All respondents were informed of the purpose of the study and approved to be named. The notion of anonymity was only brought up once. One journalist did not want to answer questions that arose during the interview and afterwards I was informed of tension in the office. According to Esaiasson *et al* (2007:290), anonymity can affect the credibility of the source. With this in mind, I did offer anonymity in the parts she/he felt uncomfortable with, but it was turned down.

Interviews and archive material, such as newspaper articles, can be combined to verify the universal applicability of a study (Kaijser 2005: 26). Thus, to complement the qualitative analysis, a quantitative content analysis of articles mentioning the companies and NGOs social sustainability projects was conducted. Quantitative content analysis is an effective method for analysing large quantities of data (Nilson 2010: 121-123). The original plan of accessing coverage in print newspapers from the national library was not executed however as the archive has not been digitalised. Using search words to narrow down the material was therefore not possible and since many newspapers do not give access to old coverage online and some community papers have only a print version collecting data from the web was not a satisfactory option. For these reasons, the companies and NGOs article archives were used to collect data. The notion that the companies and NGOs could select news articles that only gave them good coverage was taken into consideration in the choice of variables analysed and a question in the interviews was dedicated to the appearance and amount of coverage given to social sustainability projects. In the end two companies did not keep their word and provide articles and consequently the analysis was incomplete and not representative; the quantitative content analysis was not included in the final draft.

5 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this study primarily consist of an analytical and normative concept of sustainable development, normative theories of the media and social responsibility theory. These theories are used to support and complement the findings of the study and put them in a wider perspective which will give a broader understanding of the media situation in South Africa.

According to McQuail (2005: 162) the media is a free society and not obliged, for the most part, to carry out many of the positively valued purposes which are associated with the industry. The media does not work on behalf of society and its formal responsibilities are similar to organisations and citizens. The media can avoid or choose different positive ends, as long as it does no harm. Nevertheless, there are unwritten obligations which are often respected in practice and can be traced in history, constitution and conduct of media institution.

5.1 Analytical and normative concept of sustainable development

There are many theories about sustainable development, hence I have chosen a normative perspective endorsed by the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Sustainable development is a concept for solving global problems and understanding the world. From a

normative point of view, the world is a complex interaction of social, economic, political and environmental systems. This thesis will focus on SDG's concerns regarding distribution of wellbeing, and not the environmental aspect and government function. The concerns are: extreme poverty, inequality, social mobility, discrimination and social cohesion (Sachs 2015). The companies and NGOs in this study have projects within this framework (see Method 4.2.1).

5.2 Normative theories of the media

McQuail (2005: 175) argues that journalists have an united ground for what is accepted in many regards in the profession. There is a sense of shared standards, irrespective of country, and the normative theory can be applied to the daily practice of journalism. It emphasizes what the media *should* do for society or behave in the wider public interest, rather than what it actually does. As I am conducting qualitative interviews instead of using published material to gain knowledge, the material for analysis will include information of what the journalists and people managing the social sustainability projects believe they should do. The theory covers purposes that media has chosen internally as well as external claims about how media should conduct itself (McQuail 2005: 162-3). The theory is relevant for this study as it refers to the responsibility of the press and ethics which are subjects the study aims to stress. It applies criteria of what is good or bad and certain norms and standards to the media's actions and defines expectations concerning the performance, conduct and structure (McQuail 2005: 192). The media has both internal and external relationships, see figure 3.

Figure 3: Media's relationships

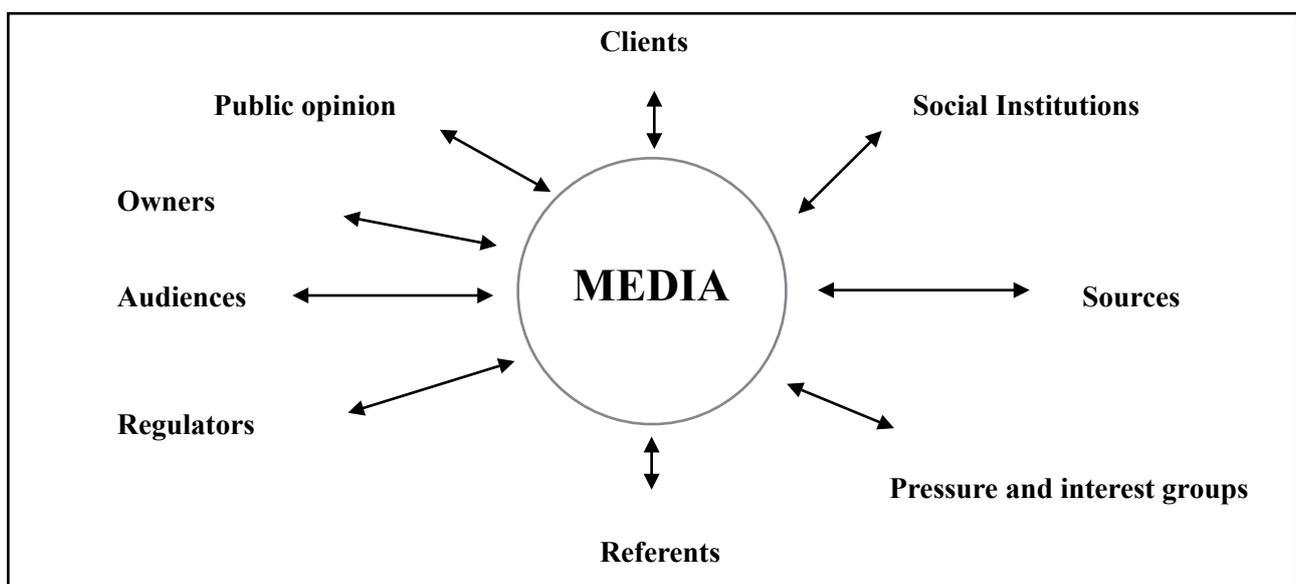


Figure 3. shows media's internal and external relationships (McQuail 2005: 210).

A normative role of journalism is collaboration which has a historical and pervasive roll. According to Christians *et al* (2009:196-7) journalists ought to collaborate with the state and powerful organisations. Nevertheless, the value of press freedom and autonomy is important to acknowledge. Any relationship where the media willingly participate characterizes collaboration. The journalists' view on this collaborative role is problematic; when a public justification can be made it is viewed as a public service and obligation while lack of commitment and weakness in other circumstances. The conditions for the media's collaborative role can be divided into three groups: compliance, acquiescence and acceptance (Christians *et al* 2009:199). According to the authors (2009: 200) media in developing countries usually plays a positive role to develop and modernize institutions and the nation which they work with. Christians *et al* (2009:201) writes: "From this perspective, responsibility tempers press freedom; journalists can question, even challenge, the state, but not to the point where they undermine a government's basic plans for progress and prosperity."

After the Apartheid period, normative expectations were formulated in the bill of rights and the South African media became self-regulated. In today's society in South Africa, social responsibility, freedom of expression and the public interest are evident normative values (Wasserman 2010: 242-243). In the academic world, normative frameworks co-exist with other ethical discourses such as ubuntu and communitarianism. Even though normative theories of the media spring from Western norms it is endorsed by African researchers. According to Wasserman (2011: 794- 795) the context in which they are used in Africa and the West may not always correspond however. To reduce different interpretations of my findings and misunderstandings, I will use examples to demonstrate my conclusions.

5.3 Social responsibility theory

The normative theory can be applied to the daily practice of journalism as journalists worldwide have a sense of shared standards as mentioned before (McQuail (2005: 175). The media's form and purposes it serves have not a collective ground however; according to Siebert *et al* (1963: 1-2) media reflects the system of social control whereby relations of the country's institutions and individuals are adjusted. To be able to systematically understand the media it is essential to acknowledge these aspects of the media, the authors believe.

The social responsibility theory developed as a response to the growing monopoly of the media market. The theory is valid in societies where few media owners and managers have power over the press. This media owner concentration is evident in today's South Africa (see Background 4.3).

Siebert *et al* (1963: 4-5) comment that they are not political rulers, with a few exceptions. Instead they protect the media against the government. Nevertheless, this does not signify that the centralization of power is unproblematic. Which people, facts and versions of the facts that reach the public is determined by a few powerful people. The theory imposes that they have an obligation to be socially responsible, let all sides be fairly presented and inform the public so it can form an opinion. If the media does not take on this responsibility, another agency may have to reinforce it.

The social responsibility theory provides key journalistic standards that the press should seek to maintain. General moral principles relating to justice and truth are stated. Furthermore, the theory includes the right of the people and society to have a free press (McQuail 2010: 170). Siebert *et al* (1963: 74-5) remark: "Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under our government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society".

The theory is an Anglo- American concept which stems from the report *A Free and Responsible Press* conducted by the Commission on Freedom of the Press after the Second World War. The commission emphasizes five requirements of the press (Siebert *et al* (1963: 87-92):

- The press should provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning.
- The press serves as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.
- The press projects a presentative picture of the constituent groups in society.
- The press is responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society.
- The press should provide full access to the day's intelligens.

Cammaerts and Carpentier (2007: 152) stress nonetheless that ideologies that circulate in society change over time and they influence the media and vice versa. The media organisations and journalists are not situated outside ideology. Nevertheless, studies have showed that post- apartheid, South African journalists' ethical thinking is influenced by the principles in the report (Wasserman & de Beer 2007: 41). In this study I will therefore investigate if the journalists I interview also

express these thoughts. As mentioned in Background 3.3 journalists are pressured and constrained by their surrounding which is also important to take into account.

5.4 Previous studies of the South African media

5.4.1 Media freedom and responsibility

Herman Wasserman discusses press freedom and journalists' responsibilities in the article *Political journalism in South Africa as a developing democracy – understanding media freedom and responsibility*, published 2010 in *Communicatio* Volume 36 (240-251). The qualitative analysis is based on 30 semi-structured interviews with journalists, intermediaries and politicians from ruling and opposing parties. These actors have central roles in the political communication process and their discourse around media's role is explored in the article. Wasserman emphasizes three main themes: Changes in freedom of expression, main threats to freedom of expression and press freedom today, and media responsibility.

The first theme involves changes in freedom of expression after apartheid's downfall, which was apparent among journalists, intermediaries and politicians. They had a united view on the media's amplified freedom and stressed the role of press freedom and watchdog organisations. Despite watchdog organisations' protection of constitutional freedom, journalists and intermediaries worried press freedom is under political and economic pressure however. Due to increasingly commercialized and commodified dispensations, the poor population can no longer access information and channels of communication. Hence, commercial interests hamper media freedom and the public's knowledge and interests.

The second theme entails the political and economic threats and lack of investigative journalism which affects the freedom of expression and press freedom. Several respondents stressed direct and indirect political influences on media such as ANC's proposal to establish laws that enable pre-publication censorship and editorial material being influenced by government. Economic threats include increased commercialization, reduced funding from foreign countries which alternative media depends on and investment of foreign capital which gives rise to conglomerates. As a result, the social and political elite's interests are taken into account to increase profits, according to intermediaries on the left. Alternative media and grassroots community media is demised with monopolization and investigative reporting has been affected by juniorisation and preference of glamorous and sexy news stories of interest to the elite, according to several journalists.

Furthermore, respondents found that entertainment and infotainment are favoured and issues that require more efforts from reporters and are relevant to the poor are neglected.

The final theme includes the media responsibility as a corollary of freedom, smokescreen for control and its role as opposition to government. The actors acknowledged that press freedom comes with responsibilities such as transparency, accuracy to people's reputation and dignity, accountability and avoidance of incitement to harm and violence. Whether media succeeds in this regard evoked mixed opinions. Some respondents stressed the importance of restraints of press freedom in stereotyping racism and xenophobia, and constitutional injunction against hate speech. Media responsibility as a kind of self-censorship also evoked resistens. Protection of human rights and social well-being of the community were normative values mentioned by journalists and their own ideal roles are detachment and balance against government. They view accuracy, truth-telling, objectivity and balance as their responsibilities. The notion of responsibility can also become a smokescreen for government to put pressure on media to act in a certain way, according to some journalists, intermediaries and opposition politicians. ANC does not have a major opposition party and several respondents emphasized media's responsibility as an alternative powerful institution.

5.4.2 Media bias

In Wasserman's article above, respondents stress the demise of alternative and grassroots community media, and the neglect coverage of issues relevant to the poor. These observations are also emphasized by Steven Friedman (2011: 106-121) in an article published in *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. In the article *Whose freedom? South Africa's press, middle-class bias and the threat of control*, Friedman discusses media bias against the poor black majority.

The author uses critical scrutiny on press coverage and highlights lack of coverage on several occasions; "The evidence of bias comes from elsewhere — it is derived less from what the mainstream press writes, than what it ignores," (Friedman: 110). Friedman focuses on print mainstream commercial media and compares coverage relevant to the middle-class and poor.

In the article, several examples illustrate when journalists are indifferent to issues regarding property rights and protests of people in poorer cities while paying attention to the suburban white middle-class. White protests get extensive coverage with analysis and reports while black protests are often unnoticed. When protests in poorer cities are covered, the reporting remains sparse and Friedman observed that journalists' scrutiny of the disturbances are not rigorous. The activities in

the suburban and poorer cities generate different reactions among journalists. Columnists express more concern and strong emotion after incidents where white middle-class people are victims than poor black people.

Friedman concludes that media's understanding on freedom is restricted: "In reality, it [the media] informs only some citizens of only some realities. Evidence that the freedom which it seeks to preserve is that of the middle class is derived from its propensity to ignore the experiences and perspectives of people outside its suburban world — even where this reporting would confirm its own values and concerns," (110).

6 Result and Analysis

This section presents the results of the study. To understand the media situation and the journalists' role it is essential to first explore their view on social sustainability projects. This section has three main categories: Views on social sustainability projects, journalists relation to NGOs and companies and finally the media's role.

6.1 Social sustainability projects

6.1.1 Are they necessary?

The journalists, except one, expressed that social sustainability projects are essential. Four linked issues communities face to apartheid and colonization and two believed the need for projects is greater today than pre-apartheid. According to freelancer Kim Cloete, social sustainability projects tend to get different sides of the community together. She believed this is important to get a better understanding between black and white. Some journalists mentioned historically unethical practices on farms such as payment in wine and lack of education to farm worker children. They described a rarely broken cycle of children growing up on farms and staying there. Three journalists emphasized need of social projects due to failing health remedies and education.

These observations were also confirmed by companies and NGOs. They described poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse and domestic violence as struggles on farms. Amanda Du Plessis at Karsten group, which manages 25 farms in Western and Northern Cape, recounted that the previous owner of a farm they recently bought had given the farm workers wine when they worked longer hours.

We were shocked. We didn't know about it when we bought the farm. It's illegal, but here and there they still do it. People [the farm workers] actually insists on rather taking stuff like that.

Amanda Du Plessis (Karsten group)

Women on Farm Project (WFP) and Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC) described women sharing health remedies in rural areas, the need of organisation and access to food gardens. There are mini protests every day and massive unemployment issues.

The amount of challenges that can be addressed is so huge, every day you see this in our country, that it is only inevitable that businesses and the private sector gets involved because ultimately a stable country means stability and growth for business.

Yazeed Kamaldien (Argus Weekend)

Yazeed Kamaldien expressed the need of the private sector for the country to develop. He believed that profiting companies have a moral responsibility even if they are not obliged to contribute to the development which also benefit them. When farms give children education, educated employees can later be employed. *Mail & Guardian's* Stefaans Brümmer did not think this is enough though.

It's a drop in the ocean. There is so much inequality in South Africa that in the end you have to find more sustainable solutions than a few progressive business people saying "okey I'm going to share what happens to be mine, with others."

Stefaans Brümmer (Mail & Guardian)

Sunday Times' Carlos Amato suggested the state, laborers and engineers should work together to make their future sustainable and give workers hope for a real future. Both Yazeed Kamaldien and *Die Burger's* Malani Venter put emphasis on government's inability to face struggles alone due to lack of organisation and the economic situation.

A lot of people think oh the government must do this and this and they are waiting for them to do that and it's impossible to help everybody so programmes like these are a wonderful way of showing what can be done.

Malani Venter (Die Burger)

This notion was also recognized by companies. Mossie Bosson at Graham Beck said they can not wait for government to make a change and Amanda Du Plessis at Karsten group pointed out that problems are too widespread for the government to provide social workers to deal with the masses.

In brief, most journalists acknowledged social sustainability projects are essential to tackle development issues. On farms people struggle with poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse, domestic violence and access to health remedies. Struggles can be traced to apartheid and colonialism and some journalists and companies emphasized the governments inability to attend to problems alone.

6.1.2 Forced or voluntary?

Many journalists mentioned projects they had read about or covered that had reduced poverty and inequality. The journalists' explanations for the farmers' initiatives differed. The majority believed that some farmers want to be part of the transformation and make life better for their workers. This reason was given by all companies and they often used the words empower, uplift and motivate workers. The journalists also expressed that it is necessary for the redistribution function; give workers dignity, a hope for the future, skills, shares, education and a real chance for children. Six journalists expressed the importance of projects to safeguard the future of the farmers of the land. Without sustainable projects the rural areas are going nowhere, so it is a form of survival, they believed. This was also confirmed by the companies who expressed the importance of happy and loyal workers as well as a functioning community for business to be sustainable.

Seven of ten journalists believed that farmers feel external and internal pressure. Internal pressure from demanding farm workers that are aware of their human rights. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter highlighted that workers sometimes initiates projects and farmers help them along the way. Over the years the government has made statements of implementing more land distribution and forcing shared ownership. This external pressure is similar to the situation in Zimbabwe and *Son's* Colin Hendricks pointed out that some farmers want to do it on their own terms, instead of the government imposing it on them through for example the BBBEE-act.

The external pressure on farmers was acknowledged by the companies. They had began their projects before the BBBEE-act however and spend more on social work than the legislation requires. Three companies said they link their social work to BBBEE and two said they feel pressure. Peter De Wet at Excelsior explained he would struggle otherwise; to get a liquor license a certain amount of points on the score card is required and other businesses in the area are looking for projects because they are forced to. Charlotte Van Zyl at Solms Delta said that the legislation is good because co-ownership of perviously disadvantaged people and more advantaged people is the way to go. At Karsten group the legislation was a puch towards the Newgro project which has given previously vulnerable black and coloured women 40 percent of the farmland.

As a white farmer you can't get water rights in South Africa. You don't get it. So the black people have to apply for the water rights. So the land was there and there were no water rights so we could either make a project out of it and get them to get water or just leave the lands. So it was just common sense to do a project.

Zelda Van Dyk (Karsten group)

Seven journalists highlighted that BBBEE and projects are not always successful or affective. Sometimes the projects are directed in the wrong area and does not lead to deeper change.

It's an excellent idea as long as it's well managed. But sometimes companies can put their money somewhere and they don't direct it properly enough. So it tends to go to the wrong areas or like a one of, like a sports day, you know something that wont lead to deeper change.

Kim Cloete (Freelancer)

The intention might have been good with the act, but it has created a black elite with ties in government instead of benefitting poor people, said many journalists, the NGOs and one company. *Son's* Colin Hendricks acknowledged that many people dislike BBBEE, but that it is needed to reduce the large divisions between the white, black and coloured in society.

The BBE is here to stay. It needs to stay for quite some time because a lot of communities need to be empowered and given the same level and enjoy the same benefits that other communities have in South Africa.

Colin Hendricks (Son)

In brief, the companies expressed they have social sustainability projects to uplift, empower and motivate their workers and most of the journalist agreed that some farmers have these intentions. Seven of ten journalists highlighted that farmworkers and government push farmers to be socially responsible and companies recognized this external pressure and two expressed they feel pressured by it. Many journalists mentioned unsuccessful projects and flaws with the government's BBBEE.

6.2 Journalists relation to NGOs and companies

6.2.1 How is information exchanged?

Journalism has external relationships, which the normative theory recognizes (McQuail 2005: 210). The journalists said that they do not come across obstacles when they approach companies and NGOs with good examples. When they want to write positive stories the communication therefore goes smoothly. Many companies and NGOs have communication staff described as helpful, positive, supportive, open to talk and answering questions. *Beeld's* Elise Tempelhoff concluded that her relation with companies and NGOs is very different though. NGOs alert her about what is going on and they are critical. The communication with companies have hiccups however; they say and do different things and it is not always the truth. She gave an example of a gold mining company claiming it was socially responsible even though it got rid of sick workers which she did not consider to be responsible behavior. Freelancer Kim Cloete also remarked on some companies'

tendency to blow up projects to show they are doing good. They tell her about their corporate social responsibility projects, but not as much about the deeper because they might not be doing so much work on the ground.

Rita Andreas at De Bos said she asked newspapers to publish articles about them when they achieve something or when something is going to happen on the farm. Peter De Wet at Excelsior said he will not write articles or letters to the press however, but recognized the option is available. Zelda Van Dyk at Karsten group commented that they won't go to the press either and say they want journalists to do an article about them.

Carmen Louw at WFP said that the media contacts them for an opinion or statement when something is happening in the agriculture industry. After the farm workers strike the conditions of farm workers are more in the news and WFP is the only NGO that focuses on gender dynamics in the agriculture sector. The government also wants their view on different issues.

Three journalists did not think that they have enough knowledge about ongoing projects and four said they are informed because of their profession. The journalists get informed by email, phone calls, press releases, social media, websites, communication sites, public hearings and events about companies' and NGOs' social projects. Paula Wilson at Solms Delta has kept media up to date about the farm and projects and many journalists contact her as a result of information she has given them over the years. She described it as a relationship that she builds and push and effectively wants it to a stage where she is the first port of call from a press person in anything related to what she has put out.

The government and people the journalists meet on the field also keep them updated. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter previously worked in the district office instead of in town and pointed out that information is collected in different ways depending on where she is based. In Stellenbosch she was more on the road, in the community, among people, attending functions and meetings.

Journalists experienced problems in the communication when they wanted to uncover problems on farms.

Farmers are open when they can show good examples. Then they let you visit their farm. Not when there are bad things to uncover however. That's harder to observe.

Stefaans Brümmer (Mail & Guardian)

Son's Colin Hendricks described companies responding fast with long answers, photos and extra information when they are used as good case studies. When readers have contacted him with complaints, the response from companies take longer and answers are shorter. He and *Cape Times'* Melanie Gosling expressed frustration about companies precautions and requirement of emailed questions. Colin Hendricks said that answers that reach him have usually crossed communication staff, managers and bosses to make sure the answers are 100 percent perfect. In his view, they sound rehearsed and boring; they have lost the authenticity and are flat. The answers are not as broad as they would have been if they had met face to face or spoken over the phone.

It's difficult because you can't just phone a communication officer and say please tell me about this talk to me. And they say send me an email with your questions and then that person will send it to whoever it is and then they have to send it to the boss to sign it and correct it... you never get an answer the same day.. sooo it's very slow and when they do answer you have another question which emerges from it and so on. But then you can't say immediately that I don't understand this or... so the communication is not good.

Melanie Gosling (*Cape Times*)

One company also expressed problems which contradicts one of the requirements of the press according to the social responsibility theory: The press should serve as a forum for exchange of comment and criticism. Rita Andreas at De Bos described the treatment she received when she wanted to correct bad coverage which she did not believe was truthful of a farm.

One of the guys [workers] put some bad things in the newspaper. The farmworkers want to correct it. And then I phone that same newspaper and ask them: will you please come back and write a positive story from the workers side? And they didn't want to do it. **Why?** Because they've published a negative story and now they have to correct it and they don't want to do that. So then we used another newspaper to write the good story.

Rita Andreas (De Bos)

Mossie Basson at Graham Beck and Paula Wilson at Solms Delta could recall one occasion when their social work got negative publicity or information was incorrect and the errors were corrected after they contacted the newspapers. Peter De Wet at Excelsior also engage with journalists if they make statements that are out of line or incorrect. In his experience other farmers and farming communities he has spoken to do not engage with media though because it is not seen as a friend.

In brief, the companies engage with journalism when experiencing injustice which is in line with the social responsibility theory's requirement of the press as a forum for exchange of comment and criticism. Still, one company did not believe the press wanted to acknowledge its wrong doing. The journalists also experienced less assistance from companies and NGOs when scrutinizing criticized examples rather than good examples. They got knowledge about projects directly from companies, NGOs and government by email, phone calls and press releases. Also information posted on social media, websites and communication sites as well as communicated at public hearings, events and meetings with the public reached them. The NGOs and some companies said they approach journalists regularly to get coverage about their social work while others did not want to use the press for this purpose.

6.2.2 Media knowledge?

A problem that six journalists experienced is companies and NGOs inability to communicate effectively with media. They highlighted two main reasons: The companies and NGOs do not have the information the journalists want or they are unable to present information properly. Kim Cloete called for more collaboration between NGOs so they can collectively contact media. The journalists described how they get an overflow of emails and information which will not become news. Due to poorly crafted press releases and companies' and NGOs' lack of knowledge of what makes news.

Sometimes the press releases are so long and they don't get to the point. So what can happen is that you delete it or you just close it and go on because it's too long information. I don't know what they are trying to say.

Malani Venter (Die Burger)

Rosa-Linda Kock at SCLC recognized that in terms of media it is very weak; it is unable to get journalists to attend events and publish letters written by them and an information manager will be appointed for these reasons. Solms Delta has had a full-time publicist from the start and is frequently in the media spotlight.

From a PRs point of view it's just about, it's like riding a raze horse. It's about knowing when to let it go, when to hold it back. It's about not over doing it so you put too much out and it's about what to put out, when, how much to put out and say.

Paula Wilson (Solms Delta)

Journalists said that they want information about the impact, the effects and what is new. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter commented that press releases are often sugar coded; a lot of irrelevant

information for the news is given instead of getting to the point. *Weekend Argus's* Yazeed Kamaldien believed companies and NGOs should give it more thought. Inform him about what they are doing, not what they are going to do. *City Press's* Sizwe Yende remarked that in his experience companies with previous journalists as communicators do better at spreading information in an interesting way. In his view, employees responsible for public relations without media training could explain the lack of media understanding. *Son's* Colin Hendricks issued more knowledge among companies and NGOs about the market and who they are targeting.

Furthermore, many journalists pointed out that they are often contacted when there is no story to be told. The news, the unusual, the different is missing. *Weekend Argus's* Yazeed Kamaldien, *Cape Times's* Melanie Gosling and *Die Burger's* Malani Venter commented that they are contacted because NGOs and companies want to get financial support from media coverage and underlined that they will not give free advertisement. It is not their role to inform potential funders or investors of companies' and NGOs' work. From the perspective of normative theories of the media this signifies that they can not make a public justification of such collaboration. It would be seen as a weakness and lack of commitment. Furthermore their response indicates that they do not see the collaboration as a public service or obligation on their part (Christians *et al* 2009:196-7).

Peter De Wet at Excelsior commented that a lot of people use social projects to increase sells and Rosa- Linda Kock described how SCLC need media coverage for sustaining the NGO financially.

We, I think, are doing fine, but one of our problems are that we're not showcasing ourselves. And for us it's important because if you now approach funders they want to see your media presens and it's difficult because we don't have it. Media is not just in terms of showing our work, but also in the terms of sustaining the organisation. It is difficult if you don't have the resources, or human capacity of someone solely responsible to do that.

Rosa-Linda Kock (SCLC)

Three companies emphasized that social work should not be used as a marketing tool and believed it is a big problem when people uses it as a showcase. It breaks the trust and you lose the impact, according to Mossie Basson at Graham Beck.

We are definitely not gonna use it as a marketing tool, that is not why we do it. It isn't a marketing tool, it's a genuin concern, a genuin feeling, it's something we love to do and as long as we've got funds we will do it and if we don't have funds anymore we will probably find another way of doing it.

Mossie Basson (Graham Beck)

Paula Wilson at Solms-Delta had a different view however. She said it is not a PR priority, but commented that when stories are told more people realize and hopefully see the benefit of supporting the farm. She said many locals and tourists feel passionately about the farm because of what it has done and tries to achieve.

In brief, this section has demonstrated that covering projects to give funders and investors knowledge about NGOs and companies work is not part of the journalists' role. This contradicts Christians *et al's* (2009: 200) notion that the media in developing nations usually play a positive role to develop and modernize both the institutions and the whole nation. Three interviewed journalists underlined they do not work with advertisement and some companies expressed it is wrong to use social work as marketing. Six journalists also highlighted that good projects are sometimes unnoticed by media due to poorly crafted press releases and lack of media knowledge among companies and NGOs.

6.3 Media's role

6.3.1 Of news value?

The press should present and clarify the goals and values of society, according to the social responsibility theory (Siebert *et al* (1963: 87-92). This correspond with the journalists and their newspapers way of valuing stories about social sustainability projects. If they are relevant, they are covered. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter and freelancer Kim Cloete highlighted stories that bring change to someones perspective, uplift the communities and improves the readers understanding are news worthy. *Cape Times'* Melanie Gosling brought up projects that enable people to learn, capacity building, as more interesting than a notion of organisations. When a project can set an example to others and contribute to a better society, was agreed among many journalists as a news worthy story.

I value them highly because I think that's what we need in South Africa really. Because we may not be able to always give somebody a job, but you can always give them something to believe in you know. A bit of hope.

Kim Cloete (Freelancer)

They can not cover all projects due to the great extent. *Weekend Argus's* Yazeed Kamaldien described a fatigue, a tiredness, in the newsroom. It has become boring, he claimed, because there are many stories that are not relevant at the time, different or unique. At the moment highschool students take their exams and because of the media focus on that, projects that can be linked to them can also get covered. At another time of the year, these projects would not get the media's attention.

How often these stories should be in the paper, that only depends on the news value of it, because I'm in the business of news, my work is news.

Yazeed Kamaldien (Weekend Argus)

If the press gives a representative picture of the constituent groups in society, which the social responsibility theory requires, can be questioned with this statement. The journalists were asked to appreciate how often their newspapers write about these projects and the number ranged from once or twice a week to once or twice a month. The latter was the case according to Malani Venter at Die Burger and she linked this to space in the paper.

It doesn't mean that stories like this, social stories, are not important for us. But to give them any justice we must write longer and that is just impossible to do more often in a newspaper.

Malani Venter (Die Burger)

The press, from a social responsibility perspective, should provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning (Siebert *et al* 1963: 87-92). Malani Venter has experienced that her stories about social sustainability projects have not got the recognition she feels they deserve however; she described how some stories are on the front page, 2000 word stories which are presented beautifully, while other times they are shorter articles in the corner of the paper on page 5 or 6 where they do not grab the reader.

In Kim Cloete's experience, the market is not very generous to these stories. She works as a freelancer and has to persuade editors because the stories are not urgent or seen as scoops. Hard news are seen as more important because good news do not sell as well. Bad news get more hits online, more subscribers and more advertisers. She believed it is universal and readers are used to the negative focus in media. Malani Venter did not agree with this assumption; there have been debates among the readers for years about too much negativity in the paper.

Paula Wilson explained a lot of coverage about Solms Delta and its farm workers happens on the back of negative news; when journalists write about farms that are not doing anything they also want to write and interview people at other farms. That the press should provide full access to the day's intelligens is supported with this statement (Siebert *et al* (1963: 87-92).

So there were a lot of negative in the press so then I would either email or telephone or if I was at the media premises I would chat to various journalists that we've got a close relationship with, and suggest angles to them that looks at it from a positive way.

Paula Wilson (Solms Delta)

Son is the only newspaper with a section dedicated to good news which was introduced a few years ago after readers complained about the negative focus. *Son's* Colin Hendricks put forward that other newspapers could follow and Carlos Amato at *Sunday Times* expressed the same train of thought. He reasoned that papers should have pages dedicated to these issues, but acknowledged that South Africa does not have a shortage of news and space in papers is an issue which *Die Burger's* Malani Venter, *Beeld's* Elise Tempelhoff and *Cape Times's* Melanie Gosling also commented on.

Because we're struggling to survive in South Africa. We've a huge struggle to survive. We don't have water at the moment, I don't know whether you're aware of that. We have pollution problems. We have huge problems of migration, of people moving into the cities. On infrastructure that breaks, that leaks. You know, just breaks. So in 40 folds in the paper, there is not much room for sustainability projects. But we do have it.

Elise Tempelhoff (Beeld)

Malani Venter described how editors often prioritize hard news over human interest stories. They are seen as more important and urgent while human interest stories can be used longer. This feeling was not shared with *City Press's* Sizwe Yende; he said stories about social sustainability projects are not breaking news, but he usually did not come across any problems pitching the ideas to his editor.

There is not one type of journalist writing about social sustainability projects. *Mail & Guardian* is the only newspaper with a social justice reporter. The other newspapers do not have one person dedicated to these kinds of stories. Some of the journalists mentioned that general news writers, feature writers and younger journalists often take on the job even though everybody has the option. Freelancer Kim Cloete commented that many journalists who grow up in the concerned areas write about them. She also said that the journalists that write about these projects make an effort. They care and it is reflected in the coverage.

The *Son's* readers belong to the low income audience and they want to read about these kinds of stories, according to Colin Hendricks. Many of his readers do not have jobs and they are the ones who benefit from the social sustainability projects and BBBEE. They get empowered and uplifted by them. He acknowledged that other newspapers have a different readership with other lifestyles and they do not want to read about some project that does not affect them. Freelancer Kim Cloete has similar experiences; it is harder for her to sell articles to newspapers with an higher income readership than to community papers or tabloid with a low income readership such as *Son* and *Daily Voice*. They are more in touch with the communities, in her view. If the press projects a representative

picture of the constituent groups in society, which the social responsibility theory emphasizes, can be discussed with these declarations.

Weekend Argus's Yazeed Kamaldien also supported the previous observation and said community papers writes more about social sustainability projects than mainstream media. His newspaper focuses more on the macro than micro level and he believed his readers want to know about bigger news and the stronger stories that have an impact on them.

Our readers don't want to read every week about a soup kitchen, a farming project, illiteracy project, you know all these kind of things. Our readers maybe want to read about what the president is saying about the economy. Our readers want to read about the minister of housing and the progress in terms of whether we are dealing with the housing crisis in South Africa.

Yazeed Kamaldien (Weekend Argus)

Most journalists emphasized the importance of showing reality and their role to give hard, bad and good news. This supports the social responsibility perspective that the press should provide full access to the day's intelligens. The journalists also commented that a lot happens in society that have to be covered and Swedish freelancer Görrel Espelund underlined that news have to focus on issues that need to be fixed in the country.

Telling good news stories in South Africa is never easy because, you know, the media is primed to find what is going wrong because things are going wrong. Lots of things go wrong. So there is so much bad news to compete with and dramatic news. So much is happening in this country so it's difficult to get a message across of a small project that is going well.

Carlos Amato (City Press)

Freelancer Kim Cloete, *Die Burger's* Malani Venter and *Beeld's* Elise Tempelhoff would like to write more about social projects and Carlos Amato commented that it is problematic when effective projects are unnoticed. There is always more that we need than there is capacity, *Mail & Guardian's* Stefaans Brümmer said. In his view, newspapers country wide and probably world wide have this problem. Görrel Espelund supported this argument; Swedish newspapers express interest when she pitches human interest stories from South Africa, but are sometimes unable to pay for the coverage. Moreover, she had noticed many South African newspapers' focus on cheaper coverage such as stories about politics, crime and negative news rather than finding own news stories though field work or investigation. Rosa-Linda Kock at SCLC said media looks at rural areas to report on murders and crime, but not the positives.

We don't do a lot of that [coverage of people outside the city]. We do now and then if something happens in reactions to.. if for example farm workers go on strike and there is violence everybody goes out to the rural areas. Not really enough of that. Not enough of let's go out and find out what's going on without a news event. Just curiosity.

Melanie Gosling (Cape Times)

Once again journalism does not meet the social responsibility theory's requirement of giving a presentative picture of the constituent groups in society which also researcher Wasserman (2010) and Friedman (2011) concluded, see section Previous studies of South African media. Issues that require more efforts from reporters and are relevant to the poor majority are neglected; Carmen Louw at WFP commented that media usually covers their actions in parliament and Cape Town, but not when they are in the rural areas. Melanie Gosling at *Cape Times* described her connection and access to copies written by journalists in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Kimberly working for other newspapers in the same media group. She said she delivers 2-3 stories a day and has not enough time for investigation since her stories need to be handed in early and space is limiting.

Usually I just focus on the issue. They haven't rehabilitated a mine or there is no money for that or that kind of thing. I don't really go further than that because what can you say in 450 words? And you've got other stories to write as well so.

Melanie Gosling (Cape Times)

Beeld's Elise Tempelhoff also highlighted time as an issue. Nevertheless, *Son's* Colin Hendricks did not find these kinds of stories time consuming; they are very straight forward, can be done easily and it is not necessary to find someone with an opposing opinion. *Sunday Times's* Carlos Amato, *Die Burger's* Malani Venter and *Cape Times's* Melanie Gosling mentioned cost and demand for more staff as problems in the news work when it comes to reporting about these projects.

Carlos Amato described that grassroots stories are difficult to get through in the paper and Melanie Gosling requested more in- depth and investigative journalism. In her view the coverage has become more superficial and official.

I think it's a huge problem. We're a young democracy and a lot has changed in society in such a short period of time. And without a free and open press that's a problem and government's attempts to clump down on the freedom of the press. And without well resourced journalists to keep on investigating, we'll never really gonna get stuff like corruption exposed. And that's also a problem. And with well resourced I mean with enough people, enough money and above all enough time which we just don't get.

Melanie Gosling (Cape Times)

Some media groups are ANC friendly and they get support from the government, two journalists said. Swedish freelancer Görrel Espelund and *Mail & Guardian's* Stefaans Brümmer mentioned that *Cape Times'* previous editor was fired after she criticized ANC. The ruling party challenges press freedom and they described the new editor as more government friendly which is reflected in the coverage. This supports Christians *et al's* (2009:201) argument that journalists can question and challenge the state, but not undermine its plans of progress and prosperity.

In brief, these observations are in line with Wasserman's findings in his qualitative study (2010); journalists and intermediaries expressed press freedom is constrained by economic and political pressure. In addition, the section shows that the South African press presents and clarifies goals and values of society, which is in line with the social responsibility theory. Many journalists agreed that projects that contributes to society and can be role models to others are news worthy and valued by them and newspapers. Five journalists highlighted that space in the paper is an issue and some commented that hard news are prioritized. Readership, time period and location also determines if newspapers chose to cover projects or not; community papers and low income newspapers are generally more dedicated to these stories than mainstream as the readers are affected by them. As a result some groups are not represented in some papers which the social responsibility theory emphasizes that they should.

6.3.2 News angle?

Four journalists said social sustainability projects are generally put in a positive light and nine journalists would approach the story from an human interest angle; focus on the people behind the news and how they or the community have changed which grabs the reader.

"I think we need the human interest. Because people need to understand that other people are being affected. And if they understand that, then we can help the society to relate to each other. Then it isn't just about numbers, statistics or money. But it's about people and that is what we do as journalists. We write about people."

Yazeed Kamaldien (Weekend Argus)

Yazeed Kamaldien said good coverage shows the human conditions, impact and connect them to social issues; patterns can emerge: the political situation influences how people and organisations spend money and the structures in communities. *Mail & Guardian's* Stefaans Brümmer was the only one who would approach stories from a critical perspective, investigate if people on the ground really benefit. Yazeed Kamaldien and freelancer Kim Cloete would use the projects as case studies.

You can do them in a creative kind of way. A case study or something about someone who has done amazing work, or the little role model in the community. Build the whole story around that. It doesn't have to be dry and boring, you know.

Kim Cloete (Freelancer)

Son's Colin Hendricks and Yazeed Kamaldien commented that articles about projects sometimes come across as advertisement in community papers and newspapers. They appear as press releases and companies logos are on display in the pictures; they lack investigation, interrogation and extra questions. Colin Hendricks said he as well as many of his readers would not read these kinds of articles.

Because I get the press releases as well. I'm a journalist and I open a newspaper sometimes and I see the press release in the newspaper. The same press release that's in my inbox, in my email. In the newspaper. I'm not saying that this is something bad, but this is not journalism.

Yazeed Kamaldien (Weekend Argus)

That the press should provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning, is here acknowledged. Colin Hendricks and Yazeed Kamaldien expressed the importance of finding the news angle: what is happening, what is new. *Sunday Times'* Carlos Amato believed journalists need to find new ways of writing about the stories, new ways of telling them. It takes skills and effort and much get past because newspapers have so much to cover and as a result people do not know what is going on, according to him.

I think there is a dialogue shortage of information and well presented, and imaginative presented, information about projects like this and kinda a failure on imagination on business, and readers and media who present the case for business.

Carlos Amato (Sunday Times)

Five journalists would chose to incorporate BBBEE in their stories. Freelancer Kim Cloete described she notices that journalists are nervous about using BBE or BBBEE as it is seen as boring, dull and politically correct; a theoretical thing that people can not relate to which is a real problem, in her view. Two journalists said BBBEE often gets negative coverage and one that it is put in a quite neutral light.

Yazeed Kamaldien and *Beeld's* Elise Tempelhoff would not use a BBBEE angle. Yazeed Kamaldien said it is for the business reporters and Elise Tempelhoff said her readers do not want to read about it as it is not working. *Cape Times'* Melanie Gosling agreed and said she will only use it if it crops up, for instance mention the land transformation reform when writing about emerging black farmers

in transition to commercial farmers. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter expressed she know her readers and the moment she goes with an act as an intro she loses their interest. She believed it is necessary to incorporate it, but not as an angle. Both she and Kim Cloete use it in a friendly way: tell the story from the eyes of the people or put it in the "kassie", the shorter powerful article accompanying the main article. *City Press's* Sizwe Yende use it and said it basically means that something has been done to change in order to give people the life that they did not have the chance of before. Colin Hendricks also use BBBEE as an angle because of the readership.

Our readers are the once who, you know, maybe don't have the money, don't have a job or family members who don't have a job. Or youth who are involved in gangsterism and you know there are those who struggle with drug abuse. So.. it depends on your readership, it depends on your market, who you're targeting. So for us, we, I choose the black economic empowerment angle to see how they can be enriched by these social projects.

Colin Hendricks (Son)

In brief, most journalists would cover social sustainability projects from an human interest angle; only the investigative journalist would chose a critical approach. Two journalists mentioned coverage often come across as advertisement due to lack of additional information to press releases and in their view that is not journalism. Five journalists would incorporate BBBEE in the coverage and the collaborative role is divided among journalists. Some accept or comply to a connection with the government, while others do not. The readership is important in their judgement.

6.3.3 Whose responsibility?

In Wasserman's qualitative study (2010) journalists expressed normative values of protecting human rights and social wellbeing of the community. Similarly *Weekend Argus's* Yazeed Kamaldien and *Beeld's* Elise Tempelhoff highlighted the necessity of writing about development and growth because the country needs to develop. Yazeed Kamaldien said at his newspaper they are conscious of ongoing projects because they are linked to development challenges and affect the stability of the country as a whole.

Three journalists recognized that ordinary people need to read about social sustainability projects to get involved and also to know about the help that is out there for them and how people are uplifted. The media here plays a role to connect people.

You need these kinds of good news stories to encourage people to get involved in these kinds of projects for the great ability of the country.

Elise Tempelhoff (Beeld)

Rosa-Linda Kock at SCLC commented that they want people to know about their work if that means that awareness is raised around struggles so that other people can relate to it and they can start a network. Two of the companies also recognized that it can set an example for other farmers.

Yes, I would love them to write about the projects. Because it can motivate other farms. Other people are not that reform thing busy and we can motivate them to believe in it and do it. Because if it can work for us it can as well work for them.

Rita Andreas (De Bos)

Freelancer Kim Cloete said journalists should pay more attention and use imagination in the coverage. Media is stuck on reporting about conflicts and not reflecting on the possibilities, according to *Sunday Times*' Carlos Amato; journalists do not know what is happening on a smaller scale and as a result is not able to present the case that it could happen on a larger scale. This observation is supported by Wasserman and Garman's (2014: 403) study where the young participants said issues were highlighted in media, but the follow-up steps were not adequate to do something socially helpful.

Peter De Wet at Excelsior pointed out that informing the public about his projects would not have a big impact as it is one company's work. He believed the agriculture business as a whole needs to get media attention and journalists should go through farmer organisations for information.

It's easy to pick out one producer who is doing really well. But then somebody says: "well but that's one producer out of a thousand, so what does that actually mean?"

Peter De Wet (Excelsior)

Five journalists put emphasize on their profession as journalists, not publicists. They are only interested in the news, the different, the unusual. It is companies duty to be socially responsible and the journalists will only cover stories about their work with news value.

Fifty or even five, poor farm worker children are graduating from university and for the first time in the family they have graduates. This can be an interesting story, people can be inspired by it. But if you are just writing five children are going to school, what is the news? Children must go to school. That is not unusual.

Yazeed Kamaldien (Weekend Argus)

Almost all journalists said it is companies and NGOs responsibility to spread information. They should tell media about their projects. In Yazeed Kamaldien's point of view, they have people who can inform the public and should not only rely on media. There are many other channels they can use to communicate with the public. This is recognized by the WFP which has used adverts in the local newspaper to make sure farmworkers get information about evictions etcetera.

Two companies commented that information should spread from word of mouth though. They did not want to brag and described it as silent power which speaks for itself.

Let me put it this way. If you come and visit me and see what we're doing. Then the impact is much better because you're gonna go back and tell people. I've discovered that people who are really doing the right thing, and they don't run around and brag about it and use it in advertising or whatever. That is much more powerful than any article or any old book.

Mossie Basson (Graham Beck)

Freelancer Kim Cloete believed awareness campaigns and speaking in parliament at public hearings are good approaches to get peoples' trust, make people aware of issues, who they are and what they do. To build a relationship to local politicians is also important, in her view. *Sunday Times'* Carlos Amato said people are not reading the papers from cover to cover, so internet is more effective. If the stories are told in an interesting, lively and imaginative way it would make a big difference, he believed. Kim Cloete commented that social media is a good channel for getting people involved and *Mail & Guardian's* Stefaans Brümmer pointed out that internet is expanding while newspaper circulations are going down. Changing newspapers is not the way to go, he concluded. Furthermore, three journalists commented that everyone does not have access to internet or newspapers and that radio and tv are great opportunities to reach the public.

The companies and NGOs use social media and seven journalists expressed that this is a good way of spreading information as it is cheap and fast. Peter De Wet at Excelsior acknowledged these advantages, but also recognized that it gives shallow coverage. *Die Burger's* Malani Venter agreed and commented that print media is best for in-dept knowledge.

It's crucial that we do it [write about social sustainability projects] because we're a developing country and the government doesn't really care about its people.

Elise Tempelhoff (Beeld)

The social responsibility theory imposes that mass media has an obligation to be socially responsible, let all sides be fairly presented and inform the public so it can form an opinion. If the media does not take on this responsibility, another agency may have to reinforce it.

Most journalists recognized that media has a responsibility and a role to play when it comes to spreading information about social sustainability projects. It should inform the public about good examples, they said. Stefaans Brümmer commented that the media is the obvious way to get it done, because it should be done; to get it right and set an example to others.

I think everybody around here knows about Solms-Delta. And why do we know it? Well partly word of mouth, but also because it's relatively well covered.

Stefaans Brümmer (Mail & Guardian)

Sunday Times' Carlos Amato said media should be alert and have reporters dedicated to these types of stories and *Cape Times*' Melanie Gosling said it is important to reflect what is happening in society and transformation is part of that. She emphasized being a third part gives credibility that companies spreading information may lack. Swedish freelancer Görrel Espelund did not believe media has a responsibility to cover social sustainability projects; it has a role to be critic, investigative and can use good examples in the investigation.

Kim Cloete, Elise Tempelhoff and Malani Venter expressed the government has a responsibility. It should recognize, support and spread information about effective social sustainability projects through its communication channels.

In brief, journalism can play a role to connect people; many journalists felt it has a responsibility and a role to play when it comes to inform the public about good examples. Three journalists said that media can contribute to getting more people involved in social projects, gain knowledge about the help they can receive and that uplift others. The NGOs and two companies also recognized they could set an example for others if information was spread about their work. Five journalists emphasized that they have a responsibility to cover news and they do not want to be mistaken for publicists. Three journalists believed the government has a responsibility and the majority said it is companies' and NGOs' responsibility to spread information about their projects. Journalists, NGOs and companies acknowledged there are many channels to inform the public such as Internet and radio. Nevertheless, some companies believed word of mouth is more efficient than marketing or media coverage.

7 Conclusion and discussion

7.1 How do journalists look at their professional role when it comes to writing about social sustainability projects?

The journalists interviewed in this study acknowledged that social sustainability projects are essential to tackle development issues. On many farms people struggle with poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse, domestic violence and access to health remedies. Struggles can be traced to apartheid and colonialism and some journalists and companies emphasized the government's inability to attend to problems without the private sectors' help.

Journalists get information about projects directly from companies, NGOs and government by email, phone calls and press releases. Also information on social media, websites and communication sites as well as communicated at public hearings, events and meetings with the public reach the journalists.

This flow of information is not sufficient however; three of ten journalists said they do not have enough knowledge about ongoing projects and four said they are informed because of their profession. Furthermore, six journalists highlighted that good projects can go unnoticed by the press due to poorly crafted press releases and lack of media knowledge among companies and NGOs. This creates a problem as many journalists agreed that projects can contribute to a better society and be a role model to others when covered in the press. Three journalists also said that print media can play a part in getting people involved, gain knowledge about the help they can receive and that uplifts others. This is in line with Christians *et al's* (2009: 200) statement that the media in developing nations usually play a positive role for the process of developing and modernizing both institutions and the whole nation. If the journalists themselves are not adequately informed however, it is difficult to fulfil this mission. Previous qualitative studies (see Background 4.3) have also showed flaws in this communication role.

Even so, it is important to acknowledge that the media reflects the system of social control whereby relations of the country's institutions and individuals are adjusted, as mentioned in the Theoretical framework 5.3; for example, one freelancer interviewed in this study recognized that she has to meet the market to be able to sell her ideas and stories. The South African media is self-regulated, but the agenda setting is still constrained by external and internal relationships such as owners, advertisers and editors.

The companies expressed they have social sustainability projects to uplift, empower and motivate their workers and most journalists agreed some farmers have these intentions. Seven of ten journalists highlighted that farmworkers and government push farmers to be socially responsible and companies recognized this external pressure even though only two expressed they felt pressured.

Since 1998, ANC has introduced social development laws such as the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act to give blacks the rights that were restrained to them during apartheid and reduce inequalities in society. From 2007, companies in all sectors have to follow *The Codes of Good Practice* which is part of the BBBEE act. Companies have to fulfill targets of social responsibility concerning ownership, management, employment equity, skills development, preferential procurement, enterprise development and social investment (Arya & Bassi 2011: 678). Many journalists mentioned unsuccessful projects however and flaws with the government's BBBEE-act. Furthermore, they experience less assistance from companies and NGOs when scrutinizing criticized examples rather than good examples.

The theoretical framework used in this study stress what the press *should* do, rather than what it actually does. It has its origins in the West and the goals and values transpires from a different media setting which should be recognized. Even though the study shows that the South African media fullfils many of the requirements of social responsibility, there are exceptions. Some groups are not represented in some newspapers for example, which the theory emphasizes that they should. Both previous research (see 5.4) and this study has demonstrated this. The newspapers' readership, the time period and location are important factors in the agenda setting and news evaluation. There are social and economic inequalities in society and the poorer black rural areas do not get as much attention as the cities in the mainstream print press. Stories about social sustainability projects are more frequently covered in community papers and low income newspapers as their readers are affected by them.

Furthermore, the study shows that the journalists have different views on their collaborative role. Five of them accept or comply to a connection with the government; they would incorporate BBBEE in the reporting. Many journalists have their readers in mind when they chose to include or exclude to mention the legislation and the majority would cover social sustainability projects from an human interest angle, only the investigative journalist would chose a critical approach.

Most journalists in the study emphasized the importance of showing reality and their role to give hard, bad and good news. This supports the social responsibility perspective that the press should provide full access to the day's intelligens. The previous clause contradicts this notion however as some parts of society are not represented. The observations in Wasserman's article (2010) can also be traced in the findings of the study; journalists and intermediaries expressed press freedom is constrained by economic and political pressure. Five interviewed journalists highlighted that space in the newspaper is an issue and some of them commented that hard news are prioritized.

Two journalists mentioned that coverage of projects often come across as advertisement due to lack of additional information to press releases and in their view that can not be considered to be journalism. Five journalists were also very clear to mark that they work with news, not advertisement. They do not want to be mistaken for publicists. They commented that they are often contacted by companies and NGOs when there is no story to be told. The news, the unusual, the different is missing. Three journalists said they are contacted because NGOs and companies want to get financial support from media coverage and underlined they will not give free advertisement. It is not their role to inform potential funders or investors of companies' and NGOs' work. This demonstrates that sustaining NGOs and companies is not part of the journalists' role. From the perspective of normative theories of the media this also signifies that the journalists can not make a public justification of such a collaboration. It would be seen as a weakness and lack of commitment. Furthermore their response indicates that they do not see the collaboration as a public service or obligation on their part (Christians *et al* 2009:196-7).

Many journalists felt the media has a responsibility and a role to play when it comes to informing the public about good examples. If the stories are not newsworthy, they are not valued by them or their newspapers however. This study gives examples when projects get coverage because of their relevance at the time.

7.2 How do companies and NGOs view their relationship to journalism and massmedia in SA?

The NGOs and some of the companies said they approach journalists regularly to get coverage about their social work while others do not want to use journalism for this purpose. They expressed it is wrong to use social work as a marketing tool; they want people to buy their products because of the quality and not because they take care of their workers and people in the community. They

emphasized it is not humble to go around spreading information and "brag" about projects. Nevertheless, journalists are welcome to come and speak to them and their workers on the farms.

All companies engage with the press when experiencing injustice which is in line with the social responsibility doctrine's requirement of the press as a forum for exchange of comment and criticism. Two companies recalled occasions when their social work got unjustified negative publicity or published information was incorrect. When they contacted the newspapers the errors were recognized and corrected. Still, one company did not believe the press always want to correct its mistakes; a newspaper gave negative coverage of a farm and then turned down the farm workers request of another article with their side of the story. The Council's Press Ombudsman has received similar complaints when the media has not given criticized people the opportunity to give their point of view (see Background 3.3). One of the companies in this study also recognized that some farmers do not communicate with media because it is not seen as their friend.

Almost all journalists said it is the companies and NGOs responsibility to spread information about their projects. This gives rise to a conflict between the parties however as some of the companies did not share this view. They believed in word of mouth rather than using communication channels. This can be one explanation for journalists' insufficient knowledge about projects as previously discussed.

Nevertheless, the NGOs and two of the companies recognized they could set an example for others if information is spread about their work through media. Three journalists also mentioned the government's responsibility to use its channels of communication to spread knowledge about effective and successful projects.

In this thesis the media's role of spreading information is discussed and journalists, companies and NGOs stress other possible ways of communication to spread information. Internet is expanding while print newspaper circulation numbers are declining. As many South Africans do not have access to newspapers, radio and social media were highlighted as good alternatives to reach a broad public. Even so, some journalists and companies acknowledged that social media gives a more shallow picture and print media has the advantage of being a third party and give in-dept coverage. How South Africans in different economic and social groups gain knowledge about social sustainability projects could be a subject for future studies. This MFS focuses on the people behind the production of news and information, but the receivers' side is get to be explored.

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Interviews

Amato, Carlos is a life style and general feature journalist at Sunday Times. He has worked as a journalist for 11 years and started the career as a sports journalist. Sunday Times is South Africa's biggest-selling national weekly newspaper. It is in English, based in Johannesburg and part of the Times Media Group. 72 percent of the readers are in the 7-10 Living Standard Measure (LSM) and are black (TM Media AdRoom 2015). The interview was conducted over Facetime, 4 November 2015.

Andreas, Rita the director of Adama Appollo Workers Trust which owns the De Bos together with Bosman family. The interview was conducted in Wellington, 9 November 2015.

Basson, Mossie the conservation manager at Graham Beck. The interview was conducted in Robertson, 2 November 2015.

Brümmer, Stefaans is an investigative journalist for the daily English Mail & Guardian. His career started 25 years ago and he focuses on the overlap of politics and money, and integrity of institutions. The national Mail & Guardian belongs to M&G Media Limited and it is based in

Johannesburg with two investigative journalists in Cape Town. 87 percent of its readers are highly educated and the readership is in the top LSM (Mail&Guardian 2015). The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 6 November 2015.

Cloete, Kim is a freelance journalist, based in Cape Town. She focuses on public health, renewable energy issues, education, economy and social sustainability. She has worked as a journalist for 25 years and sells stories for print, radio and tv in both English and Afrikaans. The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 17 November 2015.

De Wet, Peter the owner of Excelsior. The interview was conducted in Ashton, 2 November 2015.

Du Plessis, Amanda who works with social development at Karsten Group, Lourensford Estate in Somerset West. The interview was conducted in Somerset West, 10 November 2015.

Espelund, Görrel is a Swedish freelance journalist located in Cape Town. She has worked as a journalist for 20 years with focus on society, development, politics and rights. She was based in South Africa 1997-2004 for the newspapers *Sydsvenskan* and *Göteborgsposten* and has since then covered stories about the country and frequently worked as an South Africa correspondent. The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 5 November 2015.

Gosling, Melanie is an environmental journalist at the dominant morning daily in Cape Town, the English *Cape Times*. She has worked as a journalist for 35 years and covers a broad range of stories, including sustainability issues. *Cape Times* is part of the Independent group, 45 percent of its readers are in LSM 9-10 and 40 percent are white, 32 coloured and 26 black (The Inc 2015a). The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 28 October 2015.

Hendricks, Colin began his career 5 years ago and is a hard news, feature and independent stories journalist at the Afrikaans tabloid *Son* in Cape Town. *Son* is part of the Media24 group and published Monday to Friday in Western and Eastern Cape. Almost 90 percent of the readers are coloured and 60 percent are in the LSM 4-7 (Ads24 2015c). The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 20 November 2015.

Kamaldien, Yazeed is a general news journalist at the English Weekend *Argus*, part of the Independent group. He has worked as a journalist for 13 years and covers news including general, social issues, politics, art and culture. Weekend *Argus* is a weekend newspaper based in Cape Town with strong emphasis on lifestyle issues. 44 percent of its readers are in LSM 9-10, 34 percent in

LSM 7-8 and the allocation of black, white and coloured readers is even (The Inc 2015b). The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 1 December 2015.

Kock, Rosa-Linda the field co-ordinator at SCLC in the Eden district. The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 5 November 2015.

Louw, Carmen the land and housing programme coordinator at WFP. The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 5 November 2015.

Tempelhoff, Elise is a general news journalist at the Afrikaans tabloid Beeld. She has worked as a journalist for 22 years and specializes in environmental writing. Beeld is published Monday to Friday, is part of the Media24 network and based in Johannesburg. It is distributed in Gauteng, Mpumalanda, Limpopo, Kwazulu-Natal and North West. About 80 percent of its readers are in LSM 8-10 and 90 percent are white (Ads24 2015a). The interview was conducted over FaceTime, 15 November 2015.

Van Dyk, Zelda who works in the finance sector at Karsten Group, Lourensford Estate in Somerset West. The interview was conducted in Somerset West, 10 November 2015.

Van Zyl, Charlotte the executive manager of the Delta trust and Wijn de caab trust at Solms Delta Wine Estate. The interview was conducted in Franschhoek, 25 November 2015.

Venter, Malani is a general news journalist at the Afrikaans tabloid Die Burger in Cape Town. She has worked as a journalist for 11 years, been news editor and based in Stellenbosch. Die Burger is part of the Media24 group and is distributed Monday to Friday in Eastern, Northern and Western Cape. It has mainly a white and colored readership and about 70 percent of the readers are in the LSM 8-10 (Ads24 2015b).

The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 23 November 2015.

Wilson, Paula the publicist at Solms Delta Wine Estate. The interview was conducted in Cape Town, 19 November 2015.

Yende, Sizwe is City Press's only journalist in Mpumalanga. For 17 years, he has worked on and off as a journalist and covers all news from general and investigation to politics in the province. City Press is an English national Sunday newspaper and it is part of the Media24 group. 55 percent of

the readers are in LSM 4-7 and 94 percent are black (Ads24 2015). The interview was conducted over Skype, 19 November 2015.

9 Appendix

9.1 Research Questions

Interview guide for journalists:

Background

How long have you worked as a journalist?

What kind of journalism do you do?

Journalists' views on social sustainability projects in line with the BBBEE-act

What do you think about social sustainability projects in line with the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act? Projects that concerns extreme poverty, inequality, social mobility, discrimination or social cohesion. For example when companies' profits are returned to the workers and their society by redistribution of land so the workers become owners and education, crèches, aftercare are offered to people in the community.

Why do you think farmers have social sustainability projects? (pressure?)

Who is, in your view, affected by the projects?

Communication with organisations/companies

How would you describe your relation to the communication staff at organisations/ companies working with social sustainability projects? (Problems, both sides)

How do you get information about ongoing projects?

Journalists' views on their own role

How would you like information about these projects to spread?

Whose responsibility is it to spread information about them?

How do you/your newspaper value stories about social sustainability projects? (whose nisch is it?)

How often would you appreciate that you or somebody else at your newspaper write about social sustainability projects? (Why?)

How would you appreciate your own knowledge regarding these projects?

Are you experiencing any problems in the news work when it comes to reporting about these projects?

From which angle would you approach the subject? (BBBEE?)

What do you think about how these projects appear in the press?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Do you know somebody else whom I may speak to?

Interview guide for organisations/companies:

Organisations' views on social sustainability projects in line with the BBBEE-act

What kind of projects are you working on right now?

For how long have you had these kinds of projects?

Why do you have social sustainability projects? (pressure?)

Who is affected by your projects?

Would you link your projects to the broad based black economic empowerment act? Why?

Do you want people to know about your projects? Who? Why? How?

Communication with journalists

Have your projects been mentioned in the press? (When? Where? Why?)

How would you describe your relation to journalists?

Are there any problems in the communication with the press? (both sides)

How important are the journalists when it comes to sending out information about your social sustainability projects?

Who has the power when it comes to what is written about your project?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Do you know about any other company/organisation with ongoing projects whom you recommend I speak to?

9.2 Code templet

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| QUESTION 10 | How do you/your newspaper value stories about social sustainability projects? (whose nisch is it?) |
| ANSWER | <p>They do value them. Need to write about development because the country needs to develop. Conscious of these things that are happening in the society. They are linked to development challenges. Projects are used as case studies to talk about the problems when they write about social issues.</p> <p>Everyone can write about it. At the newspaper everyone writes about everything. It is interesting because the stability of the country as a whole is affected. Issues can be linked to the crimes and protests.</p> |
| QUOTE | <p>MIN 1:30 (2) "50, or even 5, poor farm worker children are graduating from university and for the first time in the family they have graduates. This can be an interesting story, people can be inspired by it. But if you are just writing 5 children are going to school, what is the news? Children must go to school. That is not unusual."</p> |
| COMMENT | <p>Normative theory of the media: media's collaborative role- compliance Social responsibility theory: presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society.</p> |
| QUESTION 11 | How often would you appreciate that you or somebody else at your newspaper write about social sustainability projects? (Why?) |
| ANSWER | <p>Almost every week.</p> <p>Community papers writes about social sustainability projects. Not as much mainstream. The readers do not want to read about it every day. They want to know about bigger news, the stronger stories such as politics and economy. They focus on the macro and the community papers on the micro.</p> <p>The news value determines if they chose to write about it. They write about it when it's relevant. Writes about fundraisers, charity walks and publish pictures etc. If it is relevant at the time, they write about it. For example when all the highschool students take their exams it's a lot of focus on that and projects that can be linked to this can get coverage (min 13(2)). Has not a section in the paper for this kind of news.</p> |
| QUOTE | <p>MIN 5:30 (2) "Our readers don't want read every week about a soup kitchen, a farming project, illiteracy project, you know all these kind of things. Our readers maybe want to read about what the president is saying about the economy. Our readers want to read about the minister of housing and the progress in terms of whether we are dealing with the housing crisis in South Africa."</p> <p>MIN 6:30 (2) "We have to chose the strongest stories. The stories that most people are impacted by."</p> <p>MIN 7 (2): "How often these stories should be in the paper, that only depends on the news value of it, because I'm in the business of news, my work is news."</p> |
| COMMENT | <p>External relationships: readers as agents <i>Questionable</i> Social responsibility theory: projects a presentative picture of the constituent groups in society.</p> |

9.3 Map South Africa



(Source: Htonl 2010)