



**Framing Land Expropriation: A Comparative Content Analysis of SABC and
eNCA's Coverage of the LEWC Public Hearings**

Enica Mogomane Tshiame

(TSHENI003)

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Supervisor: A/Professor Wallace Chuma

University of Cape Town

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Signed by candidate

05 MAY 2025

cited and referenced. Signature

DEDICATION

To my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, without whom I am nothing.

To my loving parents, Bethel and Thembisa Choto, my devoted husband, Mokete Tshiame, my dear Gogo Rhoda Banda, my precious Katleho, Bokang and Kabelo, and my cherished friends and sisters: Mulalo, Zanele, Diva, Ratidzayi, Ndhlovukazi, and Bohlale. Thank you for your unwavering support.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how eNews Channel Africa (eNCA) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation framed public hearings on amending Section 25 of the Constitution for land expropriation without compensation, a deeply political issue in post-apartheid South Africa. Using thematic content analysis of YouTube news bulletins, the study identifies each channel's framing techniques and dominant themes. Findings reveal that SABC utilised human-interest framing more frequently (42% vs. 23% for eNCA), while eNCA leaned towards economic framing (31% vs. 28% for SABC). The thematic analysis highlights further distinctions: eNCA focused more heavily on social justice (42% vs. 29% for SABC), while SABC emphasised land as a cultural right (20% vs. 12%) and highlighted social injustice more prominently (27% vs. 17%). These variations underline how each channel constructed distinct narratives surrounding land reform, demonstrating the significant influence of media framing on public opinion. This study contributes to broader discussions about media influence, political discourse, and social justice in the context of land reform in South Africa, advocating for balanced reporting that considers the historical context, diverse viewpoints, and potential societal impacts of this sensitive issue.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to study

This study aims to analyse the portrayal and framing of the public hearings on the potential amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution, which would allow land expropriation without compensation (LEWC), by eNews Channel Africa (eNCA) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) YouTube news channels. The SABC is a publicly owned broadcaster, while the eNCA is privately owned (Nelson & Salawu, 2017:109). The SABC, established in 1936 during the apartheid era, is the oldest broadcasting channel in South Africa. On the other hand, eNCA, launched in 2008, was the country's first 24-hour news channel.

The topic of land expropriation is highly political and contentious in South Africa (Mokoena & Sebola, 2022:400). It holds vital importance (Sibango, 2022:50). Following the democratic transition in 1994, with Nelson Mandela as the first black democratically elected president, South Africa has been grappling with the legacy of apartheid, where black people were systematically dispossessed of their land while white people were favoured by discriminatory legislation. The land expropriation issue has garnered widespread media and public attention in the agricultural sector, with ongoing debates about land redistribution and economic reparations posing significant challenges to the new South Africa (Sibango, 2022:51). Various discussions have taken place regarding the impact of land expropriation, with some labelling it as a misguided idea (Sihlobo, 2020), others arguing that it would exacerbate poverty (Xaba, 2021), cripple the economy (Sihlobo & Kirsten, 2018), and Moolman (2020) calling it a hasty solution attempting to address decades of failed land reform.

The issue of land reform in South Africa elicits strong emotions and is characterised by significant political tension. The centrality of land in the dispossession of Africans by colonial settlers is the underlying reason for this scourge. The achievement of effective land reform is important for ensuring the future stability and prosperity of South Africa.

According to Sihlobo (2022), the researcher asserts the relevance of this study, as it has the potential to generate vital insights into the role and interplay between the news media and agricultural news within the broader context of South Africa. The media serves as the visual and auditory senses of society. In the context of South Africa, a democratic nation characterized by significant inequality, it is imperative to comprehend the media's stance on this issue. The utilisation of land as a political instrument in the previous election failed to achieve the intended outcomes. Previous research has examined the coverage of elections by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and identified deficiencies. However, the extent to which the independent media and public broadcasters contribute to land reform debate coverage has not been adequately documented or comprehended. This study aims to investigate the correlation between the media and agriculture in South Africa, with a specific focus on the significant subject of land reform. In a culture undergoing growth, such as South Africa, it is important to examine how the media, namely television, frames and portrays the LEWC public hearings. This analysis raises the question of whether these portrayals have any additional impacts on a racially divided country such as South Africa. The findings of this study will contribute to a deeper knowledge of the role of the media in shaping public perception, especially around issues of land reform.

The farming sector in South Africa faces significant challenges, notably regarding land ownership, a longstanding divisive issue. The country's history, encompassing both apartheid and post-apartheid eras, shapes this debate. Since 1994, the government has pledged to address past injustices, with land reform at its core. Land expropriation without compensation discussions, prompted by the failure of past restitution efforts, have complicated matters for the ruling party, the ANC. President Cyril Ramaphosa proposed The Expropriation Bill 2020 to amend the Constitution, aiming to allow land expropriation. Some critics see this as a politically driven response to the growing influence of the EFF. (Akinola, 2020; Kwarteng & Botchway, 2019:99)

According to Ntsebeza (2018), other stakeholders, particularly the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and other land-based organisations, have exerted pressure on the ruling

African National Congress (ANC), advocating for the 'Land Expropriation without Compensation (LEWC) approach. In their founding manifesto, EFF leader Julius Malema stated that the governing party has failed to economically empower black people who continue to live in poverty, without land, facing racial discrimination, and denied basic human rights, including the right to bury their loved ones on white-owned land. The planned 30% land redistribution by 2014 did not materialise, with only 8% of the land being redistributed, leaving the majority of black people landless, serving as farm labourers (land (Economic Freedom Fighters, 2013), and devoid of basic human rights. The EFF vowed to ensure that ownership of South Africa's economic resources and opportunities is reflective of the fact that the country belongs to all its residents, including land (Economic Freedom Fighters, 2013).

As a means of soliciting public opinion, the government opted to conduct public hearings on this matter. In South Africa, two prominent news channels, eNCA and SABC, dominate the media landscape. How did these news channels portray and frame the public hearings? What frames did they employ, and what were the underlying motivations for using those specific frames? This study aims to explore these questions. The media plays a crucial role in society and should report on significant public issues (Zulu, 2021:2). There is a prevalent perception that public broadcasters like SABC exhibit bias, while private independent media is regarded as objective and impartial (Isike & Omotoso, 2017). This study seeks to examine and verify this assumption. Through framing, news media select certain aspects of perceived reality, making them more prominent in their communication, to promote a specific point of view (Acharya, 2022:177). News frames help structure core ideas that guide news coverage and interpretation in a particular direction. By doing so, the media aims to report the news objectively but never without intent (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2020:2150). This study will seek to identify the specific viewpoints promoted by these news channels.

1.2 Media in a post-colonial society

In the aftermath of colonial rule, the media in many post-colonial societies has encountered unique challenges. It has had to navigate the delicate balance of preserving

cultural identity, promoting national unity, and fostering democratic discourse. The media's role in this context has been debated by scholars and practitioner's voices (Aketema & Ladzekpo, 2022, Ukande, 2016, Owusu-Amoh, 2014 and Wasserman, 2006)., who grapple with the inherent tensions between its responsibilities as a watchdog and a constructive agent of development.

One significant challenge for the media in post-colonial societies is the legacy of cultural and political dependency (Randall,1993). Shaped by colonial-era structures and norms, the media may struggle to shake off its image as a state mouthpiece or a conduit for foreign influence (Rodny-Gumede,2020). The function of the media in post-colonial society includes nation building, national unity, mass education, and constructive criticism (Fourie, 2018:72-73). As a nation builder, the media is expected to contribute to the development of the nation by fostering a sense of nationhood, disseminating information about improved ways of living, and encouraging cooperation in community and national projects, including garnering support for the party and its leadership. The media also plays a role in promoting national unity, such as by building a national identity and fostering a sense of unity in South Africa. The press must bring together different cultures and aspirations that constitute the new nation. In terms of mass education, the media has a responsibility to promote adult literacy, with a particular focus on television and radio programs in schools and community centres (Fourie, 2018:72-73).

This tension is evident in the case of South Africa, where the media has had to navigate its role in a fragile democracy emerging from authoritarianism (Kuper, 2001). During the country's transition to democracy, the media faced immense pressure to redefine its position. It had to balance its critical role as a watchdog with a more constructive, developmental approach to support the new government (Wasserman, 2020). Citizens must be provided with information that enables them to fully participate in their democratic society. Lastly, constructive criticism is an essential aspect, whereby the media should offer responsible criticism that contributes to the betterment of the nation. This entails scrutinizing comments that undermine efforts towards national unity and instead focus on building a united nation.

1.3 The media landscape in South Africa

Wasserman (2020:453) gives a brief overview of the media in South Africa. He explains that the media is divided into three categories: public media, commercial media, and community media. Public and community media aim to balance commercial media, which serves the interests of the elite. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which transformed from a state broadcaster to a public entity, plays a significant role despite issues with corruption and political interference. On the other hand, the commercial media is dominated by conglomerates like Naspers, Independent Media, Caxton Publishers, and Arena Holdings, indicating a high level of concentration in the sector. Community media, supported by the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA), serves underserved populations but faces challenges related to funding and management.

All three spheres - public media, commercial media, and community media - contribute to the role of the media in society in unique ways:

Public Media: The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) serves as a public entity, providing news and information to the public. Despite issues with corruption and political interference, it plays a significant role in informing the public about government activities, policies, and societal issues. It is meant to serve the public interest and provide a balanced view (Wasserman, 2020:452).

Commercial media entities like Naspers, Independent Media, Caxton Publishers, and Arena Holdings primarily serve commercial interests. They generate revenue through advertising and subscriptions. While they do provide news and entertainment, their content can be influenced by commercial considerations. However, they also contribute to a diverse media landscape and can hold power accountable.

Community media serve specific, often underserved, communities. They provide a platform for these communities to voice their concerns, celebrate their culture, and stay informed about national issues. Despite facing funding and management challenges, they play a crucial role in fostering participation and democracy (Wasserman, 2020:452)

Together, these three spheres ensure a diverse and balanced media landscape that caters to a wide range of audiences and interests, contributing to a healthy democracy. They inform the public, provide a platform for debate and discussion, and hold power accountable. However, the effectiveness of their contribution is influenced by factors such as political interference, commercial pressures, and resource constraints (Wasserman, 2020:453).

1.3.1 The public and private broadcasters

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) is a public broadcaster that has transitioned from being a state broadcaster during apartheid to a public entity that reports to parliament. In the past, the SABC served as a platform for government propaganda and operated based on apartheid principles, with separate radio and television channels for different ethnic groups. In the post-apartheid era, the SABC's mandate is to serve the broader public interest, but it has faced issues such as corruption, mismanagement, and political interference in its editorial agenda. Despite these challenges, radio and television remain the most widely accessed forms of media in the country, and SABC plays a significant role in this regard. SABC television news is the most popular offline news platform, followed by its commercial free-to-air competitor, eNCA. Radio news, particularly channels broadcasting in indigenous languages, also commands a significant audience share. The SABC's programming includes news, current affairs, and entertainment content.

In a democratic society, the goals of public and private broadcasters can be framed quite differently. Public broadcasters are often tasked with serving the broader public interest, focusing on educational, informative, and culturally enriching content (Bentivegna & Artieri, 2020; Kennedy & Pratt, 2019). In contrast, private broadcasters typically operate under a commercial model, aiming to attract large audiences and generate profit through advertising (Hofstetter & Buss, 1981).

While public broadcasters may prioritise programs that enhance civic engagement and provide a platform for diverse perspectives (Froneman & Pretorius, 2000), private

broadcasters may prioritize entertainment and sensationalism to maximize viewership (Hofstetter & Buss, 1981). This distinction highlights the potential tension between the democratic ideals of a well-informed citizenry and the commercial interests of private media entities (Pickard, 2023). Nonetheless, some experts argue that the line between entertainment and public affairs programming may not be as clear-cut, as both types of content can serve to inform and engage viewers (Hofstetter & Buss, 1981). Additionally, a pluralistic media landscape with both public and private broadcasters, each fulfilling their respective roles, could function side by side within a democratic system (Froneman & Pretorius, 2000). Ultimately, the framing of goals for public and private broadcasters in a democratic society reflects the complex interplay between the pursuit of the public good and market-driven forces, underscoring the need for a thoughtful approach to media policy and regulation that balances these competing interests.

1.3.1.1 The SABC

The mission of SABC is to ensure that everyone can easily access content, regardless of time or location. As a public broadcaster, SABC has specific requirements for its news content. These requirements include making it available in all official languages, providing low-bandwidth formats for accessibility, delivering high-quality and reliable content, and regulating sponsorships and advertisements. In contrast, private news organizations do not have the same responsibilities and limitations. However, the SABC still faces competition from private news players in generating advertising revenue (National Association of Broadcasters 2024:4).

The SABC faces significant challenges due to the increasing shift towards digital platforms for news consumption. To fulfil its mandate, SABC Digital News is accessible through various digital channels. The SABC primarily relies on privately owned platforms to engage with South Africans in the digital realm. The main focus of SABC Digital News is its YouTube channels, which received 13 times more views than the SABC News website in January 2024. Digital News takes advantage of TV and radio news broadcasts

to create digital news content and also produces unique content (National Association of Broadcasters 2024:4).

While the origins of broadcasting in South Africa can be traced back to the year 1923, it was not until 1976 that television services were established and began functioning within the country. The establishment of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) signified a significant milestone, with broadcasting activities conducted in Afrikaans and English (Moyo & Osunkunle, 2022:6–8). The Nationalist Party expressed strong opposition against the implementation of television in South Africa, as they believed that it might disseminate communist doctrine across the nation and incite revolutionary sentiments among the black majority. The SABC's activities during the apartheid era were often seen as a prominent illustration of the state's flagrant exploitation of a broadcasting service.

The SABC played a pivotal and utilitarian role in serving the interests of the ruling government. From 1948 until the inaugural democratic elections, it served as the designated platform for the ruling National Party. In light of this context, the collective opinions, principles, and linguistic expressions of this particular group were evident throughout the entirety of the dominant media, encompassing prominent radio and television broadcasts (Moyo & Osunkunle, 2022:6–8).

The decision to yield was made in response to significant pressure from the international community. According to Fourie (2018:26), following the post-1994 era, the SABC underwent a restructuring process to address concerns about the potential dilution of Afrikaner culture via television, as well as to adapt to the emerging competition posed by entities like M-Net. Despite making efforts to overcome its reputation as a crisis-ridden organisation, the SABC has persistently encountered a series of controversies regarding its association with the government and the dominant political party, the ANC. The SABC received criticism for its perceived inadequacy, lack of engagement, and underwhelming nature (Fourie, 2018:26).

1.3.1.2 eNCA

eNCA, also known as eNews Channel Africa, emerged as a significant player in the South African broadcasting space following the democratic transition in 1994. Established in 2008, eNCA positioned itself as the country's first 24-hour television news channel, offering an alternative source of news and information to the public (Moyo & Osunkunle, 2022:8). With its focus on objective and independent journalism, eNCA aimed to challenge the dominant narrative propagated by the SABC. The channel provided a platform for diverse voices and perspectives, including those critical of the government and the ruling party. However, eNCA has not been without its controversies and criticisms. It has faced accusations of bias and sensationalism, particularly during politically charged events or elections (Fourie, 2018:26). Despite these challenges, eNCA has played a crucial role in promoting media pluralism and providing a platform for public discourse. Its presence has contributed to a more democratic and inclusive media landscape in South Africa.

According to Vick (2014), the eNCA cable news station has established its brand based on its editorial independence, which stands in stark contrast to the state-run SABC. Additionally, the channel is committed to providing comprehensive information to its viewers. The independent status of the organisation was compromised when it was revealed that directors associated with the Department of Economic Development, led by Minister Ebrahim Patel, had financial ties to Hoskens Consolidated Investments (HCI). It was alleged that the directors attempted to manipulate media coverage of government events to present a favourable image. Additionally, there were indications that eNCA, a news outlet, may have aired a series of documentaries funded by the state, masquerading them as news reports, in early 2014. However, chose not to provide further details about this matter, which posed a potential risk to its reputation.

1.4 Rationale for study

The topic of televised agricultural news in South Africa remains under-researched and understudied. Although the South African media landscape is not new, it is operating within a democratic society post-apartheid. Scholars have noted that Africa receives limited coverage in mainstream Western media in terms of both overall sources and framing. Furthermore, existing studies tend to focus on print media, with television news receiving only minimal attention (Jones, 2012:5). The land issue divided South Africans during apartheid, and it continues to divide South Africa in the post-apartheid era (Jones, 2012:2; Mthembu, 2019:15). Land has always played a central role in both colonialism and decolonization. This is because land was at the core of colonial conquest and also served as a symbol of resistance against colonialism. Therefore, any discussion on decolonisation should recognise the importance of land (Kepe & Hall, 2020:4).

The year 2024 will mark the seventh year when South Africans will head to the polls to decide on their preferred leadership for a better future for all. Since 2017, the land issue has dominated the country's political sphere, and any agricultural news has revolved around the government's post-1994 concept of land reform. The government has acknowledged its failure to successfully implement land reform to address past injustices. A study conducted by Cloete (2020), using populism and party competition theory as a theoretical framework, concluded that the ANC's change in position was due to pressure from populist forces within South Africa rather than a genuine desire to address the challenges of land reform. The news media plays a crucial role in setting the agenda, capturing public attention, and shaping public opinion. By orchestrating and facilitating debates, the media sets the tone and decides what issues are important (Honde 2020:5). Through agenda setting and framing, the media determines what information is deemed significant. Both the eNCA and the SABC covered the public hearings and hosted discussions to interpret the feedback. The media plays a critical role in disseminating information and informing the public about national policies and their implications for the nation as a whole, such as the Expropriation Bill 2020. Television, as a medium, has the power to shape public opinion and either promote positive change and equality or

perpetuate existing injustices and misconceptions through visual storytelling and popular programming (Koelble & Puma, 2010).

Framing can have an immense effect on public opinion and policy decisions. How news is presented on television has the potential to promote certain narratives that could be detrimental to land reform initiatives. How news is presented on television can influence public perception of land reform initiatives, potentially promoting narratives that either support or hinder these efforts. While some narratives might emphasize negative consequences, others could highlight positive outcomes. The news media must play a role by offering a platform for a range of perspectives and participating in responsible, fair reporting. Television networks must consider how they depict the issues surrounding land reform, ensuring that they are factual and fairly reflect all parties. By doing this, television may promote efforts to create a more just and equitable society in South Africa by fostering an informed and productive public discourse on land reform.

In general, television can have an impact on people's attitudes and opinions about land reform in South Africa. Television networks should frame land reform responsibly and impartially, considering the historical background, a range of viewpoints, and the possible influence of their programming on public opinion and policy choices. News is reported on television, and any matter deemed to be of public concern is covered on television. Livingstone (1992:3) made very compelling arguments about the television audience or viewers and stated that the audience is now extensively regarded as an involved translator of television programs rather than as a reactive and passive recipient of media information (Livingstone, 1992:3). The viewer is actively engaged with the media or text. The media, however, sets the agenda and uses frames to tell the audience what to think and how to think about a matter.

This study aims to investigate what frames the eNCA and the SABC news channels used to set the agenda for the land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) public hearings into the possibility of amending Section 25 of the Constitution of South Africa. The role of the media, in the form of news reporting, is an important link to bridging the racial divide in South Africa, which has a history of racial segregation. How did the media

frame the land expropriation without compensation in public hearings, and what are the implications for South Africa in its quest to be the rainbow nation, united in its diversity?

Through a content analysis approach, the researcher believes that analysing how the news channels framed LEWC public hearings will affect how the public understands the proposed amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution to allow LEWC. This analysis will be able to determine the ideologies perpetuated by the news channels. There are few studies about the relationship between the media and agricultural news. Issues that have made the headlines seem to be politically driven issues, like the land debate. Studies of public hearings and their effectiveness are sparse, yet the government uses public hearings as a means of soliciting public opinion.

The study aims to document the different arguments and narratives that the news channels presented in their coverage of the public hearings on LEWC, including the frames used and why they were used. The land issue is far from being concluded, and the issue of land grabs is becoming a thorn to the government as some have indicated that the land restitution process is taking too long. There have been a growing number of incidents of land invasions. This study will add knowledge to media studies, particularly the unknown relationship between the media and agricultural news.

Wasserman, Chuma, and Bosch (2018:147) assert that the media is in a potent position to either build the rainbow nation or hinder any progress made in building a unified democratic South Africa. The land issue has divided the nation for three centuries (Mokoena & Sebola, 2020:400). Radebe & Chiumbu (2022:90) conducted a study to investigate how the print media represented the land issue. Scholarly work on media representations of social and political issues in South Africa, including land, does exist. However, more research is needed on media framing of land reform and its impact on the achievement of a unified South Africa. There is an obvious gap in academic knowledge regarding the relationship between the media and agricultural news. According to Mthembu (2019:55), the land debate in South Africa is one of the current big news stories; however, the implications that may affect the country have not been pursued in great

detail. The study aims to into how the SABC and eNCA seek to have their audience understand the LEWC debate and land reform.

1.5 The birth of land reform in South Africa

Different countries may have varying objectives for land reform, and these objectives can be interconnected and complementary. However, achieving one objective may sometimes hinder or conflict with another. The primary conflict often arises between the pursuit of social equity and the desire for economic efficiency in land and resource utilization. Dividing expropriated large farms into numerous small plots may lead to a decrease in household food production, marketable surpluses, and government export earnings. On the other hand, if a government fails to implement a land reform program, it may not improve the standard of living for many citizens, ultimately leading to political instability (Ranchod, 2004:2).

According to Ranchod (2004:2), land reform programs worldwide are typically governed by one or more of three motives: political, social, and economic. The political motive is often emphasized in government statements on reform, as it plays a significant role in appealing to the landless peasantry or disempowering landowners perceived as a threat to the ruling class. The social equity motive is closely linked to the political motive, and thus governments promise to provide land to landless peasants in exchange for political support. The economic motive, when considered independently, is based on the premise that land reform will lead to increased agricultural production, greater marketable surpluses for domestic consumption and/or export, and higher rural household incomes. As mentioned earlier, each country or region has specific objectives, but the following objectives provide an excellent general framework:

- 1) Converting tenant and landless farmers into owner-operators
- 2) Providing ownership to squatter farmers through legalization and land distribution

- 3) Increasing agricultural production and improving the delivery systems of supporting services to enhance living standards among farmers
- 4) Reducing social and economic inequalities among the population.

The White Paper on South African Land Policy was published in its final form in April 1997. It emerged from an extensive process of popular consultation, including a National Land Policy Conference in late 1995, as well as departmental engagement with submissions and comments on earlier drafts of its proposals. It identified the following key issues for land reform to address:

- The injustices of racially based legislation.
- The inequitable distribution of land.
- The need for security of tenure for all.
- The need for sustainable land use; and
- The need for the rapid release of land for development.

The need to effectively record and register all property rights has been emphasized (DLA, 1997). The ANC-led government developed Vision 2030 and the National Development Plan with the goal of unlocking the potential of a dynamic, growing, and job-creating agricultural sector. The government set ambitious goals to address the land issue by transferring more land to black beneficiaries while ensuring minimal disruption to markets and business confidence. Additionally, the government sought to ensure sustainable production, establish monitoring institutions to prevent corruption and market opportunism, align land transfer targets with fiscal and economic realities, and provide support to white commercial farmers and industry bodies to assist in the success of black farmers through mentorship and skill development (South African government, 2015).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa provides a framework for land reform, protection of property rights, and expropriation in the public interest. To address the

consequences of apartheid's legacy regarding land, the South African Constitution includes three important clauses:

- Any person or community who was dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, as provided by an Act of Parliament, to either restitution of that property or fair compensation. The state is obligated to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to create conditions that enable citizens to access land equitably.
- Any person or community whose land tenure is legally insecure due to past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, as provided by an Act of Parliament, to either secure tenure or comparable compensation.
- The Expropriation Act (Act 63 of 1975) allows for the expropriation of land and other property for public and specific purposes as defined.

South Africa's comprehensive land reform program, outlined in the White Paper on Land Reform, consists of three main elements: restitution, redistribution, and tenure reform, all in line with the constitutional requirements.

The government has access to various legal frameworks for land reform, as illustrated in Table 1 below.

Act	Purpose about land
Land Administration Act, Act No. 2 of 1995	The Act provides for the delegation of powers and the assignment of the

	administration of laws regarding land matters to the provinces.
Land Titles Adjustment Act, Act No. 111 of 1993	The Act regulates the allocation or devolution of certain land in respect of which one or more persons claim ownership, but do not have registered title deeds in respect thereof.
Expropriation Act, Act 63 of 1975	The Act provides for the expropriation of land and other property for public and certain other purposes as defined.
Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act, Act No. 112 of 1991	The Act makes provision for the upgrading and conversion into ownership of certain rights graded in respect of land, as well as for the transfer of tribal land in full ownership to a community.
Land Reform: Provision of Land and Assistance Act, Act No. 126 of 1993	This Act makes provision for the designation of certain land, the regulation of the subdivision of such land and the settlement of persons thereon. In addition, it provides for the acquisition, maintenance, planning development, improvement and disposal of property and the provision of financial assistance for land reform purposes.
Restitution of Land Rights Act, Act No. 22 of 1994	In 1994, the first law to be passed by the first democratically elected parliament was the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994). This was done with the conscious acknowledgement that land justice is important to deal with the

	<p>challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequality.</p> <p>The Act makes provision for the restitution of rights in land to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices. To administer this task, the Act established a Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and a Land Claims Court. The Minister is authorized to purchase, acquire in any other manner or expropriate land or rights in land for restitution awards.</p>
Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, Act No. 3 of 1996	The Act makes provision for the security of tenure of labour tenants and those persons occupying or using land as a result of their association with labour tenants. It also makes provision for the acquisition of land and rights in land by labour tenants.
Extension of Security of Tenure Act, Act No. 62 of 1997	The Act makes provision for the facilitation of long-term security of land tenure, to regulate the conditions of residence on certain land and to regulate the conditions on and circumstances under which the right of persons to reside on land may be terminated.
Draft Expropriation Bill	The Bill aims to provide for the expropriation of property for a public

	purpose or in the public interest and to provide for matters connected therewith.
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Table 1: Government legal framework for land reform

1.6 Viewpoints about Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC)

After nearly two decades of democracy, the ANC-led government appears to have found itself in a challenging situation where targets are not being met, the landless are becoming increasingly restless, and the political majority is at stake. In response, the ANC made a calculated decision to pass the motion of land expropriation without compensation (LEWC), a move that has proven to be highly significant. LEWC has now become one of the most hotly debated topics in South African politics today.

The ruling African National Congress (ANC) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) argue that LEWC is necessary to address historical injustices and redistribute land to the marginalized black majority (ANC, 2017; EFF, 2016). They assert that this policy will promote economic justice and help alleviate poverty and inequality. However, critics are cautious, warning that LEWC may undermine property rights, discourage investment, and hurt agricultural productivity, thus potentially leading to economic instability (Du Toit, 2018; Hall, 2018). Some argue for a more gradual and compensated approach to land reform, to strike a balance between addressing historical injustices and maintaining economic stability.

One of the arguments presented by the critics is that the LEWC will affect agricultural productivity and food security. Critics advocates for cautious and well-planned land reform emphasise the need to provide new landowners with skills, resources, and infrastructure to ensure the maintenance or improvement of agricultural productivity (Aliber & Cousins, 2013). They contend that failure to do so could lead to decreased agricultural output and jeopardize national food security. The debate also incorporates differing viewpoints on

the focus of land reform: restitution versus redistribution. Restitution seeks to return land to individuals or communities who were dispossessed under apartheid, while redistribution aims to provide land to those who lack it, regardless of historical dispossession (Walker, 2008). Some argue that restitution has progressed slowly due to bureaucratic processes and advocate for more assertive redistribution policies to ensure broader access to land (Lahiff, 2007). Other arguments presented argue that The South African Constitution, particularly Section 25 (the property clause), safeguards property rights while also mandating land reform. The current political discourse involves discussions on whether Section 25 should be amended to explicitly permit LEWC (Davis, 2018). Legal scholars and political actors differ on whether such an amendment is necessary or if existing laws already provide adequate scope for meaningful land reform.

Another bone of contention is the of traditional leaders in land governance, particularly in rural areas. Some argue that traditional leaders should play a central role in land allocation and management within their communities, respecting customary practices and authority (Ntsebeza, 2005). Others believe that this approach can perpetuate patriarchal and undemocratic practices. Instead, they advocate for more democratic and transparent land governance structures (Claassens & Cousins, 2008).

The land debate also raises issues of social cohesion and nation-building. Proponents of swift and radical land reform argue that addressing land inequality is essential for healing historical wounds and fostering a sense of justice and national unity (Gumede, 2014). However, opponents fear that poorly managed land reform could exacerbate social tensions and conflicts, particularly in areas where land ownership is closely tied to ethnic and racial identities (Du Toit, 2018).

The debate over land and politics in South Africa is intricate and deeply intertwined with the country's history, economy, and social fabric. While there is a general consensus on the need for land reform to address historical injustices, opinions diverge on the methods, pace, and ramifications of such reform. As the country grapples with these complex issues, the outcome of this debate will have profound implications for its future trajectory.

1.7 Research objective

The objective of the study is to conduct a content analysis of the SABC and eNCA news channels' coverage of the public hearings on land expropriation without compensation.

The issue of land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) has emerged as a highly contentious and significant topic in South Africa's socio-political landscape. As the nation grapples with the legacy of historical injustices and seeks to address persistent inequalities, the media plays a crucial role in shaping public discourse and influencing policy decisions. In this context, television news channels, particularly the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNews Channel Africa (eNCA), serve as primary sources of information for the public and therefore hold substantial power in framing the narrative around LEWC.

The objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive content analysis of the SABC and eNCA news channels' coverage of the public hearings on land expropriation without compensation. This analysis aims to uncover the ways in which these news outlets present the issue, the frames they employ, and the overall tone of their reporting. By examining the content, this study seeks to understand how the media constructs the discourse around LEWC and the potential implications for public opinion and policy formulation.

This research is grounded in the theoretical frameworks of media framing and agenda-setting. Media framing theory, as articulated by scholars such as Entman (1993), posits that how news is presented can significantly influence the audience's perception and interpretation of events. Agenda-setting theory, developed by McCombs and Shaw (1972), further suggests the media's role in shaping public priorities by highlighting certain issues over others. By applying these frameworks, the study will analyse the narratives constructed by the SABC and eNCA and assess their impact on the public understanding of land expropriation.

Moreover, the study addresses a gap in existing literature. While numerous studies have explored media framing of various socio-political issues in South Africa, there is a paucity of research specifically focusing on agricultural-related news and the contentious issue of land reform. This research thus contributes to a better understanding of how mainstream television news channels engage with and portray complex, divisive topics.

In summary, this study aims to provide a detailed examination of how the SABC and eNCA cover the public hearings on land expropriation without compensation. By doing so, it will offer insights into the role of media in shaping public discourse on one of South Africa's most pressing and polarizing issues.

1.8 Research questions

How did eNCA and the SABC news channels frame the land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) public hearings in South Africa?

Sub-questions:

- What frames did the eNCA and the SABC use to cover the public hearings?
- How did eNCA and the SABC represent the LEWC public hearings?
- What dominant themes emerged from the coverage of each channel?

1.9 Significance of the study

Current studies on South African land reform provide essential understanding of the intricate aspects of this difficult process. These studies offer an empirical foundation for comprehending the actual circumstances, achievements, and ongoing difficulties, irrespective of media portrayals that may exaggerate or simplify the concerns. For instance, studies like those by Bonti-Ankomah (2001) in Mpumalanga examine the concrete socioeconomic advantages of land redistribution. These studies illustrate the capacity of land transfer to mitigate poverty and enhance the livelihoods of beneficiaries,

providing a nuanced viewpoint beyond generic assertions. Likewise, policy evaluations such as Meadows (2012), who in their study of current land reform policy and practice offer significant critiques of the deployed tactics and highlight potential deficiencies. These studies provide evidence-based policy suggestions through the analysis of policy frameworks and implementation procedures.

Additionally, a body of research examines the wider socio-economic aspects affecting land reform results. Aliber and Cousins (2012) compare South Africa's experiences with those of Namibia and Zimbabwe, contending that the unthinking implementation of large-scale commercial farming practices may impede effective land reform. These studies underline the necessity for context-specific strategies that take into account the conditions of the rural impoverished and foster sustainable livelihoods. The research examines the effects of land reform on poverty among Southern African Development Community nations (Nene et al., 2014), providing a regional analysis of the socio-economic implications of land redistribution. Hall (2004) elucidates the transition in land policy from prioritizing the impoverished rural areas to emphasizing Black commercial farmers. These works significantly enhance comprehension of the complexity involved in land reform, providing valuable insights based on empirical facts and thorough analysis. Kepe et al. (2005) examine contemporary experiences in South Africa with land reform in conservation zones, investigating both synergies and tensions. Their findings offer essential background for assessing the efficacy and sustainability of land reform projects.

In light of the available research, the study will offer a distinctive contribution to the land reform discourse in South Africa. YouTube is an innovative platform with unique attributes. YouTube, as a visual and interactive platform, engages a distinct audience compared to conventional print or broadcast media. It frequently provides more accessibility by presenting varied viewpoints and narratives that may be lacking in mainstream media.

The study will examine the construction of narratives by the two news networks, SABC and eNCA. The study will investigate what frames SABC and eNCA use to frame LEWC

public hearings and land reform discourse. This corresponds with views regarding the divisions the land dispute has engendered in the nation (Mthembu, 2019).

The study will analyse the visual rhetoric in YouTube videos, investigating how pictures, symbols, and narrative strategies are utilised by news channels to communicate messages and elicit emotions around land reform. This visual aspect is usually overlooked in conventional media evaluations and provides a distinctive viewpoint on the persuasive efficacy of online communication. This research enhances the understanding of the intricate dynamics of land reform in South Africa by analysing the impact of the emerging and prominent media platform, YouTube.

1.10 Research methods

1.10.1 Introduction

This section will discuss the methods used to critically analyze how land expropriation without compensation (LEWC) public hearings were presented by news networks. The study focuses on the coverage provided by two major South African television news channels, namely the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNews Channel Africa (eNCA). To conduct this analysis, a qualitative content analysis approach was utilized. This approach enables a thorough examination of the language, visuals, and framing techniques used in the news broadcasts.

1.10.2 Research design and methods

The study employed a qualitative content analysis approach. Qualitative content analysis is a method used to analyze qualitative data. It focuses on the subject and context and emphasizes variation, such as similarities within and differences between parts of the

text. It offers opportunities to analyze manifest and descriptive content as well as latent and interpretive content (Graneheim, Lindgren & Lundman, 2017:29). This will assist in noting the differences and similarities between the channels' news broadcast texts. Content analysis can generate interesting accounts of media representation, involving potentially important claims. These accounts and claims can, in turn, contribute to larger arguments and theories about the media, which is crucial, especially regarding the LEWC heated debate in South Africa (Wasserman, Chuma, Bosch, Uzuegbunam & Flynn, 2021:337). Cooky, Messner, and Hextrum (2013:207) assert that content analysis is a methodical examination of content, typically encompassing texts, photographs, or other forms of symbolic material. The objective of content analysis is to elucidate the weight of written or visual sources through a methodical process of assigning their content to pre-established and specific categories. Subsequently, the results are quantified and interpreted to gain a comprehensive understanding. Content analysis is a study methodology that enables researchers to ascertain the existence, interpretations, and associations of specific words or concepts inside a given text. It was for this reason that content analysis was employed to conduct a comprehensive examination of the news outlets' coverage of LEWC public hearings.

1.10.3 Sampling

This study employed a purposive sampling strategy to select news broadcasts from two prominent news networks, SABC and eNCA. Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling technique, allows for the selection of units based on specific attributes and criteria relevant to the research objectives (Stratton, 2024 and Avraham & First (2010:482), In this study, broadcasts were chosen based on their focus on LEWC public hearings which were between June 2018 until January 2022. This method was chosen because certain broadcasts offer unique perspectives on the framing of LEWC debates within the South African media landscape, directly addressing the research questions on what frames did both the news channels employ for their coverage, their representation and the themes that emerged. By focusing on strategically selected broadcasts, this study

aims to provide in-depth insights into how the news channels framed the LEWC public hearings.

This approach allowed for the inclusion of multiple perspectives and potential biases that may arise from the editorial practices of different time periods and individual broadcasters. Once the appropriate broadcasts were identified and chosen, they were systematically transcribed to enable thorough qualitative analysis.

Transcription involved converting the spoken content of the broadcasts into written text, which served as the primary data source for subsequent analytical procedures. The transcription process ensured the preservation of delicate elements of verbal communication, such as tone, emphasis, and speech patterns, for thorough examination. By incorporating broadcasts from various time periods and news anchors, the study aimed to capture a wide range of reporting styles and content emphases, thereby enhancing the reliability and validity of the findings. This methodological rigor was crucial for drawing accurate conclusions regarding the media portrayal of the LEWC public hearings.

1.10.4 Data Collection, Coding, and Analysis

This study employed a qualitative approach using thematic content analysis (Nowell et al., 2017) of televised Land Expropriation Without Compensation public hearings. Data was sourced from YouTube, specifically from the channels of two dominant South African news broadcasters, SABC and eNCA (Ciaglia, 2015; Duncan, 2014; Nodoba, 2024). These channels were chosen due to their significant reach within the South African television news landscape.

The data collection process involved several steps:

- *Initial Search and Filtering:* The keywords "land expropriation without compensation public hearings" were used in YouTube's search engine. The search results were then filtered to include only uploads from the selected news

channels. Videos featuring commentary from special guests or in-studio experts, rather than the public hearings themselves, were excluded. It was noted that eNCA had proportionally less coverage of the public hearings themselves, focusing more on expert commentary.

- *Sample Selection:* From an initial pool of over one hundred videos, twenty-five unique clips per channel (totaling fifty clips in total) were selected. The selection criteria prioritised videos visually depicting public participation within meeting halls or similar venues, as evidenced by cues such as seated audience. Clips with identical content were excluded to ensure a diverse representation of coverage. This manageable sample size, constrained by the study's resources, allowed for in-depth analysis while aiming for a representative overview of the selected news channels' coverage. The researcher aimed to include coverage from all nine provinces for both channels.
- *Data Processing:* Selected videos were downloaded and categorised by channel. Exact duplicate videos were removed, but different segments of the same broadcast, if uploaded separately to potentially convey different viewpoints, were retained.

This data, classified as secondary data due to its creation for news broadcasting purposes (Grabe, 1996; Pitts, 2002; Sambrook & Nielsen, 2016) rather than research, underwent both visual and thematic analysis. *The visual analysis focused on facial expressions, body language, use of graphics and camera angles.* This visual analysis, informed by the understanding that visual elements contribute to storytelling (Fazeli, Sabeti, and Ferrari, 2023:2) provided insights into how the channels used imagery to frame and portray the LEWC public hearings.

This research employed Braun & Clark's (2006) thematic analysis framework to analyse twenty-five videos from two distinct channels. The researcher selected this method due to its flexible yet rigorous approach to identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2022). The following six phases,

as outlined by Braun and Clarke (Dawadi, 2020; Nowell et al., 2017; Yardley, 2025), guided the analysis:

1. Familiarisation with the Data: The researcher began by immersing themselves in the data, watching and re-watching each of the twenty-five videos from both channels. This repeated viewing allowed for profound engagement with the content and facilitated initial observations and note-taking.
2. Generating initial codes: The researcher, after familiarisation, systematically coded noteworthy features of the videos that were relevant to the research question. These codes served as concise labels, encapsulating key ideas and recurring patterns observed within the video content.
3. Searching for Themes: The researcher compiled the identified codes into potential themes. All information pertaining to each potential theme, including relevant video segments and associated codes, was collected and organised. This process marked a shift from analysing individual codes to identifying broader patterns across the dataset.
4. Reviewing Themes: A thorough review of the themes generated was undertaken to ensure their validity and relevance to the data. This step involved critically examining whether each theme accurately reflected the coded extracts and the complete dataset of 50 videos. Themes were refined, combined, or discarded as needed to maintain coherence and distinctiveness.
5. Defining and Naming Themes: Precise definitions and descriptive names were developed for each finalised theme, clarifying its specific meaning and connection to the overarching research question. This process ensured a clear and concise representation of the emergent patterns in the data.
6. Producing the Report: Finally, the defined themes were integrated into a cohesive narrative, supported by illustrative excerpts from the video data. This final report presents a comprehensive account of the analysis, effectively conveying the story and insights derived from the fifty videos.

This iterative process, characteristic of Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017, 2023), allowed for ongoing refinement of the analysis throughout the six phases. The flexibility inherent in this method was crucial in ensuring a thorough and nuanced understanding of the video content.

1.10.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were methodically integrated into every stage of the research process to ensure the integrity and ethical compliance of the study. The primary source of data consists of news broadcasts that are publicly accessible and have been disseminated by the respective news channels. Utilising publicly available videos aligns with ethical research practices that respect the privacy and autonomy of individuals featured in the broadcasts (Buchanan & Zimmer, 2012).

Given that the data were extracted exclusively from publicly shared video content, the researcher did not engage in any primary data collection beyond accessing these videos. This approach ensured that no new, potentially sensitive information was gathered that could compromise the privacy of individuals (Markham & Buchanan, 2012). Furthermore, the researcher adhered to the principle of non-intervention, refraining from contacting any participants or individuals appearing in the news broadcasts for additional information. This non-interactive stance was crucial in maintaining the ethical boundary between researcher and subject, thereby preventing any undue influence or potential bias that might arise from direct interaction (Israel & Hay, 2006).

Additionally, the study was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines and standards set forth by relevant institutional review boards (IRBs) or ethics committees (Smith, 2003). These guidelines typically emphasize the importance of obtaining informed consent, ensuring confidentiality, and minimizing harm. While direct informed consent was not applicable due to the public nature of the data, the researcher's adherence to

ethical principles helped safeguard the dignity and rights of all individuals involved (British Psychological Society, 2014).

To further ensure ethical rigour, the researcher remained vigilant about the responsible handling and representation of data. All transcriptions and subsequent analyses were conducted with a commitment to accuracy and respect for the context in which the original broadcasts were produced (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). This included maintaining the fidelity of the broadcast content and avoiding any misrepresentation or manipulation of the data.

In summary, by relying solely on publicly available news broadcasts and refraining from any direct contact with participants, the researcher upheld the highest standards of ethical research practices. This approach not only protected the privacy and rights of individuals but also reinforced the credibility and integrity of the study's findings (Flick, 2018).

1.11 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, trustworthiness refers to the extent to which the findings are considered credible, dependable, transferable, and confirmable (Ahmed, 2024). It is analogous to validity and reliability in quantitative research but adapted for the interpretive nature of qualitative inquiry. This research demonstrates trustworthiness through a systematic and rigorous approach to thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017) of video content. The argument for its trustworthiness rests on four pillars, echoing established qualitative research principles (Mayring, 2000): credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

1. *Credibility*: The study's credibility stems from the rich data source and the rigorous analysis process. The use of 25 videos per channel provides a substantial amount of data, capturing diverse perspectives and content. Furthermore, adhering to Braun and Clarke's six-phase thematic analysis framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006) ensures a

systematic and established approach to data interpretation (Lochmiller, 2021). The detailed documentation of the coding process, including examples and illustrative excerpts, allows for transparency and strengthens the credibility of the identified themes (Nowell et al., 2017).

2. *Transferability*: While this study focuses on specific channels, the detailed description of the channel characteristics, audience demographics, and video selection criteria enables readers to assess the potential transferability of findings to other similar contexts. By clearly outlining the scope and context of the research, the study facilitates informed judgments about the applicability of the findings to other online communities or content creators. The specific sampling methods used, along with rationale for their implementation, allow other researchers to further consider the findings in relation to their own studies, enhancing potential transferability (Gabarre & Gabarre, 2020).

3. *Dependability*: The research emphasizes dependability by maintaining a thorough audit trail of the entire analytic process. This detailed documentation includes decisions made throughout the six phases of thematic analysis, from initial coding to theme refinement and revisions (Nowell et al., 2017). Such meticulous record-keeping allows for scrutiny and replication of the analysis, ensuring the stability and consistency of the findings.

4. *Confirmability*: Confirmability is addressed through reflexivity and transparency. The researcher's positionality and potential biases are acknowledged and documented (Kakar et al., 2023), enhancing the objectivity of interpretations. Additionally, providing clear justifications for any modifications or decisions made throughout the analysis further contributes to the confirmability of the findings.

In summary, this research demonstrates trustworthiness by employing established qualitative methodologies, maintaining detailed documentation, and embracing transparency throughout the research process. The combination of these factors strengthens the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the findings, ensuring the overall quality and rigor of the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

According to David and Sutton (2004,7), a literature review assesses how other researchers have studied, understood, and explained a specific topic. In this case, the topic is the framing of television news, particularly the coverage of land expropriation without compensation and public hearings by the two news channels: eNCA and the SABC. The literature review helps to establish a solid theoretical foundation (David & Sutton, 2004,7).

While numerous studies have examined the framing of various news topics, such as protests in South Africa (Duncan, 2016; Mohlakoana & Steyn, 2020), there has been a paucity of research focusing on agricultural-related news in mainstream television channels. This gap is significant, as the framing of such issues can have substantial implications for public perception and policy development.

Research by Fourie (2018,72-73) on the role of media in nation-building and public education draws attention to the importance of how media coverage can influence public understanding and engagement with critical national issues. Similarly, McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda-setting theory highlight the media's power in shaping public priorities, which is pertinent when considering how land expropriation is presented to the audience.

Studies on news framing, such as those by Entman (1993) and Goffman (1974), provide a theoretical basis for analysing how news narratives are constructed. Entman's (1993) framing theory, which discusses the selection and salience of news aspects, can be applied to understand how eNCA and the SABC frame the land expropriation issue. Additionally, Goffman's (1974) work on frame analysis offers insights into the underlying structures that shape media representations.

The limited research on the framing of agricultural news in South African media, therefore, presents an opportunity to explore how such coverage influences public discourse and policy. By examining the framing of land expropriation by eNCA and the SABC, this study aims to contribute to the broader understanding of media's role in post-colonial societies and its impact on national issues.

2.2 Apartheid Government's Approach to Land Ownership

Fraser (2008) states that white farmers in South Africa were once closely affiliated with the country's governing powers. In the early twentieth century, Afrikaner nationalism emerged as a challenge to the dominance of English-speaking whites in the political economy. It constructed an imagined community based on distinct cultural traits and histories, highlighting the bravery of Afrikaners in wars with Africans and the British, as well as their Great Trek into the South African interior. These narratives emphasised the suffering and injustice endured by Afrikaners.

In the late 1940s, the parties of Afrikaner nationalism, namely the Afrikaner Party (AP) and later the Herenigde National Party (Nationalist Party - NP), focused on the position of Afrikaner farmers in this imagined community and promised to solve the labour shortage they faced. As a result, white farmers were swayed and overwhelmingly voted for the nationalists in the 1948 national election. Following this election, the NP organised agricultural interests on a national scale.

One notable aspect of the apartheid state that followed was the close alliance between white farmers and the NP. Agriculture enjoyed "privileged access" to state institutions and policymaking during this era. White farmers benefited from government subsidies, protection from international competition, and labour market policies that ensured a cheap labour supply for agriculture. However, with the advent of democracy in 1994 and the loss of control by Afrikaner nationalism, white farmers have become largely disconnected from

political power. The governing alliance in South Africa is now focused on transforming the social landscape, although this has proven to be a challenging task.

There are instances where white farmers have taken leading roles in creating post-land reform structures, such as partnerships, which they claim are "win-win" solutions to the land reform challenge. However, there is also a significant and vocal group of white farmers that opposes the government's approach to land reform, if not land reform itself. The Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU), for example, has been particularly critical. They have expressed concern over the use of expropriation orders for land reform and have even threatened with violence if expropriation is used more widely. As a result of the land reform process, tensions around land ownership have intensified in South Africa.

2.3 The ANC Government's Approach to Land

It is widely acknowledged that land is the main source of inequality in today's society, and the situation is no different in South Africa. The country has a long history of social manipulation, which has led to the distribution of land and access to natural resources based on racial interests rather than the public interest of an open and democratic society that values human dignity, equality, and freedom. In addition to direct legislation regarding land ownership and access to resources, many other laws have indirectly impacted the majority of people's relationship with land. When the democratically elected government took power in 1994, it implemented a land reform programme to address the issues inherited from a past marked by extreme land inequality and widespread rural poverty (Dlamini, 2014:7)

Alexander (2016) asserts that the ANC's strategy for land reform incorporated a Market-Led Approach. The ANC adopted the "willing buyer, willing seller" approach, following the guidance of the World Bank. This principle limited the government's participation in land

redistribution and transformed it into a process driven by the market. The ANC upheld a clear differentiation between policy concerning urban housing and rural land. The market-led plan was criticised for its inability to solve the historical issue of land theft and its continuation of very unequal land distribution patterns from the apartheid era. Market-based redistribution programmes, which operate under the principle of "willing seller, willing buyer," have faced significant criticism for providing limited amounts of land, much of which is of low quality. Additionally, these programmes have failed to adequately assist intended beneficiaries in establishing successful agricultural businesses (Lahif, 2014: 587). The willing buyer willing seller approach, led to slow progress. The rate of land transfer is far below targets, with a minimal positive impact on livelihoods and the rural economy. The lack of mobilization among the rural poor has contributed to the slow pace of reform (Lahif,2007).

It is not surprising that South Africa adopted a market-led strategy, considering that other countries have also embraced this approach. This strategy, as described by Dlamini (2014,27), has several characteristics. Firstly, voluntary transactions are a key aspect, with the concept of willing seller-willing buyer. In this approach, landowners willingly sell their land, while the government assists buyers through subsidies and loans. Secondly, the strategy aims to promote economic efficiency by deregulating the agriculture sector and eliminating market distortions, thus ensuring fairness in the distribution of assets. Thirdly, beneficiaries are selected based on their skills and resources, often requiring collaboration in groups to efficiently exploit the land. Lastly, state facilitation refers to the government's role in providing financial support without directly purchasing or owning the land. Instead, the focus is on facilitating transactions between private parties.

Land reform is one of the unresolved issues stemming from South Africa's apartheid era. After 1994, justice and wealth distribution were promised to black South Africans (Adebayo, 2019:1). Democracy in South Africa carries a range of meanings for the average black South African. It represents the hope for a better life, but it is also viewed as an unattainable dream. According to Modise and Mtshiselwa (2013), the Native Land Act of 1913 not only legalised the expropriation of land from Black people, but it also widened socioeconomic disparities since land was seen as a source of economic power.

The South African government aimed to address past injustices through the constitution. When Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the media played a crucial role in reporting on South Africa's triumph over apartheid. However, the media also played a significant role in promoting the ideologies of the apartheid government. In the post-democracy era, the media had to find its place in the construction of a new South Africa, the rainbow nation. In the 29 years since democracy was established, South Africa has made limited progress towards fulfilling its land reform promises. Land reform has become a controversial topic in the media, which has the potential to deepen divisions. Television serves as an effective means of communication, and news selection is based on newsworthiness. News networks determine how they cover issues such as LEWC debate, which in turn shapes public perception of the public hearings conducted across South Africa.

A study conducted by Voster (2019) showed that during the public hearings, profound philosophical questions surfaced regarding the nature of land and its connection to identity. The land was not merely viewed as a commodity, a social space, a cultural artefact, or a divine inheritance. That property rights be separated from individuals, and that they are intrinsic to human dignity. The state was questioned about its capabilities as a custodian of all land of compromising individual dignity. Land was also viewed as a sacred space crucial to the dignity of faith communities. These inquiries underscore the deep-rooted link between land and identity in South Africa, a connection that inevitably ties communities to their historical narratives (Gibson 2009:127).

Three primary perspectives emerged: land viewed as a commodity, as a social space, and as a spiritual inheritance. Many submissions embraced multiple views, suggesting fluid boundaries between these paradigms. However, each presentation tended to prioritize one perspective over others. In addition to delineating these approaches, this essay offers an immanent critique of their ethical assumptions.

Unlike a transcendental critique, which evaluates from an external standpoint, an immanent critique interrogates paradigms from within, assessing their plausibility, ethical consistency, and moral integrity. The debate surrounding land and identity in South Africa reveals a struggle with issues of dispossession, displacement, and alienation from land

rights among historically marginalized groups. Conversely, many white landowners express existential concerns about potential land seizures and the prospect of losing their property.

The hearings reaffirmed that ownership profoundly shapes individual and group identities. For many, ownership represents a crucial identity marker, providing autonomy, rootedness, opportunities for self-realization, economic access, bargaining power, and social integration.

2. 4 Realities of Land Reform in Africa

In the context of this study, land reform plans or programmes in many African countries aim to address inequalities in land ownership and access, as well as mitigate the triple challenges of household income inequalities, unemployment, and poverty (Nesthipale, Mashiloane, Raidimi, Boer, & Oosting, 2023:1). It has been observed that African nations have comparable histories of colonisation and dispossession, which continue to influence the current patterns of land tenure and management on the continent (Kleinbooi, 2010:2). In Africa, there has been a period of market reforms, liberalisation, and land redistribution initiatives. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are among the countries that have undergone reform (Kleinbooi, 2010:3). Power, wealth, and purpose are all embodied in land (Lund & Boone, 2013:6). This was evident in the apartheid government's use of race as a means of acquiring wealth and power to maintain racial segregation in South Africa. Due to the resulting aspects of discrimination, injustice, and racial dominance, the indigenous people had to be forcibly removed from their territory (Mudau, Mukonza, & Ntshangase, 2018:581).

According to Schroeder (2019), insecure land tenure across Africa leaves the rural population vulnerable to displacement, continuing a long-standing practice that dates

back to colonial rule. The ongoing conflicts over the scope of land ownership and power in Africa, as well as official initiatives to alter communal or traditional land tenure, constitute some of the disputes that are currently taking place across the continent. The definition and securing of land rights that differ from private property and have a "communal" character is seen by many as the key issue affecting tenure reform in Africa (Cousins, 2009:2).

Kleinbooi (2010) identified common issues among these nations that impeded perceptible progress in their efforts at land reform and failed to make it work for the poor. As a result, the land reforms have failed to consider the circumstances and requirements of the local population. Weak governance systems, poverty, and underdevelopment contribute to high levels of land contention. Adam & White (2003:1) notes that Botswana has been praised for successfully administering land reform and that other countries in Southern Africa can learn valuable lessons from it. Adam & White (2003:1) also highlights that South Africa can learn from Zimbabwe's allegedly ineffective implementation of land reform.

Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe are considered to have the most intense land reform efforts among African countries (Lahiff, 2013; Kleinbooi, 2013; Lund & Boone, 2013). As stated by Phillips (2016), Namibia, like Botswana, identified a successful approach to achieving its land reform initiatives. Namibia embraced the principle of first refusal. This gave the Namibian government the advantage of deciding whether to acquire or not buy commercial agricultural land that came up for sale, and it has transferred parts of the land from commercial farms to emerging farmers. According to Phillips (2016), their success can be attributed to following the land market mechanism instead of resorting to land expropriation or other harmful interventions. Some believe that this model could also work successfully in South Africa.

2.5 The media in a democratic South Africa

Before the abolishment of apartheid, the media in South Africa was plagued by various attempts by the apartheid government to inhibit its rights to report on what was happening, politically, in the country (Thompson, 2016).

Before the abolishment of apartheid, the media in South Africa faced numerous attempts by the apartheid government to restrict its rights to report on political events in the country (Thompson, 2016). The first democratic election on 27 April 1994 marked the end of oppressive regulations imposed on the media, bringing an end to media censorship and control, and signaling the start of a new era for the media. This new era involved a shift from the former oppressive media regulations to a system of self-regulation, while also striving to broaden the "public sphere" (Wasserman & De Beer, 2005:37).

The media plays a crucial role in democratic societies, such as South Africa, serving as a watchdog, promoting public debates, and holding governments accountable for their actions. However, concerns have been raised about the media's ability to uphold its values and understand its responsibilities in a democratic society, particularly given the ongoing consolidation of media ownership. It is important for society to have an independent and diverse media that ensures a wide range of voices are heard. Additionally, the media must provide citizens with accurate and unbiased information, enabling them to make informed decisions and actively participate in the democratic process.

South Africa has made significant progress in journalism, exposing corruption and inefficiencies in service delivery, as evidenced by recent service delivery protests. However, it is important to acknowledge that the media can also be biased, favouring certain voices, and limiting inclusivity and diversity (Albuquerque, 2019:908). Democracy in South Africa was viewed as the solution to the societal challenges experienced under the apartheid government, instilling optimism for true freedom. To fully comprehend the role and influence of the media, it is crucial to analyse the relationship between the media and democracy. Democracy is a powerful and resonant concept for those who yearn for

freedom and a better quality of life. However, it is important to acknowledge that democracy encompasses various types, each with distinct practices and effects. The specific form of democracy in a given country is influenced by socioeconomic conditions, existing state structures, and policy practices. In modern political democracy, citizens participate indirectly through their elected representatives, who are held accountable for their actions. Effective democracy necessitates qualities such as government decisions being vested in elected officials, fair and frequent elections, universal suffrage, freedom of expression without fear of retribution, access to alternative sources protected by law, and the ability to form independent associations and organizations.

The media's role in upholding democracy, as opposed to merely being an instrument of democracy, is widely acknowledged as crucial. Democracy is defined as governance by the people, for the people, and for the people. Citizens can participate in governance not only by voting for leaders but also by engaging in public debates that can influence policy decisions. Democracy promotes freedom, particularly freedom of expression, in a manner unparalleled by any other viable alternative.

The media is considered a democratic public sphere, where citizens can convene to discuss societal concerns and exert influence on political decisions through their arguments. However, discussions within the media's public sphere have increasingly gravitated towards public interest and attracting advertisers, resulting in a trivialization of news content and an entertainment-seeking audience craving simplified information. The media is expected to fulfill critical functions in sustaining democracy, including serving as a platform for public debates that impact policy decisions. The manner in which the media facilitates these debates can shape the outcomes of policy discussions. A public sphere lacking depth and swayed by self-interest would lead to shallow and narrow perspectives, devoid of the necessary creativity and robustness required for establishing an accountable press.

The media should function as a democratic public sphere, ensuring that every participant in a debate has a voice, irrespective of their arguments or social status. Excluding or marginalizing any party involved in a media policy debate goes against the principles of democracy, which emphasize universalism. Decisions concerning the allocation of space and extent of coverage should not be driven by the media's self-interest. A public sphere that guarantees equal access to arguments rooted in diverse ideologies would promote more meaningful debates and foster the generation of innovative and effective ideas for media reform.

2.5.1 Media Self-Regulation Post-Apartheid

The concept of media self-regulation in South Africa emerged after the end of apartheid. The dismantling of the oppressive apartheid regime brought about an era of democracy and press freedom, placing the media in a crucial position as a watchdog and an essential pillar of democracy. The media had to find its footing in the new democratic state, which presented challenges and great opportunities to establish effective self-regulatory mechanisms in a post-apartheid society. The idea behind media self-regulation is to promote press freedom and accountability, emphasizing the need for ongoing efforts to strengthen and improve self-regulatory frameworks in South Africa. It is a mechanism through which the media industry regulates itself, eschewing external regulation by the government or other bodies. While the media should remain independent and free from government interference, it also has a duty to report ethically and responsibly. Striking the right balance between these principles is crucial for the effectiveness of self-regulatory mechanisms. The new democratic era has provided a platform for open dialogue and engagement between the media industry, civil society, and the public. When addressing the issue of self-regulation, the ruling party, the ANC, made accusations about the media, stating that it had failed to self-regulate and named this self-regulation failure in 2017. The chairperson of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) Subcommittee on Communications, Jackson Mthembu, accused the media of having a gluttonous appetite

for bad news. According to Selebano (2017), Mthembu accused the media of unbalanced reporting, bias, factual inaccuracies, and wrong reporting. Mthembu criticised the system of self-regulation, stating that it failed to prevent inaccurate reporting and labelling it problematic. The media did not adhere to their code of ethics, which emphasizes objectivity, and failed to highlight the developmental issues that the government is addressing, in other words, the positive actions of the government. Mthembu stated, "Self-regulation has failed." Mthembu called on Parliament to urgently undertake an inquiry into how to regulate the media, as the ANC aims to prove that self-regulation has failed.

The public sphere is a major issue in communication and media studies (Duvenhage, 2018: 325). The media operates to facilitate communicative exchange. State intervention in press regulation may not necessarily result in a loss of press freedom; measures can be implemented to ensure that the government does not exceed its boundaries. For the press to function as a marketplace of ideas, guaranteeing the expression of diverse viewpoints without fear of suppression or oppression, it must maintain independence from the state. In democratic societies, it is widely acknowledged that the press should have the freedom to hold those in power accountable and prevent abuses of power. However, the degree of autonomy required to fulfil this role is often a topic of debate.

Duncan (2014) presented some of the arguments about the challenges with self-regulation, stating that this may lead to industry capture due to self-regulation systems being dominated by the very industry they are meant to regulate, resulting in minimal intervention and accountability. The lack of enforcement, which comes from the absence of strong investigative and enforcement powers, may cause self-regulatory bodies to struggle to ensure compliance and address ethical breaches effectively. As a result, public trust may diminish. When public trust diminishes, it has the potential to fuel perceptions that the media is only accountable to themselves, undermining public trust. One of the biggest issues for the media is financial pressure. Economic challenges in the media industry can lead to cost-cutting measures that negatively impact journalism standards and ethical practices. Despite the challenges, Duncan (2014) presents an

argument for state regulation. According to Duncan (2014), state regulation can provide stronger enforcement by including legal mechanisms for enforcement, such as fines and penalties, which can be more effective in ensuring compliance. Public accountability can be enhanced as the media will be accountable to the public, promoting transparency and public trust. The media is expected to be consistent and have standards that they operate by, reducing the risk of bias. Lastly, independent statutory regulators can help to curb or prevent conflicts of interest and ensure impartiality within the media.

2.6 Media and the Coverage of Agricultural News

Television is a powerful medium that reaches a wide audience regardless of age, gender, or social class. As a mass media tool, television messages have a significant influence on the audience. An issue like the LEWC, rooted in South Africa's history, can affect racial attitudes (Nelson & Sallawa, 2017:108). The media is known for its power, as it can draw attention to any issue and transform it into a significant social, political, and economic concern (Bongfiglioli, Smith, King, Chapman & Holding, 2007:442). This aligns with Jones' assertion (2017:30) that news is determined by newsmakers and is deemed important, timely, interesting, or even profitable. Ntsebeza, (2018). & Mthembu (2019:55) stated that the land debate is currently one of the major news stories in South Africa. The media has depicted the division that the land debate created in the country. This study aims to examine this influential medium by analysing how the television news channels framed the LEWC public hearings.

According to Hall (2010:25), land reform encompasses various initiatives aimed at modifying property distribution, tenure regimes, production structures, and social relationships in rural areas. Hall (2010:25) also asserts that the successful land reforms in Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea during the mid-twentieth century were driven by a capitalist reform strategy that prioritised the rights of tenants over those of landowners, resulting in changes to the mode of production. Regarding the proposed land expropriation without compensation, the global perception, particularly as portrayed by

Western media, notably Fox News, has been unfavourable towards South Africa, labelling it as "sinful, immoral, bad for South Africa's press, catastrophic, and fraught with dire consequences" (Ankomah, 2019:44). Fox News even referred to it as "South Africa's racist land seizure." These statements were met with strong disapproval by South Africans.

There have been studies conducted on how the Western media, particularly television news, portrays Africa and its people to the rest of the world. However, extensive coverage of land reform and fundamental agricultural news, such as land reform, is lacking. Zimbabwe's land reform actions under former President Robert Mugabe did receive some coverage (Gabore, 2020: 300). Previous studies primarily focused on print media as part of their examination of media coverage. The Fast Track land reform program was implemented to return land to its rightful owners, as would be the purpose of any desired land reform program. The land issue has been at the center of Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic struggles since the colonial era, which is an indisputable fact. The extensive coverage of the country's land revolution in both local and international media, particularly after the launch of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000, illustrates the influence of mass media in shaping public opinion (Chari, 2013: 291). Despite the numerous studies and reports analysing media coverage of the Fast Track program, television news broadcasts have been excluded, warranting further inquiry into how television news covers agricultural news, specifically land reform, in South Africa.

Land issues in South Africa encompass all agricultural matters, with the agricultural sector proving resilient amid the COVID-19 pandemic, serving as a vital driver of economic recovery and job creation (Sihlobo, 2021). Decision-makers must acknowledge agriculture's pivotal role in fostering economic growth and employment opportunities (Sihlobo, 2021). Despite this, research indicates minimal coverage of agricultural news in mainstream media, whether government or private outlets (Agumagu, 2008:281). Agriculture-related issues in South Africa tend to gain attention only when politicised, drawing interest from channels like SABC and eNCA, such as poor working conditions for farm labourers, drought concerns, and the recent LEWC.

Television wields significant influence as a mass media tool, capable of shaping public attitudes regardless of demographics (Nelson & Sallawa, 2017:108). It has the power to elevate issues like LEWC, turning them into major social, political, and economic concerns (Bongfiglioli et al., 2007:442). Jones (2017:30) posits that news importance is determined by newsmakers' judgment of timeliness, interest, or profitability. The land debate, highlighted by Ntsebeza (2018) and Mthembu (2019:55), has become a major news story in South Africa, revealing the media's depiction of the country's division. This study aims to analyse how television news channels frame the LEWC public hearings, exploring their influential role.

2.7 Media Perspectives on Land Reform

2.7.1 Global Perspectives on Land Reform and Media Portrayals

Land reform, as defined by Hall (2010:25), encompasses a variety of initiatives aimed at altering the distribution of property, tenure regimes, and social relationships in rural areas. These reforms often aim to rectify historical injustices and promote equitable access to land. Hall (2010:25) highlights successful land reform efforts in countries such as Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, where the emphasis was placed on enhancing tenants' rights at the expense of traditional landowners. These reforms not only redistributed land more equitably but also catalyzed significant socio-economic transformations, contributing to rural development, and increased agricultural productivity (Hall, 2010).

In the context of South Africa, the proposed policy of land expropriation without compensation has sparked intense debate both domestically and internationally. This policy aims to address the deep-seated inequalities rooted in the colonial and apartheid eras by redistributing land to the historically disenfranchised Black majority without monetary compensation to current landowners (Cousins, 2016). However, the international media's portrayal of this policy has been notably critical, particularly in

Western outlets. Western media, and notably Fox News, have depicted the policy of land expropriation without compensation in a highly negative light. Ankomah (2019:44) notes that Fox News and other Western media outlets have described the policy using terms such as "sinful, immoral, bad for South Africa's press, catastrophic, and fraught with dire consequences."

This is not surprising as Joda & Asemah (2020) found out that the Western media for an unfavourable portrayal of Africa, particularly in their reporting, especially on television. The criticism of how Africa is reported has remained the same from the pre-colonial era to the present, rendering it akin to the ramblings of an elderly woman. Despite the prevalence of digital technology, the Western media presents news from Africa in a manner that suggests Africa is still stuck in an era commonly associated with backwardness when only old activities and customs are considered the standard. Instead of accurately depicting Africa, the Western broadcast media predominantly focuses on the negative aspects of the continent. Their research revealed that Western media unfavourably presents Africa. The researchers contended that despite the dominance of Western media technology, African journalists can portray Africa's authentic image by selecting a positive perspective for their stories, as demonstrated by Soni Methu, a Kenyan journalist who reported on Nigeria in her documentary for Inside Africa. The analysis determined that the Western media is tarnishing Africa's reputation through various misconceptions. It was suggested that African media organisations and journalists should strive to highlight the continent's cultural legacy, natural resources, innovations, and social values.

Kubitz, Telg, Irani & Roberts (2013: 6-10) published a detailed report that shed light on the main topics covered by worldwide media and international journalists. The objective of this study was to establish a fundamental understanding of significant agricultural issues, both on a global and domestic scale, as reported by agricultural communicators within an agricultural context. The study aimed to identify significant global agricultural concerns and major domestic agricultural issues related to each country.

Table 2 below shows the issues that were listed and reported by the international media.

Country	The issue covered by the media
Australia	Biosecurity Free trade Genetically modified organisms Supermarket monopolies/power Food Miles Live animal export trade Animal activism Foreign ownership of farms/businesses Conflict with mining expansion Diseases like henda virus
Belgium	Sustainable production Food prices Food quality Agriculture and environment Waste of food
Canada	Farmers receiving fair prices for the food they produce Urban crush Non-organic vs. organic, including Buy Local campaigns Water
Czech Republic	Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union (CAP) Subsidy for agriculture and food sector Food safety and food quality Food prices

Denmark	<p>The new CAP (proposal from the EU commission)</p> <p>New environmental restrictions make the farmers less competitive</p> <p>Speculation hits food prices</p> <p>The economic situation for farmers because of the economic crisis</p>
Finland	<p>How to provide sufficient income to our farmers while producing in so far north where the productivity is not the highest</p> <p>Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union</p> <p>Animal welfare</p> <p>Organic farming</p> <p>Profitability of pig farming- it is in great trouble now</p> <p>The future of producing furs</p> <p>The legislation of genetically modified organisms</p> <p>The sugar quotas</p> <p>The milk quotas and milk price</p>
Great Britain	<p>Retailer domination of the market and control of prices</p> <p>Food security</p> <p>Price volatility</p> <p>High production costs and increasing prices of fuel</p> <p>Diminishing farmer numbers</p> <p>Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reforms</p>

Ireland	<p>Provision of bank credit for expanding farmers</p> <p>Competitiveness</p> <p>EU support for farmers</p>
Japan	<p>Low profitability in farming business</p> <p>Frequent changes in agricultural policies</p> <p>Aging in the farm community</p> <p>Trade liberalizations</p>
Kenya	<p>Market information</p> <p>Climate change</p> <p>Rising cost of seeds</p> <p>Availability and access to seeds</p> <p>Biotechnology</p> <p>Policy</p>
Madagascar	<p>Lack of hesitation to clear new parcels of land</p> <p>Land as a display of wealth</p> <p>Lack of education among all social groups, including women</p>
New Zealand	<p>Water quality- rivers, streams, lakes polluted by stock effluent</p> <p>Methane emissions from stock</p> <p>Biosecurity: pests, disease brought in by tourists and with imports</p> <p>The loss of prime productive land to urban sprawl</p> <p>Access to international markets for agricultural products</p> <p>Trade barriers</p> <p>Growing international concerns about food miles</p>

	Environmental footprints
Serbia	<p>Lack of money in agrarian budget (only 2.6% of total state budget)</p> <p>Subventions are aimed at number of hectares, not at the type of production or quantity of it</p> <p>Lack of education of producers. We have examples of good production, but also, really unrepresentable ones</p>
Slovakia	<p>The European Union's CAP (Common Agricultural Policy)</p> <p>Land ownership</p> <p>Short acceptance farmers by society</p>
Slovenia	<p>Equal rural development in all regions</p> <p>Development of ecological farming</p> <p>Development of high-quality products within or not the frame of EU</p> <p>geographical nomination</p> <p>Improving legislation concerning agriculture (some regulations are too strict and have nothing in common with reality)</p> <p>Working with consumers to make them understand why "short-distance food"</p> <p>Slovenia Equal rural development in all regions</p> <p>Development of ecological farming</p> <p>Development of high-quality products within or not the frame of EU</p> <p>geographical nomination</p>

	<p>Improving legislation concerning agriculture (some regulations are too strict and have nothing in common with reality)</p> <p>Working with consumers to make them understand why "short-distance food" means improvement of country's welfare, their own welfare and the environment in the whole</p> <p>Working with children- explaining the process of food production, why respect food and farmers, getting them involved in food production (back to local school gardens)</p> <p>Improving environmental knowledge of all farmers</p> <p>Assuring fair prices for all involved (at the moment the most is "collected" by the traders)</p>
South Africa	<p>Land claims (Land reform)</p> <p>Water scarcity</p> <p>Labour costs</p> <p>Production costs</p> <p>Government's bad attitude towards commercial farmers</p> <p>Scarcity of agricultural land</p> <p>Scarcity of good labour</p> <p>Global warming</p> <p>Lack of cooperation between different agricultural unions to form a united front</p>
Spain	<p>Prices paid to producers</p>

	Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) from 2013 Bioenergy
Switzerland	Declining prices of products High costs for the state and the taxpayer Lack of solidarity between the farmers Consumer-consciousness
Ukraine	Corruption Incompetence of bureaucrats Lack of funding Governmental interference Lack of the state agriculture policy
United States	Price volatility Access to credit Resource degradation- soil loss and water pollution Pesticide resistance Trade barriers Loss of prime farmland to development, hunt clubs, and other non-agricultural uses Increasing regulations and the impact of farm competitiveness Level of risk in farming today Lack of young people entering production agriculture Environmental issues- clean water

Table 2: International media coverage issues by country (Kubitz, Telg, Irani & Roberts (2013: 6-10)

This framing of the issue not only presents a dire view of the policy's potential impacts but also suggests an underlying moral judgment against the South African government's approach. Furthermore, the characterization of the policy as "South Africa's racist land seizure" by some Western media has amplified tensions and provoked strong disapproval among South Africans, who view these portrayals as misrepresentative and inflammatory (Ankomah, 2019). This negative media portrayal can be contrasted with the perspectives of many South Africans who support land reform as a necessary step towards redressing historical injustices and achieving socio-economic justice. The divergence in perspectives highlights the complex and often contentious nature of land reform policies. While Western media tend to emphasize potential economic and social disruptions, local proponents focus on the need for equity and restorative justice (Moyo & Yeros, 2005).

The critical stance of Western media can be partially attributed to broader geopolitical and economic interests. Critics argue that such portrayals often reflect concerns over market stability and foreign investments rather than the socioeconomic realities faced by South Africa's marginalized populations (Makwerere & Mandiyanike, 2017). This emphasizes the importance of critically evaluating media narratives and considering multiple perspectives to gain a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand.

Global perspectives on land reform reveal a complex interplay between regional needs for equity and justice and international concerns over economic stability and property rights. The divergent portrayals by Western media, exemplified by Fox News, highlight the contentious nature of land expropriation policies, and underscore the necessity of balanced and enhanced discourse in addressing such critical issues.



Figure 1: Screenshot of Fox News headlines about land expropriation in South Africa

The report by Fox News sparked a response from Donald Trump, who instructed Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to investigate reported land seizures and alleged murders of white farmers, as inaccurately reported by the news channel. The investigation revealed that Fox News obtained this information from the Cato Institute, a liberal US think tank that warned of South Africa following a similar path to Zimbabwe, leading to the country's economic collapse. In response, President Ramaphosa suggested that Trump should use official diplomatic channels if the US wishes to make comments regarding the proposed Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) policy (Pigou, 2018). The news channel should have put its report in the context of the broader discussion and debates about land in South Africa. The report has already created a negative image of South Africa and sparked global interest.

2.7.2 African Perspectives on Land Reform and Media Coverage

Studies investigating the portrayal of Africa and its people in Western media, specifically television news, are abundant. However, there is a noticeable gap in the coverage of crucial agricultural news, such as land reform. Although much attention has been devoted to Zimbabwe's land reform under Robert Mugabe, the focus has primarily been on print media rather than television news (Gabore, 2020: 300). The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe, launched in 2000, aimed to redistribute land to the historically disenfranchised Black majority, aligning with the central goal of land reform initiatives across the continent: restoring land to its rightful owners.

Zimbabwe's land struggles have deep colonial roots, and media coverage has intensified significantly since the implementation of the FTLRP. This media attention has played a crucial role in shaping public opinion and international perspectives on the land reform process (Chari, 2013: 291). The portrayal of these land reforms has often been polarised, with Western media frequently depicting the reforms as chaotic and economically detrimental, while local perspectives emphasise the necessity of addressing historical injustices (Moyo, 2013).

Despite the extensive research on print media coverage of land reform in Zimbabwe, there is a lack of studies on television news broadcasts. This oversight is significant considering the influential role of television in shaping public perceptions and informing societal debates. Television news has the unique ability to reach wide audiences and convey complex issues through visual and narrative elements that print media cannot match (Rosen, 2017).

In the context of South Africa, exploring how television news covers agricultural news, particularly land reform, is imperative. South Africa's land reform policies, including the controversial proposal for land expropriation without compensation, have generated intense debate both domestically and internationally. However, the extent to which television news captures the intricacies of these policies and their implications for South African society remains largely unexplored (Walker, 2017).

Further research on television news coverage of land reform in South Africa could offer valuable insights into the framing of these policies, the narratives constructed by different media outlets, and the potential impact on public opinion. Understanding how television news portrays land reform can also provide insight into broader media dynamics, including the role of media in perpetuating or challenging dominant socio-political discourses (Entman, 2007).

While existing studies have shed light on the portrayal of land reform in African print media, it is crucial to extend this research to television news broadcasts. By doing so, scholars can develop a more comprehensive understanding of how media shapes public perceptions of land reform in Africa, particularly in South Africa, where ongoing debates about land expropriation highlight the enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid on land ownership and distribution.

2.7.3 A comparison of African and international views of the media coverage of agricultural news

According to Njoroge (2012:10), the African media often covers important topics related to agricultural production. This includes the methods, difficulties, and advancements in growing different kinds of crops. In addition, the media provides information about livestock farming, including insights into animal husbandry, health, and productivity. In addition, the media provides coverage of market movements, providing regular updates on agricultural markets, pricing, and trade. Additionally, the platform showcases information on ecologically sound agricultural techniques, highlighting sustainable practices. In addition, the media highlights government policies that have an effect on agriculture and examines their consequences for farmers. Finally, the media presents technological innovations and newly developed tools in the agricultural industry.

Yusuf, Krul, & Marufu (2016) found that the media exhibits a limited scope in its coverage. From 2009 to 2013, a survey revealed that newspapers showed a preference for business, politics, and education topics, while giving less attention to agricultural matters including land reform and youth participation in farming. Nevertheless, subjects such as food security, climate change, and agricultural marketing garnered greater focus. According to these findings, the study suggests the necessity for additional positive stories about farmers in order to raise knowledge about agriculture and motivate young individuals to contemplate a profession in this domain.

Ndlela (2005) stated that the Norwegian media often simplifies the Zimbabwean issue by portraying it using traditional tales of African tragedy and despair. The investigation suggests that the Norwegian media may inadvertently demonstrate social, cultural, or political prejudices, which subsequently influence their selection of sources and the manner in which they deliver narratives. In addition, Ndlela (2005) discovered that the international media, specifically the Norwegian media, utilised media bias in their reporting.

The Norwegian media exhibited bias by engaging in stereotyping, as they simplified the intricate Zimbabwean issue into a conventional African narrative of sadness and hopelessness, thereby perpetuating negative perceptions about Africa. The media also engaged in biased reporting by disproportionately highlighting the shortcomings of the Zimbabwean government while downplaying the historical background and the involvement of other actors such as Britain and the Commercial Farmers Union. In addition, the media placed a strong emphasis on bad occurrences, such as instances of violence targeting white farmers, granting them greater attention, while frequently disregarding good elements or the larger framework in which these events took place. Finally, there was a clear bias towards white farmers and their difficulties, frequently mentioning them by name and emphasising their economic contributions, while minimising the efforts of black communal farmers.

2.7.4 South African Context

Since the outbreak of COVID-19, the agriculture sector has been the only sector experiencing sustained growth in South Africa (Sihlobo, 2021). Policymakers recognize the crucial role of agriculture in the nation's economic recovery and job creation efforts. According to Sihlobo (2021), decision-makers must intentionally consider agriculture as an essential sector for economic development and employment generation. However, research indicates that major news outlets do not prioritize agricultural news coverage. Both government-owned and privately-owned news outlets provide limited coverage of agricultural issues, which is a significant oversight given the sector's importance (Agumagu, 2008: 281). In South Africa, news channels such as the SABC and eNCA tend to focus more on politicized topics. These include poor working conditions and wages of agricultural workers, drought issues, and recent developments like the LEWC (Land Expropriation without Compensation) public hearings.

The power of the media lies in its ability to draw attention to any issue and elevate it to a significant social, political, and economic concern (Bongfiglioli et al., 2007: 442). This is consistent with Jones's (2017: 30) assertion that news is promoted by newsmakers as significant, timely, intriguing, and profitable. Previous studies in South African media studies have primarily concentrated on print media rather than television, particularly concerning agricultural news. While the recent land reform debate received some coverage after the president endorsed the motion to expropriate land without compensation, print media has faced criticism regarding its portrayal of the situation.

Land reform is necessary in many parts of Africa due to historical colonial oppression, with some countries experiencing success while others, like Zimbabwe, have faced disastrous outcomes. South Africa is frequently reminded and warned not to follow in Zimbabwe's footsteps (Moyo, 2013). Research on media coverage of the land reform debate in Zimbabwe revealed that the print media predominantly focused on political dynamics instead of the central issue of land reform (Muvondori, 2015: 3).

During the early stages of the discussion on land expropriation without compensation in South Africa, there was evident confusion regarding the process, with the media reporting that white farmers would be targeted and left landless. According to Radebe and Chiumbu (2022), the commercial press failed to fulfill its democratic role and provided predominantly negative coverage of the land debate. Radebe and Chiumbu (2022) argue that this is problematic as the framing of the land debate contributes to the perpetuation of the injustices of colonialism and apartheid. Television news broadcasts, which have the potential to reach a broad audience, have received limited scholarly attention in the context of agricultural news and land reform coverage. It is crucial to examine how the land debate is portrayed through this medium to understand the broader media dynamics at play.

There are evident gaps in the mainstream media's coverage of agricultural news in South Africa, which need to be addressed to ensure comprehensive and balanced reporting (Yusuf et al., 2016). In conclusion, while the agriculture sector is vital for South Africa's economic recovery and job creation, its coverage in major news outlets remains limited. This gap in coverage, particularly in television news, necessitates further research to ensure that agricultural issues receive the attention they deserve in the media. A more balanced and inclusive approach to media coverage could help address the injustices of the past and support informed public discourse on crucial topics such as land reform.

2.8 The Land Debate in South Africa

It is impossible to address South Africa's history and land separately (Pienaar, 2017). The country's land reform policy, implemented in 1994, aims to correct past injustices, and operates under three pillars: redistribution, restitution, and land tenure (Sihlobo, 2021). Since the advent of democracy in 1994, land reform has been a prominent issue in South Africa's agricultural landscape (Sihlobo, 2021). Political transitions in societies like South Africa often struggle with land reform issues, as historical developments have involved

land dispossession and policies that led to an unequal distribution of vital assets such as productive land.

South Africa's history of land ownership and occupancy is well-documented, spanning 364 years of struggle rooted in tribal and colonial conflicts, as well as a racially segregated system of separate development during the Apartheid era. Farmers from underprivileged backgrounds understood how to utilize the land for food production and basic needs. The land provided them with the means to support themselves and their communities. However, colonizers violated this structure by forcibly removing Black people from their land and reducing them to simple labourers (Molope, 2018:324). Molope (2018:324) explains that colonizers realized that their only means of survival was to conquer.

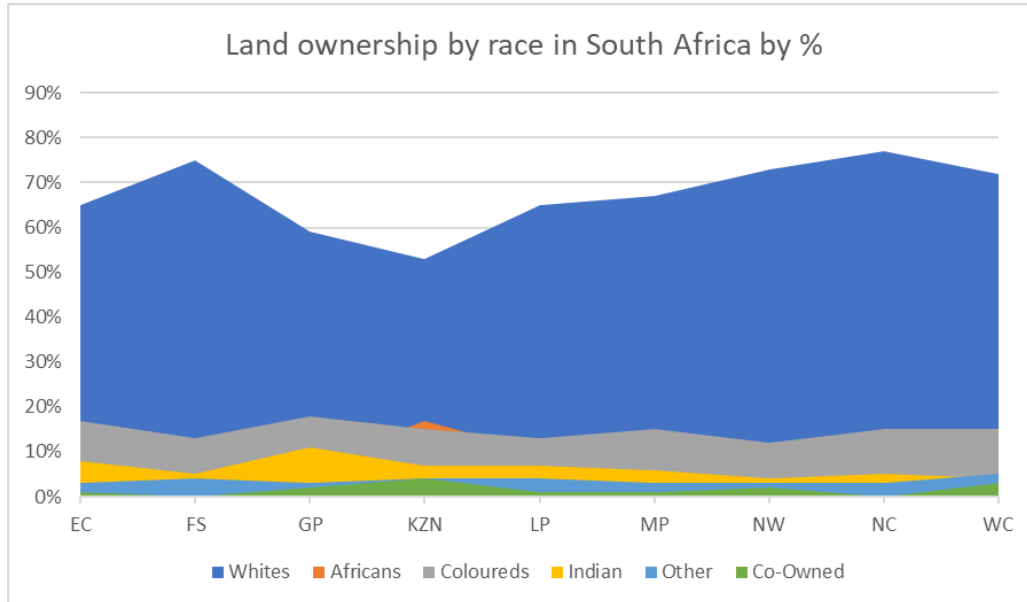
The advent of democracy was seen by many black South Africans as an opportunity to witness and experience significant economic gains. They expected a shift in power structures to alleviate unemployment, poverty, and inequality (Jankielsohn & Duvenhage, 2018:24). Land redistribution was critical to these expectations, but the lack of appropriate post-settlement support shattered recipients' economic expectations of sustainable livelihoods (Jankielsohn & Duvenhage, 2018:24). The unresolved land issue has put the entire agenda of social cohesion, nation-building, and national healing in jeopardy (Bradshaw & Breakfast, 2018:376). South Africa still suffers from the effects of long-standing social and economic inequalities (Mokoena & Sebola, 2020:405). Despite various state interventions in the land reform program, black South Africans continue to face unequal land ownership.

The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform released the Land Audit Report to illustrate land ownership distribution in South Africa by race, gender, and nationality, tracking progress towards constitutional objectives of equal land access (Land Audit Report, 2017). The report reveals stark disparities: whites hold 72% of the land, Coloureds 15%, Indians 5%, and Africans only 4% (Land Audit Report, 2017). This unequal distribution indicates the challenges that remain in achieving the objectives of the land reform policy and effectively addressing historical injustices.

Table 3: Land ownership by race in hectares (Land Audit report, 2017:80)

Province	White		African		Coloured		Indian		Other		Co-own		Total
	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	Ha	%	
EC	3 007 709	65	250 536	5	773 026	17	385 685	8	151 849	3	42 723	1	4 611 528
FS	3 748 192	75	153 080	3	646 872	13	246 453	5	193 548	4	21 119	0	5 009 264
GP	275 021	59	30 266	7	81 597	18	51 332	11	15 925	3	8 528	2	462 669
KZN	853 152	53	270 423	17	248 286	15	107 723	7	72 033	4	65 875	4	1 617 493
LP	1 139 454	65	180 858	10	220 738	13	115 588	7	73 174	4	20 165	1	1 749 977
MP	967 634	67	108 792	8	219 792	15	83 580	6	41 702	3	19 652	1	1 441 152
NW	2 408 880	73	198 279	6	397 552	12	119 744	4	114 219	3	72 536	2	3 311 210
NC	11 498 449	77	69 350	1	2 222 206	15	746 820	5	414 065	3	60 112	0	15 011 002
WC	2 764 652	72	53 287	1	561 315	15	174 865	4	195 047	5	114 827	3	3 863 994
Total	26 663 144	72	1 314 873	4	5 371 383	15	2 031 790	5	1 271 562	3	425 537	1	37 078 289

Figure 2: Land ownership by race in percentage



Source (Land audit report, 2017)

The preceding presents a bleak picture of the scale of the predicament faced by dispossessed Black people who are landless and hindered from the prosperity of land ownership. The issue of land originates with South Africa's apartheid regime. The government at the time used laws such as the Native Trust and Land Act 18 of 1936 and the Group Areas Act to enforce prejudice against Black people. The Native Trust and Land Act was intentionally implemented (Molope, 2018:324) and served as a legal framework that allowed for the expropriation of land without compensation, ultimately reinforcing black people's exclusion from accessing and owning rich and productive land (Molope, 2018:324; Iyer & Calvino, 2021:13).

According to Phaahla (2011:9), the newly elected government decided to address the shortcomings of the previous regime by implementing plans to return the land to its original occupants after 1994. This plan consisted of a comprehensive set of land reform measures, including land restitution, land redistribution, and land tenure reform. Land restitution aims to return land lost since 1913, land redistribution allows previously disadvantaged people to purchase land through the grant system, and land tenure reform aims to establish a valid system of landholding for occupants (Makombe, 2018:1403). However, the implementation of this program has been challenging and has failed to achieve the intended outcomes. The willing buyer, willing seller (WBWS) approach was attempted but did not deliver the anticipated results. The objective was to purchase land from consenting white farmers and redistribute it to Black communities (Xaba, 2021:79).

Ntsebeza (2018) highlights pressure from groups like the EFF for the ANC to adopt the LEWC approach, citing failures in land redistribution. The EFF argues for economic empowerment of Black people through land ownership (Economic Freedom Fighters, 2013). The ANC, facing credibility challenges, embraced LEWC in 2017 as part of a radical economic transformation (RET) (Ramaphosa, 2018). Hall (2018) points out the complexity of the land issue, warning of perpetuating apartheid legacies if unresolved. Television news framing of the LEWC hearings is crucial given the historical racial

disparities in land ownership, with implications for stability in post-apartheid South Africa (Holtzhausen, 2015:2).

A study conducted by Mfune (2022) discovered that the failure of land reform was due to various reasons with multiple facets. These reasons include political, economic, social, and administrative factors that interact in complex ways, hindering the successful implementation of land reform initiatives. One of the primary political factors identified by Mfune (2022) is the lack of political will and commitment from government officials. Although land reform is often prioritised in policy documents and political speeches, its actual implementation frequently lags due to competing interests and a lack of genuine commitment to the cause (Lahiff, 2007). Additionally, political instability and changes in government can disrupt ongoing land reform projects, leading to inconsistent and fragmented efforts (Hall, 2010).

Economic constraints also play a significant role in the failure of land reform. Mfune (2022) points out that inadequate financial resources allocated to land reform programs severely limit their scope and effectiveness. This underfunding results in insufficient support for new landowners, such as lack of access to credit, agricultural inputs, and extension services, which are essential for the productivity and sustainability of the reallocated land (Cousins, 2016). The economic viability of land reform is further compromised by broader economic challenges, including low agricultural productivity, market access issues, and the impacts of global economic fluctuations (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2009).

Social factors also contribute to the challenges faced in land reform. Mfune (2022) highlights issues such as social tensions and conflicts over land ownership, which are often exacerbated by historical injustices and deeply entrenched inequalities. These conflicts can lead to resistance from current landowners, legal battles, and even violence, all of which impede the smooth transfer and utilization of land (Walker, 2008). Furthermore, land reform programs sometimes fail to adequately consider the social and

cultural contexts of the communities involved, leading to mismatches between policy intentions and on-the-ground realities (Manji, 2006).

Administrative and bureaucratic inefficiencies are additional critical factors identified by Mfunne (2022). The complexities of land registration, titling, and redistribution processes often result in delays and corruption, undermining the effectiveness of land reform initiatives (De Satgé & Kleinbooi, 2010). Effective land reform requires robust institutional frameworks, clear legal guidelines, and transparent processes, all of which are frequently lacking in practice (Adams, 1995).

Moreover, the study accentuates the importance of comprehensive planning and stakeholder engagement in land reform processes. Successful land reform requires the involvement of all relevant stakeholders, including government agencies, local communities, civil society organizations, and the private sector (Jacobs, 2013). The lack of coordinated efforts and inclusive decision-making processes often leads to the marginalization of key groups and the failure of reform initiatives to meet their objectives (Ntsebeza, 2007).

The study by Mfunne (2022) reveals that the failure of land reform is due to a combination of political, economic, social, and administrative factors. Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive approach that includes political commitment, adequate funding, conflict resolution mechanisms, and efficient administrative processes. Only through comprehensive and well-coordinated efforts can land reform achieve its intended goals of equity and sustainable development.

2.9 Overview of the Constitution

"We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We, therefore, through our democratically elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights." (The Constitution of South Africa, 1996:1)

The country's Constitution, which serves as the supreme law, supports land reform. The South African government has demonstrated a commitment to removing historical disparities and injustices by launching a comprehensive land reform program with a strong constitutional foundation (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014:677).

The South African Constitution provides a robust constitutional framework for land reform, with Section 25 mandating the government to address historical injustices and promote equitable access to land. The Constitutional Review Committee has played a crucial role in evaluating the potential amendment of Section 25, engaging with stakeholders, and making recommendations for the implementation of expropriation without compensation. Through these efforts, the government seeks to advance land reform and address the challenges of historical land dispossession.

The South African Constitution, through Section 25, provides a solid foundation for addressing historical land dispossessions and promoting equitable land reform. The government's commitment to this cause is reflected in its comprehensive land reform program and the establishment of the Constitutional Review Committee to explore the possibility of amending the Constitution to allow for land expropriation without compensation. The public engagement process conducted by the CRC was crucial in ensuring that the voices of all stakeholders were heard, paving the way for informed and

balanced policy decisions that strive to rectify past injustices while maintaining economic stability and social cohesion.

The National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) charged the Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) with establishing public opinion on the possible revision of Section 25 of the Constitution to allow the state to expropriate land in the public interest without compensation, as well as mechanisms for expropriating land without compensation. It was expected that the committee would hold a public engagement process to gather feedback.

The Committee was supposed to engage in a public engagement process to gather input from all stakeholders on the necessity of, and processes for, expropriating land without compensation (Parliament of South Africa, 2018). In addition to public hearings, the CRC engaged with legal scholars, economists, agricultural experts, and other stakeholders to gather comprehensive input on the implications of amending Section 25. These consultations aimed to ensure that any proposed changes would be legally sound, economically viable, and socially just.

The CRC received numerous written submissions from individuals and organizations, which were carefully reviewed and analyzed. This analysis helped the committee understand the broader implications of the proposed amendment and the potential challenges and benefits of implementing expropriation without compensation. It was expected that based on these extensive public engagement processes and expert consultations, the CRC would compile a detailed report outlining its findings and recommendations. This report will inform the parliamentary debate on whether to amend Section 25 of the Constitution and the specific mechanisms for implementing land expropriation without compensation. The recommendations are envisaged to balance the need for redress and social justice with economic stability and agricultural productivity.

2.9.1 Section 25 of the Constitution

Section 25(2) of the Constitution of South Africa protects property rights, while the White Paper on Land Reform demonstrates a tolerant and wise approach to land reform policies. The aim of amending Section 25(2) is to allow for land expropriation without compensation, addressing the redistribution of land for social cohesion and political stability. It can be argued that the current Section 25 already allows for expropriation without compensation while still protecting property rights, resulting in a slower pace of redistribution. Therefore, amending Section 25(2) could remove the property rights clause and expedite the process of expropriation without compensation. However, it is uncertain whether removing the property rights clause and accelerating the process of expropriation without compensation will lead to a fair and equitable distribution of land to the majority of landless South Africans. Amending Section 25(2) is a justifiable process, with priority given to equity in redistribution for the majority of landless individuals on the outskirts of communities rather than elites. If the amendment of Section 25(2) cannot guarantee equity in redistribution for all, regardless of race, it may lead to tensions within racial groups, impacting social cohesion, political stability, and economic growth.

This section clarifies who should benefit most from the land reform initiative. It states that individuals or groups whose land ownership is uncertain due to past racist laws or practices have the right, as allowed by an Act of Parliament, to either secure their land tenure legally or receive similar restitution. Section 25 also allows for expropriation with compensation in specific circumstances. It specifies that land can be taken if it is in the interest of the public. According to the Constitution, the public interest in this case is the government's commitment to land reform, which aims to ensure fair access for all South Africans. Sections 25(5), 25(6), and 25(7) outline the three key components of South Africa's land reform program: land redistribution, land restitution, and land tenure. Some argue that constitutional revision is unnecessary for successful land reform, as the main reasons for its failure are corruption among officials, diversion of resources to privileged individuals, lack of political will, and inadequate training (Philips, 2018).

Lekunze & Luvhengo (2019:7) contend that the revision of Section 25(2) of the South African Constitution, which permits land expropriation without compensation, is a defensible procedure. Nonetheless, they emphasise the significance of prioritising equity in the redistribution of land to the marginalized and landless majority, rather than favouring the elites. They caution that a failure to guarantee impartial distribution through the amendment may lead to heightened tensions within racial groups, thereby exacerbating the complexities surrounding the land issue and adversely affecting investor confidence in South Africa as represented by Figure 3 below.

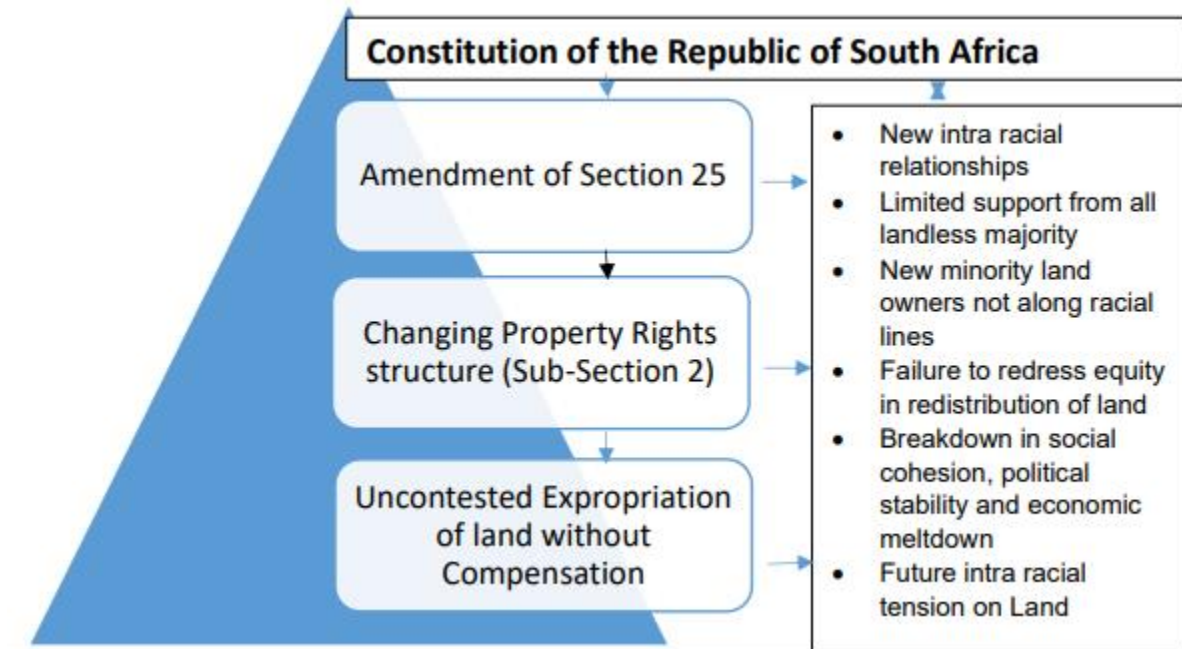


Figure 3: Proposed way forward to assist in land reform (Source: Lekunze & Luvhengo (2019:7))

2.10 Public participation through public hearings

Public hearings play a vital role in a democratic society by promoting transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in the decision-making process. These platforms serve as a medium for individuals to express their grievances, exchange their viewpoints, and actively participate in shaping policies that have a direct influence on their daily existence. The efficacy and validity of public hearings have been extensively discussed and disputed. Several studies indicate that conventional approaches to public participation, such as public hearings and comment procedures, frequently fall short in achieving authentic engagement and may even worsen conflicts between residents and officials (Innes & Booher, 2004; Rowe & Frewer, 2000). The inherent constraints of these approaches, such as the inclination to create divisions among citizens and the challenge for decision-makers to adequately integrate public input, have resulted in demands for a reevaluation of public participation initiatives. A major critique of public hearings is their limited capacity to encompass a wide range of the general people. The formal and intimidating tone of these proceedings may cause many members of the public to feel excluded or disempowered, resulting in a lack of varied representation and an inability to capture a wide range of opinions. Moreover, the emphasis on divisive language and the perceived absence of sincere regard for public feedback can result in citizens feeling unheard or questioning the legitimacy of the decision-making process (Innes & Booher, 2004). Scholars have proposed a more comprehensive and cooperative method of public participation, which surpasses the conventional public hearing model. This approach involves involving a broader group of stakeholders, utilising innovative facilitation methods that promote constructive dialogue, and cultivating a sense of shared responsibility in the decision-making process (Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

To overcome these deficiencies, policymakers and civic leaders should investigate alternate approaches to public engagement that are more in line with the fundamental principles of a democratic society. This may entail the implementation of more deliberative and inclusive approaches, such as citizen assemblies, participatory budgeting, and online platforms for public interaction. By redefining public involvement and adopting a more cooperative and all-encompassing strategy, governments can aim to reinforce the connection between citizens and their elected officials, and ultimately, improve the

credibility and responsiveness of the democratic process. Nevertheless, public participation is not devoid of their obstacles. The increase in chances for citizen engagement has resulted in ambiguity and confusion due to the blurring of boundaries between decision-making led by experts and decision-making led by citizens (Cornwall, 2002). Moreover, the underlying power dynamics and entrenched interests within a political system can present substantial obstacles to genuine public engagement. To overcome these hurdles, it is necessary to make a focused and collaborative attempt to tackle underlying problems and cultivate an environment of mutual trust and respect between citizens and their governing institutions (Zellatifanny, Rumata, & Sakinah, 2021).

Considering South Africa's history of apartheid, it was imperative for the ANC-led government to approach the land reform discussion with precision and efficacy. To maintain peace and promote economic growth, it was necessary to reconcile the land redistribution requirements of the historically marginalised population with the preservation of property rights. The ANC recognised the necessity of implementing a meticulously planned public involvement procedure that would solicit a wide range of perspectives and assist them in formulating an equitable policy that would be universally regarded as valid by all parties involved. In any democratic society, any significant policy reform must adhere to the same principles. This includes incorporating public hearings as part of a wider participatory governance framework that empowers citizens, promotes accountability, and results in policies that address the needs of the entire community (Lee, 2014).

Citizens can influence policy formulation and adoption through public participation; they can engage the government to have their voices heard and their needs met in the proposed formulation (Kung & Zhu, 2021:2). Kantamaturapoj *et al.* (2020:1593) state that public participation in policy decision-making must be deliberate in an active democratic society, and it is a prerequisite for public policies to be accepted. One of the mechanisms for public participation is through public hearings. Before parliament can pass any law, it must hold public hearings to educate the public and obtain their views on the effects of

the proposed law. The government, through parliament, must be clear about its goals and what it is trying to achieve through the proposed law (Maverick Louis, 2022).

Public hearings are defined as meetings where a governing body presents information and listens to feedback from the public regarding this national issue or proposed government action. Government agencies provide them to demonstrate transparency, predictability, and reliability. For some citizens, it is an efficient way to express their opinions (Kung & Zhu, 2021:2). Molope (2018:326) further explains that public hearings can be employed at all levels of government for any sector that needs public opinion. Molope (2018:326) states that public hearings assist the government, not just relying on expert advice, but as a two-way communication that incorporates the demands, wishes, values, and needs of the members of the public. Scholars have noted challenges with the use of public hearings to solicit public opinion, such as public hearings not being effective, being poorly planned, and asking irrelevant questions that will not aid in meeting the purpose of the public hearings (Baker, Addams, & Davis, 2005:491). This is not the main focus of the research; however, the research will reveal how the news channels portrayed and framed the LEWC public hearings and their effects, or the underlying message.

2.11 Television as a news medium

2.11.1 News on Television

The term "news" refers to the reporting and distribution of current events, which has been a crucial element of human society for ages. It has evolved in parallel with technological progress and changes in society. Fundamentally, news is characterized by its ability to captivate the public's attention, whether through the novelty of an occurrence, its importance, or its ability to evoke an emotional reaction. News articles, the main conduit for news dissemination, often go beyond mere factual reporting by incorporating contextual information, corroborating details, and even speculative scenarios to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the event or issue in question (Choubey et al., 2020).

The complex nature of news arises from the intricate interaction between news producers (journalists, editors, and media organizations) and news consumers (the public), who influence together the perception and understanding of what is considered "news" (Ben-Aaron, 2003; Satini, Tatalia, & Rahmat, 2020). The concept of news value, initially introduced by Lippmann and subsequently expanded upon by Galtung and Ruge, emphasizes the different aspects that contribute to the significance of an event in the news, such as its unpredictability, negativity, clarity, relevance, and personal connection (Ben-Aaron, 2003; Cotter, 2010).

While certain events, such as presidential assassinations or declarations of war, are universally acknowledged as significant news, the definition of news may vary based on geographical and historical circumstances (Ben-Aaron, 2003). The news industry plays a vital role in shaping our understanding of the world by identifying and reporting on events that are important to the public, all while maintaining ethical standards and journalistic integrity (Cotter, 2010). News networks or channels focus their efforts solely on reporting the most significant and noteworthy issues. At this stage, the agenda is set to influence the audience's perception of an issue. The complex and constantly changing process of delivering and receiving news is defined by the dynamic interaction among different participants, such as journalists who identify and report on important events, editors who shape the story and decide what content is most important, and the audience who ultimately assesses the importance and impact of the news (Maynard, 1997).

The examination of news, including its creation, distribution, and consumption, continues to be an important area of research. It provides valuable insights into the intricate social, cultural, and political forces that shape our perception of the world (Ben-Aaron, 2003). The citation for Satini, Tatalia, & Rahmat (2020) is Cotter (2010).

Television news is an influential source of information (Patton, Moniz, Hughes, Buil, & Howell, 2017:98). Media coverage of an issue has effects on people's knowledge and understanding of that particular issue, in this case, the proposed Expropriation Bill to allow for the amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution in public hearings (Zhe, Qing, Kun, & Ji, 2012:325). Television news can foster good social relations or cement the racial divide that South Africa is struggling to triumph over (Venter, 2001:196). Television news

serves as a construction of reality, and people tend to see TV news as a reliable source of accurate information that can be trusted.

The role of television news has changed from an authoritarian ideological state to an emerging yet challenging democratic space. According to Cottle & Rai (2008:344), the main objective of television media is to be a tool for nurturing national democracy and identity. This renewed role meant the role of South African television news in enabling and enacting democratic processes. Banda (2018:70–73) clearly articulates that the role of media in a post-colonial state like South Africa is clear: media such as television must aid in nation-building and national unity. In the selection and construction of news, Mapukata (1998:10) argues that television has the potential to disseminate dominant ideologies. Mapukata (1998:10) further states that while television claims to be a transparent window to the world, this is a fallacy. News is artificially shaped, heavily selected, and interpreted events that aim to shape reality. When news is reported, there is a specific purpose for that particular news. This purpose determines the intended meaning that the creator aims to convey through the news and the potential meaning that the audience may derive. This aligns with Leal's assertion (2019:3) that when considering news, one must consider its purpose and audience. Defining news is a complex task, but it is often defined by the underlying values that guide its production. These values are reflected in the criteria for determining whether something is newsworthy (Leal, 2019:3).

The SABC is the oldest and largest public news broadcaster in Africa and has experienced two eras in the country - the colonial and the post-colonial. Analysing how the news channel portrayed and framed the LEWC public hearings as a public broadcaster carries significant weight due to its role in South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy (Sisanda, 2015:1). On the other hand, eNews Channel Africa (eNCA) is a private broadcaster that was established in post-apartheid South Africa. It is owned by the e-TV free-to-air television station and has become the most-watched news channel, posing serious competition to SABC (Da Silva, 2008).

2.12 YouTube as an emerging news platform for news channels

YouTube has emerged as a powerful platform for news organizations, with over one billion unique users and millions of hours of content watched daily (Nashim, 2017:747). Technological advancements, particularly in social media, have revolutionized journalism, significantly impacting news content, the working methods of journalists, newsroom structures, the industry as a whole, and the relationship between news organizations and their audience (Pavlik, 2000). This study focuses on these transformative changes, specifically exploring the evolving relationship between news channels and their audience (Nashim, 2017:747).

The advent of digital platforms like YouTube has brought about a paradigm shift in how news is consumed and disseminated. Traditional news organizations now face competition from numerous digital-first content creators, resulting in a more fragmented and diversified media landscape. Online video viewing, especially news videos, has witnessed significant growth, with YouTube leading as a popular platform for political communication (Peer & Ksiazek, 2011:47; Dylko et al., 2011:835). This shift has not only expanded the reach of news organizations but also transformed how news is produced, distributed, and consumed.

YouTube's impact on news consumption dynamics is particularly noteworthy. The platform enables users to access news content at their convenience, breaking away from traditional broadcast schedules. This on-demand access has increased audience engagement and allowed news channels to reach a global audience. YouTube's interactive features, such as comments, likes, and shares, have also fostered a more participatory form of news consumption, enabling audiences to actively engage with content and express their opinions.

YouTube's influence extends to political communication, where it has become a crucial tool for candidates and political organizations. For example, during the 2008 Senate elections, candidates like Barack Obama effectively utilized YouTube as a campaign tool by uploading a substantial number of videos to reach and engage voters (Dylko et al., 2011:835). This use of YouTube for political campaigning highlights its potential to shape public opinion and mobilize voters.

YouTube also offers news organizations an additional revenue stream through advertisements and sponsored content. The platform's analytics tools provide valuable insights into viewer behaviour, enabling news channels to tailor their content to better meet audience preferences. However, relying on YouTube presents challenges, such as navigating the platform's algorithms and policies, which can impact the visibility and monetization of news content.

YouTube's influence on news organisations and its role in political communication cannot be underestimated. As a platform, it has transformed the way news is produced, consumed, and interacted with, offering both opportunities and challenges for traditional and digital-first news providers. By understanding and leveraging YouTube's capabilities, news organizations can enhance their reach and engagement, adapting to the evolving media landscape in the digital age.

2.13 Conclusion

The literature review highlights that land reform is a critical and long-standing issue in South Africa, rooted in the 1913 Native Land Act, which expropriated land from Black people and exacerbated socioeconomic disparities. Despite the end of apartheid 29 years ago, South Africa has not fulfilled its land reform promises, creating controversy and deepening divisions. Television news, particularly on networks like SABC and eNCA, plays a crucial role in shaping public perception of land reform and related public hearings. This coverage impacts national reconciliation and social cohesion efforts. However, television news coverage of land reform is scarce and often overshadowed by print media. Understanding how television portrays this contentious issue is vital for grasping its broader implications. The unresolved land issue threatens social cohesion, nation-building, and healing agendas in South Africa, emphasizing the need for thorough study and the media's role in public opinion and participation.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses relevant theories, emphasising their role in shaping research. Theoretical frameworks, like lenses, offer perspectives for understanding phenomena. They serve as foundations for research, akin to architectural sketches providing support and design guidance (Malik, 2023). Media theories, including agenda setting and news framing theory, are utilised to critically analyse how SABC and eNCA framed the LEWC public hearings on YouTube.

3.2 Normative Role of the Media

To fully address the study, it is necessary to consider the normative position of the media within the South African context. This will aid in the interpretation of the study's conclusions. The media will perpetually be evaluated based on its effectiveness and execution of its purpose from the perspective of normative frameworks. The media is seen to partially mirror the society in which it operates. According to Fourie (2018:178), normative media theory focuses on the perceived and ideal functions that the media ought to fulfil in a society, or how they should act to uphold or achieve specific social values. The objective is to provide a standard by which media performance, responsibility, and quality may be assessed and regulated, ensuring that the media operates responsibly while fulfilling its functions. The media is expected to fulfil its responsibility in upholding democracy, aiding in societal progress, enlightening, and entertaining individuals, and serving as a vigilant watchdog of politicians. In this context, the four primary theories are the libertarian, developmental, authoritarian, and social responsibility theories.

South Africa has unquestionably transformed from a prevailing authoritarian dictatorship to a progressive developmental state with a focus on individual freedom. During the era of apartheid, when an authoritarian regime was in control, the media consistently favoured the interests of the ruling elite while neglecting the demands and rights of the majority of

people. The national party exercised dominance over the political system and governed the distribution and analysis of information across the whole nation. According to Wojcieszak, Nisbet, Kremer, Behrouzian, and Glynn (2019:73–74), authoritarian regimes employ rules and monopolies to ensure that national media disseminate their propaganda and legitimise the existing power structure. The ambition of a government to dominate official narratives also leads to a strong and violent response when its authority is challenged. In authoritarian regimes, the national media functions as a propaganda tool for the government, spreading information that aligns with the regime's agenda. The scope of pluralism is constrained, impeding political mobilisation. Politics revolves around emotions and identity, while political entities like parties are either co-opted, restricted, underdeveloped, or non-existent in order to avoid challenging the regime's monopolistic control over power (Wojcieszak, Nisbet, Kremer, Behrouzian, & Glynn, 2019:73–74). This method enabled the apartheid administration in South Africa to flourish.

The apartheid administration implemented several economic, political, and psychological mechanisms that supported the autocratic nature of the nation. One of the tenets of this theory is that the state was only considered safe under the guidance of wise men. This theory purports that an ideal society is one in which the state establishes and enforces the unity of political and cultural goals, which means rigorous control of opinion and discussion. Silke (1989:47) gave an explanation by quoting Plato's authoritarian approach: Plato wanted to coordinate the lives of the citizens under strict control. The authoritarian theory means that the press is subordinate to state power and the interests of a ruling class. One of the key characteristics of an authoritarian state is a state monopoly of broadcasting, where the operation and programming of both radio and television rest with an official government agency that is responsible for conducting government objectives (Silke, 1989:47). The general principles of authoritarianism provide a solid basis for regulation. Radio and television must further the interests of the government and advance the cultural and political objectives of the central authority. The state would control any condition that hampered the little attainment of national ends and would aggressively appropriate the media for achieving its ends (Silke, 1989:49).

Zhang & Fleming (2005:321) state that libertarian theory differs from the authoritarian theory in its view of the press. Unlike authoritarian theory, libertarian theory does not consider the press a tool of the government. Instead, it sees the press as financially autonomous and has the primary purposes of informing and entertaining the public, uncovering the truth, and serving as a guardian of government activities and democracy. According to Wanjohi (2010:12), the Libertarian Theory establishes a philosophical foundation for a continuous, three-way connection between the news media, government, and society. The theory aims to optimise the level of press freedom for both the news media and the general public. Wanjohi cites Siebert, who posited that the primary objective of the media is to uncover the truth and aid in resolving political and social issues by presenting a wide range of data and opinions as the foundation for decision-making.

According to Ugangu (2012:47), the libertarian places the principle of freedom of expression at the top of the hierarchy of values that the media should defend. Firdaus (2012:6) additionally argues that the libertarian philosophy upholds the principle that individuals have the right to freely publish any content they like without being subjected to censorship or licensing restrictions. The underlying principle is that within a setting where ideas and opinions may be openly shared and received, the most superior ideas and the most valid perspectives will ultimately triumph over the inferior ones. This model utilises the notion of a liberated marketplace of ideas, where ideas are regarded as commodities that can be exchanged without restrictions on the market. The individual had the liberty to peruse the newspaper or choose not to, just as he had the autonomy to accept or reject the information he read. Similarly, everyone who desired to articulate their thoughts was granted the freedom to do so, irrespective of their worthiness.

An essential principle of the libertarian model is the role of the press as a watchful watchdog, always monitoring and exposing any misconduct by the government. Freedom of expression is a cherished ideal that enables the media to collect and distribute information without government censorship or manipulation of propaganda.

The origin of social responsibility in the media can be traced back to a key landmark of the report produced by the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, usually known as

the Hutchins Commission. The Commission, which deliberated for four years, produced an encompassing prescription for the extent to which the press can exercise their freedom (Igyuve, Obagwu, & Agbele, 2021:28). The Commission resolved that a truthful, comprehensive account of the news was a yardstick for societal orderliness. There are five guidelines for a socially responsible press that the Commission produced in its report titled: (a) Free and Responsible Press: a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives them meaning. (b) A forum for the exchange of comments and criticisms. (c) The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in society. (d) The presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society and. (e) Full access to the day's intelligence (Igyuve, Obagwu, & Agbele, 2021:28). Zulu (2021:38) further concur with Igyuve, Obagwu, and Agbele (2021:28) that social responsibility theory, as part of the four theories of the press, determines what ought to happen, how media ought to behave concerning society, and the social responsibilities they ought to assume or adopt. This theory is based on freedom and independence, guided by accountability. It is founded both on respect and the intention of reporting.

This theory assumes a pivotal role in comprehending the contextual dynamics of South Africa. The nation has a tumultuous past characterised by racial discord when the media played a pivotal role in perpetuating the subjugation of Black individuals and depicting white individuals as superior. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of how television news channels frame and describe a crucial aspect of South Africa's aspiration to become a non-racial society is important. According to Oji (2007:2), the enhancement of librarian theory is regarded as social responsibility in the field of mass communication. The platform offers an equitable opportunity for everyone to articulate their perspectives within the realm of media. Regardless of whether the media is publicly or privately owned and run for profit, it must act in a way that advances society as a whole. The concept of freedom of the press, as advocated in social responsibility theory, entails a significant level of responsibility towards the society that supports it. Oji (2007:2), who cited Flint (1997), argues that it is incorrect to see freedom and responsibility as distinct and unrelated notions. There exist two distinct perspectives on a given matter. An

irresponsible free press tends to exploit its freedom, while a press lacking freedom is deprived of the chance to demonstrate responsibility and be accountable to its readers.

According to Fourie (2007:194), the social responsibility theory aims to reconcile the concepts of freedom of expression with societal accountability. In addition, Muswede (2018:608), states that it is crucial to emphasise the importance of the media's independence in fulfilling their role to sustain specific journalistic norms and practices that contribute to the process of nation-building. Within the realm of transformation concerns, such as land reform, the social responsibility theory posits that media practitioners must fulfil their responsibilities by disseminating accurate information, maintaining objectivity, and offering full coverage of these matters. This strategy for the broadcast of information would thereafter empower society to respond by engaging in actions that align with the caliber of information that influences their social conduct.

3.3 Agenda-setting theory

The agenda-setting theory was chosen for its importance in the domain of news channels, where they wield the authority to determine their agenda, influence the audience's view of crucial matters, and direct the discussion surrounding a specific subject (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Television news is essential for regularly presenting the public with vital information about global happenings. Due to constraints in time and space, news directors frequently utilise a discerning approach when selecting a restricted number of stories for broadcast, so rejecting several others from being aired. The news selection process plays a crucial role in determining the agenda-setting process as subjects that are not chosen by news gatekeepers lack indicators of their relative significance. This statement is particularly true when considering global news events that occur outside the direct experience of most news consumers (Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004:364).

McCombs (2002) asserts that the news media exerts a substantial and well-established influence in determining a nation's agenda and focusing public attention on a limited set of crucial public issues. By consuming the media, consumers not only acquire objective knowledge about public matters, but also develop a grasp of the perceived importance of a specific subject based on its level of prominence in the news. Muswede (2018:607)

asserts that the agenda-setting theory establishes the boundaries of the target viewers' information environment by guiding their focus towards favoured media texts. Editors deliberately formulate an action plan to emphasise particular styles of thought while packaging news. The editorial curation of news articles plays a pivotal function in molding public interest and exerting influence over people's opinions. News editors, due to the constraints of limited capacity, decide what topics are included or excluded, thus establishing the agenda for daily conversations (McCombs, 2013:2).

The agenda-setting process aims to create a shared agreement as significant as importance for political, economic, and policy issues among certain groups of people. This allows for easier discussions among citizens. The media outlets' objectives will be revealed by examining how the SABC and eNCA present the LEWC public hearings. This suggests that the two news channels can direct public attention towards a specific concept that forms the basis of public opinion.

The influence of the news media on agenda-setting goes beyond simply directing public attention towards the LEWC public hearings and, specifically, the land reform discussion in general. The media also have an impact on the following phase of the communication process, particularly in shaping the perspective that goes beyond the public hearings. This idea is crucial for comprehending the agenda set by the SABC and eNCA to shape the thoughts of South Africans towards the LEWC, potentially exacerbating the existing racial divisions in the country, with the land being the central issue. How LEWC public hearings are presented by SABC and eNCA will expose their underlying motives, exerting an impact on public sentiment and potentially fostering unity or discord among the racially heterogeneous nation over land reform matters.

By utilising this theory in the study, the researcher is certain that it will be possible to determine the degree to which the news media influences the public's perception of the LEWC matter. A fundamental principle of this concept is that although the news agenda does not directly shape individuals' minds, it does have an impact on the subjects they contemplate. News broadcasts employ several tactics, including story selection, to construct the agenda, as suggested by the concept. The curation of stories for inclusion

or exclusion in a news program acts as an indicator of their importance. When a specific subject, such as inflation or crime, is continuously emphasised, viewers perceive it as a more significant worry. The LEWC issue was considered sufficiently important to justify reporting. Another crucial aspect to take into account is the placement of a story, which can be deliberately positioned at the outset of a broadcast or on the top page to signify its importance. In addition, news broadcasts utilise the power of repetition. By consistently covering a topic, even if the exact details change, the significance of the issue is reinforced in the minds of viewers.

3.4 News Framing Theory

Framing explains the way a story is framed, including the language used, the experts interviewed, and the visuals shown, which can shape viewers' understanding and opinions. For example, framing a protest as a fight for justice versus a disruption of public order will evoke different reactions.

The subsequent theoretical framework to be utilised is the news framing theory. The concept of framing in research posits that news frames serve the purpose of guiding audiences in their interpretation of a certain subject or occurrence. Indeed, it has been seen that news frames have the capacity to exert a significant impact on the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals within society (Tewksbury and Scheufele, 2019:19). The news media play a crucial role in providing useful information and serving as influential channels of communication. Such power exerts considerable influence over individuals' comprehension of global occurrences regularly. The transmission of information to its recipients occurs through diverse modes of communication, all of which are strategically designed to align with the objectives of the disseminating institution (Cissel, 2012:67).

De Vreese (2005) further asserts that framing has consequences at an individual level. This means that the types of framing used have the potential to alter attitudes and opinions about an issue, such as LEWC. For example, framing the LEWC public hearings as an unimportant issue may evoke different responses compared to framing it as a

matter of dignity or a poverty alleviation tool. A second possible consequence of framing is the perceived importance. Frames influence how people perceive the importance of an issue. A frame emphasising economic impact may lead individuals to prioritise economic solutions over other considerations. With South Africa being a politically active nation, the types of framing used by media outlets may have an effect on society.

Media frames contribute to political socialization by shaping citizens' understanding of political issues, institutions, and ideologies. Lastly, how the media frames an issue may prompt collective action. This means that media frames can mobilise or discourage collective action by citizens. For instance, framing land reform is unnecessary compared to framing it as a constitutional right.

Framing in communication refers to the process by which news media coverage employs specific frames to form mass opinion and assist readers towards comprehension. Through the utilisation of media framing theory and its application, this study aims to discern patterns that shed light on the ability of news sources to shape public perceptions of the LEWC expropriation bill. Specifically, the focus will be on the framing strategies employed by three distinct news channels. According to Cissel (2012:67), the inevitability of framing news necessitates additional investigation into the underlying motives behind these frames. Additionally, Hoareau (2021:9) explains how the idea of media framing relates to the viewpoint that news reporters adopt when reporting a news story. The framing of a story refers to the particular perspective adopted when reporting it. The selection of frames by journalists can significantly influence the interviewees' responses, the formulation of questions, and the subsequent interpretation of the collected data.

According to De Vreese (2005), framing can be conceptualised as a four-step process that includes frame-building, frame-setting, individual-level consequences, and societal-level consequences. According to the author, the concept of frame-setting refers to the dynamic interaction between the frame itself and the consumer's prior knowledge of the subject matter. Individual consequences pertain to alterations in the attitudes or beliefs of individuals that arise from the frame, whereas societal repercussions encompass the possible influence of the frame on the subject it delineates. Framing can be

conceptualised as a cognitive process that facilitates the formation of individual interpretations. Likewise, framing can be regarded as a phenomenon in which an individual's decision-making, attitude formation, or belief system is contingent upon the manner in which particular information is presented or articulated. Liu, Guo, Mays, Betke, and Wijaya (2019:504) argue that news coverage involves the process of framing within the media landscape. They assert that media organisations, such as the SABC and the eNCA, employ framing techniques to promote specific political agendas. The pursuit of impartiality is a major goal for journalists, yet Entman (2010) posits that media framing often exhibits a bias by favouring one side over another in political conflicts.

The researcher contends that utilising this theory for the purpose of understanding news framing analysis is advantageous due to its ability to not only reveal the polarity of a news item (positive or negative) but also shed light on the manner in which the news is organised to advance a specific narrative around the LEWC. Investigating the manner in which the news media frames this notable public issue is of critical importance. The use of news framing will facilitate the identification of news frames and news tone as well. The influence of news tone on news direction, particularly the assessment of certain subjects or groups within the news, is a significant area of focus within the field of media studies (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2021:2150). The impact of news tone on the visibility and public perception of political matters stems from its ability to shape public opinion. The identification of frames constitutes the second component of the news framing theory. The act of framing involves the deliberate selection of specific elements within a perceived reality and giving them prominence in a written statement. Frames serve as the fundamental conceptual structures that systematically structure news broadcasts, offering a particular interpretation or viewpoint through which a topic is presented in journalistic coverage. Journalists have the ability to simplify intricate matters and present audiences with a clear and concise narrative by employing frames. It is of significant importance to note that frames are subject to the effects of reporters' standards and values (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2021:2151).

The researcher pointed out the drawbacks of the news framing theory, specifically media mistrust. This means that framing can create a divide between the truth and public

awareness, resulting in mistrust of the media. The truth can be distorted when certain aspects of a news broadcast are highlighted, leading to distorted interpretations. Democracy thrives on allowing and encouraging public debates. Distorted truth arises when certain aspects of a story are emphasized, resulting in polarized interpretations. Framing, by its very nature, is highly restrictive. It can limit debates by employing specific vocabularies and metaphors, thereby constraining the range of discourse. Lastly, media bias can arise from framing practices, whether intentional or not (Media theory, 2024).

Through the use of this theoretical framework, the researcher will be able to understand how the SABC and eNCA (Nodoba, 2024) may shape public perceptions of LEWC (Yusuf et al., 2016). Gaining insights into the framing of public hearings and the media's role in shaping public perception holds great academic value. In a nation where the preservation of social justice and social cohesiveness are fundamental principles under threat, this theory can systematically document the different conceptual frameworks used and the distinct attitudes, emotions, and potential social actions embraced by the audience.

3.4.1 Types of News Frames

Frames help define problems, shape public opinion, and influence perceptions (An & Gower, 2009:107). According to Linstrom and Marais (2012:22) and An & Gower (2009:108), five prevalent frames are used by the media: human interest, conflict, morality, responsibility, and economic frames. Firstly, the Human-Interest Frame focuses on individuals and groups affected by an issue, adding a human or emotional angle. The conflict Frame highlights disagreements and conflicts among individuals or groups.³ The Economic Frame emphasises financial gains and losses (Linstrom & Marais, 2012:28).⁴ Responsibility Frame attributes blame to political institutions or individuals (Valkenburg, Semetko & De Vreese, 1999:551). Lastly, the Morality Frame contextualise issues in terms of morals, social prescriptions, and religious tenets (An & Gower, 2009:108).

Economic framing in the media refers to the presentation of information with an emphasis on financial aspects, aiming to appeal to the audience's rational analysis. Here are the key effects of economic framing on the audience which shapes the perception of the audience. Using the Economic frames shapes how audiences perceive and interpret news stories, focusing on cost, benefits, and broader economic implications. This encourages the receiver to be rational, and analytical and critically consider the economic consequences of the issues presented, like the LEWC. By doing so the media can influence opinion formation by highlighting the economic angles, these frames can influence public opinion and attitudes towards the LEWC. The receiver of the message would then be able or in a better position to decide within the frame of economic implications and narrative.

Human interest framing in media refers to the technique of presenting stories that focus on individuals or emotional angles, aiming to evoke empathy or other emotions from the audience. Human interest frames are designed to captivate audiences by personalizing stories, enabling people to emotionally connect with them. By focusing on individual experiences, these frames enhance news narratives and have the potential to influence readers' thoughts and memories. However, studies have shown that despite their aim to generate engagement, human interest frames do not have a significant impact on the sharing of news on social media platforms. This reveals a disconnect between the frames that journalists prefer, such as human interest, and the frames that drive user behaviour, such as morality frames (Valenzuela, Pina & Ramirez, 2017:7)

The conflict frame on the other hand emphasises The Conflict Frame centers on the portrayal of conflicts and confrontations, frequently employing a theatrical flair to heighten the intensity of events. Its objective is to shape the audience's perception of information, potentially contributing to the development of more polarised viewpoints and attitudes. These assertions underscore the significant influence that the conflict frame can have on the audience's interpretation and engagement with media content (Valenzuela, Pina & Ramirez, 2017:7).

Responsibility framing is a communication technique that aims to shape public perception by attributing causation and solutions for issues to specific actors or factors. Frames have the power to influence how the audience perceives issues, whether by attributing them to individual choices or systemic factors. This has implications for support of behavior and policy, as frames centered on individuals may reduce support for health policies, as individuals tend to view problems as personal rather than societal in nature. Responsibility frames are frequently employed by the media, which in turn affects public attitudes and behaviors towards health issues. It is important to note that the impact of framing can differ based on the audience's political ideology, thus influencing how they assign responsibility for the issues being examined (Valenzuela, Pina & Ramirez, 2017:7).

The Morality Frame is a communication technique that emphasizes ethical considerations and moral values when presenting information. It frames events or issues in terms of right and wrong, good, and evil, or justice and injustice. Research shows that using a Morality Frame can significantly enhance the dissemination of news on media platforms. This approach appeals to individuals' sense of right and wrong, motivating them to spread the message more widely. Messages framed in moral terms are persuasive and shape individuals' attitudes. They can also reduce the tendency to compromise and influence behavioural indicators related to compromise. In the context of consumer boycotts, news frames that emphasise moral intensity have the potential to influence intentions to participate in boycotts. However, this effect depends on moral awareness and is influenced by perceived moral intensity and moral judgment.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the theories that are relevant to the study by examining the media representation of LEWC public hearings through four theoretical frameworks: Normative Theories, Agenda-Setting Theory, News Framing Theory, and Social Responsibility Theory. These frameworks shed light on how the media portray LEWC events and emphasize the ethical guidelines in news reporting. The study underlines the influence of

news framing on shaping societal decisions and advocates for the application of the Social Responsibility Theory to ensure ethical news narratives. Adhering to these principles is crucial for maintaining media credibility and providing the public with unbiased information.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study examines how the SABC and eNCA framed the Land Expropriation without Compensation (LEWC) public hearings from June 2018 to January 2022. It aims to understand the media's coverage and portrayal of this issue within the broader context of land reform in South Africa. The findings will shed light on the roles and ideologies of the public broadcaster SABC and the private broadcaster eNCA. This chapter details the methodological approach, including research design, instruments, data sampling methods, and ethical considerations.

4.2 Research design

This qualitative cross-sectional study aims to analyze the framing of Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) in YouTube news bulletins from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNews Channel Africa (eNCA). Through thematic content analysis, this research seeks to uncover the narrative strategies utilised by these two prominent news channels in their reporting on the LEWC public hearings. The study will primarily focus on framing analysis and explore the following research questions: What frames were employed by SABC and eNCA in their coverage of the LEWC public hearings? How do these frames align with the channels' editorial positions and target audiences? Furthermore, the study will examine the recurring themes that emerged from the LEWC coverage and how these themes contribute to the socio-political discourse surrounding land reform in South Africa. Recognising the significance of television as a medium, this research will also analyse the framing techniques and visual elements, such as graphics, utilised in the coverage of the LEWC public hearings on SABC and eNCA. What role do these visual cues play in shaping viewers' perceptions of the LEWC debate? Lastly, a comparative analysis will be conducted between both channels to identify differences in their framing strategies when reporting on the LEWC public hearings and to observe any discrepancies in the portrayal of key stakeholders, including government officials, affected communities, and opposition groups.

The study employs a qualitative cross-sectional design, focusing on a selected period during which LEWC public hearings received significant media attention. Thematic content analysis is used to identify and analyse the frames and themes in the news bulletins. The research involves the following steps: Data Collection, which involves selecting news bulletins from SABC and eNCA's official YouTube channels that cover LEWC public hearings and transcribing the news bulletins for detailed analysis. Secondly, thematic coding involves developing a coding scheme based on existing literature on media framing and thematic analysis and coding the transcripts to identify dominant frames and recurring themes. Comparison of the framing strategies used by SABC and eNCA. Analysis of the differences in the portrayal of the LEWC issue and the involved stakeholders. Visual analysis involves examining the visual elements accompanying the news stories and assessing how these elements support or contradict the verbal narrative.

By following this methodology, the study aims to reveal distinct framing patterns between SABC and eNCA, reflecting their respective editorial policies and audience engagement strategies. SABC, as a public broadcaster, may emphasize the government's perspective and the socio-economic justifications for LEWC, while eNCA, a privately-owned channel, might adopt a more critical stance, highlighting opposition viewpoints and potential economic repercussions. The thematic analysis is anticipated to uncover key themes such as historical injustice, economic empowerment, political rhetoric, and social unrest. Visual framing, through the use of specific footage, graphics, and on-screen text, is likely to play a significant role in reinforcing these themes and influencing audience perceptions. This research will contribute to the understanding of media framing in the context of contentious socio-political issues in South Africa. By comparing the coverage of LEWC public hearings on SABC and eNCA, the study aims to shed light on the role of television news in shaping public discourse and policy debates. Future research could expand the scope to include other media platforms and conduct longitudinal analysis to track changes in framing over time.

4.2.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis is a widely utilized research method that involves describing the visible content of a text and interpreting its underlying meanings. According to Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman (2017), the visible content, referred to as manifest content, encompasses specific words, phrases, or images closely related to the text. This descriptive aspect entails identifying and quantifying these elements to comprehend their frequency of occurrence in the text.

The process of content analysis commences with identifying the manifest content, which encompasses explicit terms, images, or concepts found in the text. Researchers then quantify the frequency of these elements to identify patterns or trends. For instance, in media studies, this may entail tallying the number of times particular themes or frames appear in news articles or broadcasts (Hoareau, 2020). The interpretative component delves deeper into the meanings and symbolic significance of the manifest content. This involves exploring how specific terms or images impart broader cultural, social, or political messages. The objective is not only to comprehend what is being conveyed, but also how it is being conveyed and the implications it holds within a specific context.

Fields (1988) proposes a systematic approach to content analysis, comprising several key stages:

- *Unitising Content:* This involves dividing the text into meaningful units for analysis. The size of these units may vary, ranging from single words or phrases to entire paragraphs or scenes, depending on the research focus.

- *Transcription Stage:* This stage converts verbal, visual, or auditory content into a written format that can be systematically analysed. It is crucial for ensuring accuracy and consistency in analysis.

- *Developing and Implementing Categories:* This step entails creating categories or coding schemes to classify the content units. These categories are often derived from theoretical frameworks or emergent themes from the data itself. The implementation phase then applies these categories to the text to systematically categorise the content.
- *Verbal and Vocal Analysis:* This involves examining not only the words used but also how they are spoken. It may include tone, emphasis, and other vocal characteristics that contribute meaning to the verbal content.
- *Scene or Setting Composition:* For visual or multimedia content, this step involves analysing how various elements within a scene contribute to the overall message. It may include the arrangement of visuals, background elements, and interactions between subjects.
- *Describing Interplay Components:* This entails examining how different elements of the content interact with each other to create a coherent message. For example, how visuals and text work together in a news broadcast to convey a particular frame.
- *Interpretation:* The final stage synthesizes the findings from the previous stages to provide a comprehensive explanation of the content. This includes interpreting the significance of the identified patterns and trends and linking them to broader theoretical and contextual insights.

By following this process, researchers ensure a thorough and rigorous analysis of the content, providing both a detailed description and a deeper understanding of its significance.

The researcher contends that content analysis, with its structured methodology and focus on both visible content and underlying meanings, offers a robust framework for examining complex textual and multimedia content. By adhering to a systematic approach as outlined by Fields (1988) and incorporating both descriptive and interpretative analyses,

researchers can uncover hidden insights into how media narratives are constructed and conveyed.

4.2.2 Framing analysis as a research approach

Framing analysis is a research approach commonly used to investigate how media content influences public perception and understanding of events. This method examines the selection and emphasis of specific elements in a story, determining how these components construct a particular interpretation or meaning. According to Cissel (2012:67), news media plays a crucial role in providing information and communication, significantly influencing public understanding of events such as the Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) public hearings.

Media framing involves presenting information in ways that align with the goals and perspectives of the source, thereby shaping how the audience interprets it (Entman, 1993). Framing theory suggests that the portrayal of an issue in news reports affects how the audience perceives it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This theoretical framework suggests that the media can highlight certain aspects of an event while disregarding others, resulting in varied interpretations and understandings among the public.

Framing operates through various mechanisms, including selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration (Gitlin, 1980). These mechanisms guide how information is structured and presented, influencing the prominence of different aspects of a story. For instance, in the context of LEWC public hearings, media outlets might emphasize economic implications, historical injustices, or political conflicts, directing the audience's attention to specific facets of the issue. News stories often use emotional appeals to evoke specific responses from the audience (Adebayo, 2019:8). These appeals can involve the use of evocative language, powerful imagery, and personal anecdotes that emotionally resonate with viewers. By eliciting emotions such as sympathy, anger, or fear, media frames can significantly influence public opinion and engagement with the issue at hand (Nabi, 2003).

The mass media plays a crucial role in shaping social reality by consistently framing images and narratives (Cissel, 2012:8). Through these framing practices, media outlets

shape collective understanding and influence the formation of public opinion. This construction of social reality is particularly evident in how media frames contentious socio-political issues, guiding public discourse and policy debates. When examining the coverage of LEWC public hearings, framing analysis can reveal how different media outlets construct their narratives. For example, the researcher will explore how SABC and eNCA framed the hearings, focusing on their emphasis within the frames that have been explained, such as the economic frame or human-interest frame, using visual and verbal elements to enhance the framing.

Understanding media framing has significant implications for both academic research and practical applications. In academic research, this understanding contributes to the broader field of media studies by elucidating the mechanisms through which the media attempts to influence public perception. By examining how news media frames events like the LEWC public hearings, researchers can uncover the strategic choices made by media outlets and their impact on public perception and discourse.

4.2.3 Frames for Analysis

To address the research questions, we analysed the videos from SABC and eNCA that covered the Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) public hearings between the period June 2018 until January 2022. Each news channel had different frames in reporting on these events, reflecting their perspectives and ideologies.

The researcher began by identifying the perspectives and ideologies conveyed by the news channels. The researcher examined the language used by reporters and anchors, looking for biases and specific angles in their reporting. As Entman (1993) points out, framing involves choosing what to highlight and what to omit. By carefully examining the language used, the researcher aimed to uncover how each channel framed the LEWC issue, and which stakeholders received more attention or were disregarded. Television has a unique advantage in influencing audience perception through its use of visual cues, such as images, expressions, and body language (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). These visual elements go beyond the verbal content and help establish the tone and context of

news stories. They can evoke empathy and shape viewer attitudes towards the issue, whether through emotional reactions from participants or the depiction of affected communities. Media not only chooses which issues to cover but also determines how they are presented, setting the agenda, and framing it accordingly (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

To understand the influence of media coverage on public discourse about LEWC, this study analysed both visual and verbal content. The news bulletins revealed which narratives were emphasized and which were downplayed by the channels, offering insights into the strategic choices made by the media. By examining the visual context of the coverage, the study also identified which voices were amplified, silenced, or marginalised. For instance, the presence of government officials or prominent political figures suggested an emphasis on authoritative perspectives, while the limited inclusion of community members or activists hinted at the marginalisation of grassroots voices (Cissel, 2012). This analysis revealed the power dynamics at play in the media representation of LEWC.

Headlines serve as a powerful framing device in media texts, directing the audience's attention and shaping their interpretation. In the case of video headlines, they can create preconceptions and expectations even before the content is viewed. For example, a headline like "Tempers flare at LEWC hearing" frames the coverage by suggesting conflict and emotional intensity (Adebayo, 2019). Analysing headlines is therefore crucial in understanding the overall framing strategy.

This study employed a combination of qualitative content analysis and visual analysis techniques to systematically categorize and analyze the identified frames. By examining both the manifest and latent content in the news coverage, a comprehensive understanding of how SABC and eNCA framed the LEWC public hearings was achieved. The identification and analysis of frames used by SABC and eNCA shed light on the media's role in shaping public perception of land reform issues in South Africa. These findings emphasize the importance of framing in media coverage and its impact on public discourse and opinion formation.

4.3 Sampling Techniques

A purposive sampling technique was employed in this study. Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental or selective sampling, involves selecting individuals or groups based on specific characteristics or qualities, rather than random selection. This method is widely used in qualitative research when the goal is to gain a deep understanding of specific phenomena instead of generalizing findings. Purposive sampling ensures that the selected sample is highly relevant to the research questions and objectives. By choosing participants who have specific knowledge or experience, researchers can gather detailed and pertinent data (Palinkas et al., 2015). This method can be more efficient than random sampling when studying specialised populations. It allows researchers to focus their efforts and resources on a smaller, more relevant group, potentially saving time and costs (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Purposive sampling often yields richer, more in-depth information. Participants are chosen because they can provide detailed insights, which can lead to a deeper understanding of the research topic (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Researchers can adapt their sampling strategy as the study progresses, selecting new participants based on emerging insights and evolving research needs. This flexibility can enhance the quality and relevance of the collected data (Patton, 2015).

However, the sampling methodology used in purposive sampling has been criticised. The selection process in purposive sampling is inherently subjective, as it relies on the researcher's judgment. This can introduce bias and affect the credibility and validity of the research findings (Tongco, 2007). Because purposive sampling does not aim for representativeness, the findings are often not generalizable to the larger population. This limits the broader applicability of the research results (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The effectiveness of purposive sampling heavily depends on the researcher's expertise and ability to identify appropriate participants. Inexperienced researchers may struggle to make accurate selections, potentially compromising the study's outcomes (Coyne, 1997). Additionally, important perspectives might be overlooked if the sampling criteria are too

narrow or if the researcher fails to recognise relevant subgroups within the population (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbin, 2015).

In this study, the focus was on YouTube-based news coverage of the land expropriation public hearings on the SABC and eNCA news channels (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). A total of twenty-five videos were selected from each channel, ordered by their appearance on YouTube. Initially, the plan was to include all videos covering the hearings, but some were repetitive, amounting to well over two hundred videos. Reviewing such a large number of videos became time-consuming, especially considering that the SABC alone had over two hundred and fifty video clips from June 2018 to January 2022. Most of the hearings took place in 2018, with fewer occurring in 2020 and 2021 due to COVID-19. The selection aimed to cover all nine provinces in both SABC and eNCA bulletins, ensuring comprehensive representation (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

4.4 Data collection

To address the research question, the target population is news broadcasts aired on the SABC and eNCA YouTube channels from June 27, 2018, to January 2022 (Nashmi, North, Bloom, & Cleary, 2017:751). YouTube emerged as a dominant platform for online video streaming, fostering convergence and participatory culture (Nashmi, North, Bloom, & Cleary, 2017:751). Since its launch in June 2005, YouTube has provided individuals and media corporations with an alternative to traditional broadcast media, with many news organisations now having their channels (Nashmi, North, Bloom, & Cleary, 2017:751).

The public hearings commenced a year before South Africa's sixth national elections in 2019, with COVID-19 lockdown effects affecting proceedings between 2020 and 2021. Most broadcasts identified were from 2018, with some from 2019 and early 2022, aligning with research objectives. Only English news broadcasts from SABC were considered for easier decoding of messages, despite SABC's multilingual coverage. Data filtering involved entering the search phrase "public hearings land expropriation without compensation" into YouTube, downloading and labeling the first 25 SABC and eNCA

news bulletins manually, and reviewing them to ensure coverage of all nine provinces. Descriptions like "doek lady and green top" were used to distinguish between similar content from different channels, simplifying the process and avoiding duplicates.

4.4.1 Data transcription

Data transcription is a crucial tool for enhancing the analysis of television news. By transcribing elements such as vocal inflexions, facial expressions, and scene composition, researchers can gain a comprehensive understanding of the content and context of news broadcasts (Fields, 1988:184). This diligence enables researchers to conduct a more precise and accurate analysis of television news.

Halcom and Davidson (2006:39) further emphasise the significance of transcription in content analysis studies. They argue that transcription greatly improves the reliability and validity of these studies. When researchers have a written record of spoken content, including nonverbal cues, they can consistently interpret and analyse the data, resulting in more robust and dependable findings. Transcription involves converting spoken words from interviews or recordings into written text. However, it goes beyond simply transcribing the spoken words. It also entails noting nonverbal cues such as body language, facial expressions, and emotional tones. These nonverbal elements provide additional context and meaning to the spoken words, thereby enriching the overall analysis, and understanding of the data.

4.4.2 Data Analysis

Thematic data analysis is a qualitative method used to identify patterns or themes within data, enabling researchers to move beyond mere description to uncover implicit and explicit ideas embedded within the text (Vukapi, 2013:67). This approach is instrumental in understanding the underlying messages and concepts present in the data, providing a deeper level of analysis.

While content analysis and thematic analysis are distinct methods, they both converge on the goal of identifying themes within data. Content analysis systematically quantifies the presence of certain words, phrases, or concepts, whereas thematic analysis focuses on finding patterns and themes. Despite these methodological differences, both techniques aim to reveal the core themes within the data (Vaismoradi *et al.*, 2016:101).

Thematic analysis involves organizing repeating ideas and patterns into common themes, informed by the texts provided. This process helps in structuring and interpreting large volumes of qualitative data, making it easier to identify significant themes that emerge from the data (Anderson, 2007:1). The method maintains objectivity by prioritising the participants' voices and perspectives over the researcher's interpretations, ensuring that the findings reflect the true sentiments and experiences of the participants.

This approach was used to elucidate how the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNCA framed public hearings. By analyzing the data thematically, researchers could identify the specific themes and frames used by these news outlets, providing insights into their editorial choices and the narratives they promoted. Additionally, news content is categorized into frames based on framing theory, which helps in mapping the themes identified through thematic analysis. Framing theory posits that the way information is presented (the frame) influences the perception and interpretation of the message. By categorising news content into different frames, researchers can understand how themes are constructed and conveyed to the audience (Poudel *et al.*, 2014:2). Data coding is a crucial step in this process, as it involves organising qualitative data into meaningful categories. This step helps in managing and systematically analysing the data, forming the foundation for thematic analysis, and ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the research findings.

4.4.3 Coding scheme

Coding is a fundamental process in qualitative research that organises data, making it easier to retrieve and categorise. By systematically coding data, researchers can efficiently manage large datasets and identify patterns and themes (Stuckey, 2015:7). This process breaks down complex data into smaller, more manageable units, which can

then be analyzed to reconstruct a cohesive narrative that reflects the underlying themes and insights of the research.

The process of coding directly aligns with the development of themes. Through coding, researchers can identify recurring ideas and patterns within the data, which form the basis for theme development. This methodical approach ensures that the analysis is thorough and that the resulting themes are well-supported by the data.

In the context of analyzing videos, each video was meticulously examined for various elements such as the headline, race, and gender representation. This analysis is crucial for understanding the social context and the framing of Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2020:2150). By examining these factors, researchers can gain insights into how different groups are represented in the media and how these representations influence public perception.

Additionally, the analysis included the representation of public and political party voices to assess the diversity of perspectives and the tone of reporting. By coding for these elements, researchers can determine which voices are given prominence and how different viewpoints are presented. This comprehensive approach helps in understanding the dynamics of media reporting and the framing of news stories, providing a deeper insight into the media's role in shaping public discourse.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of the qualitative thematic content analysis methodology used to examine the public hearings on Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) that were broadcast by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNCA. We began by explaining why qualitative thematic content analysis was chosen as the primary method, highlighting its effectiveness in identifying patterns and themes in the broadcast content and providing a deeper understanding of the social and political contexts presented.

A major focus of this chapter was the importance of creating multiple codes for a thorough analysis. By developing a detailed coding framework, we were able to capture the unique representations of race, gender, public voices, and political party perspectives within the broadcasts. This multiplicity of codes facilitated a thorough examination of the data, ensuring that all relevant themes and patterns were identified and analyzed. The coding process was crucial in breaking down complex data into manageable units, which were then systematically analyzed to reconstruct a cohesive narrative reflecting the framing of LEWC.

The researcher emphasised the careful selection of research approaches as a critical factor in ensuring the credibility, reliability, and validity of the study. The methodological rigor, achieved through detailed coding and thematic analysis, was highlighted as essential in producing trustworthy and replicable results. The structured approach to coding not only provided a focused research scope but also allowed for the identification of specific frames used by SABC and eNCA in their coverage of LEWC public hearings.

Additionally, the researcher highlighted the significance of framing in the analysis. By applying framing theory, we categorized news content into different frames, mapping the themes identified through thematic analysis. This approach offered insights into how news outlets constructed and conveyed narratives, emphasizing the role of media in shaping public perception and discourse.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that the chosen qualitative thematic content analysis methodology, supported by a robust coding framework, played a crucial role in achieving a detailed and credible analysis of the LEWC public hearings. Our methodological choices ensured that the study was comprehensive and focused, providing valuable insights into the representation and framing of key social and political issues by major South African news broadcasters.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is crucial to the study as it provides the study's findings. The study sought to perform a qualitative content analysis of the SABC and eNCA YouTube news channels about their reporting on the public hearings for Land Expropriation without Compensation. This chapter provides a thorough content analysis of data gathered from the YouTube news channels of eNCA and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The analysis specifically examines their reporting on the Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) public hearings, spanning from June 2018 to early January 2022. For this analysis, a total of fifty videos were chosen, with twenty-five videos obtained from each channel. The selection method sought to guarantee a well-rounded and inclusive sampling of the coverage offered by both news channels.

To conduct a comprehensive analysis, transcriptions were created for all chosen videos. The original transcriptions were produced via Kome Ai software, a program specifically developed to automate the process of transcribing and improve effectiveness. Nevertheless, to guarantee the utmost precision, every transcription was meticulously examined and manually rectified. The combination of automated transcription and manual verification was essential for preserving the accuracy and reliability of the data. The transcriptions were subsequently kept in a Word document safely, with hyperlinks to the original videos incorporated for convenient cross-referencing and authentication purposes. This documentation strategy guaranteed that the data remained easily available and well-organised, enabling smooth navigation between the transcriptions and the related video content.

Data coding, an essential process in qualitative research, was later performed to properly categorise and organise the data. This procedure entailed the identification and

categorisation of significant themes, patterns, and concepts found in the transcriptions. Subsequently, the encoded data was organised and examined utilising Excel, which offered a systematic and effective approach to managing substantial amounts of qualitative data. Excel was utilised to enhance the presentation of findings and aid in the analysis of the coded data.

The main research aim of this study was to examine the coverage of the LEWC public hearings by SABC and eNCA, with a particular emphasis on addressing the three research questions:

Which frames did the eNCA and the SABC employ to cover the public hearings? How did eNCA and the SABC cover the LEWC public hearings? Which prevailing themes were evident in the coverage of each channel? This chapter will specifically examine the frames and themes that arose during the LEWC public hearings, as well as the manner in which the media portrayed these hearings. The aforementioned research questions, literature review, and theoretical framework will be used to analyse and discuss the findings. This will be done in chapter six and chapter seven, which focus on the discussion and conclusions, respectively. The study sought to reveal the narratives and frameworks utilised by the two news networks in their coverage of the public hearings through an examination of these features. The findings given in this chapter provide valuable insights into the media's influence on shaping the public debate around LEWC public hearings in South Africa. These findings also emphasise the parallels and variations in the strategies employed by two prominent news broadcasters.

5.2 News frames

RQ1: What frames did eNCA and SABC use to cover the public hearings?

The findings are indicated in **Table 2** below. Both channels used all the news media frames.

Table 4: News frames employed by SABC and eNCA.

Type of Conflict	Used by SABC	Keywords by the Anchors/reporters (SABC)	Used by eNCA	Keywords y the Anchors/ reporters (eNCA)
<p>Human interest frame</p> <p>human face or an emotional angle to an event, issue, or problem.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p><i>‘Tempers flares’</i></p> <p><i>‘Controversial comments’</i></p> <p><i>‘She shared her pain.’</i></p> <p><i>‘She has been evicted from two farms, had two of her five children die as a result and nothing but a small RDP house to show for her 44 years working on farms’.</i></p> <p><i>‘Northern Cape saw tempers rising.’</i></p> <p><i>‘Some community members dissatisfied and concerned about the way forward.’</i></p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p><i>‘Forcibly removed.’</i></p> <p><i>‘Watched helplessly.’</i></p> <p><i>‘Their homes were bulldozed to the ground.’</i></p> <p><i>‘because he saw his grandfather’s pain.’</i></p> <p><i>‘people become more you know emotive.’</i></p> <p><i>‘a real emotional attachment to the land issue’</i></p> <p><i>‘now at 73, and having retired as a teacher, he’s at the forefront of the</i></p>

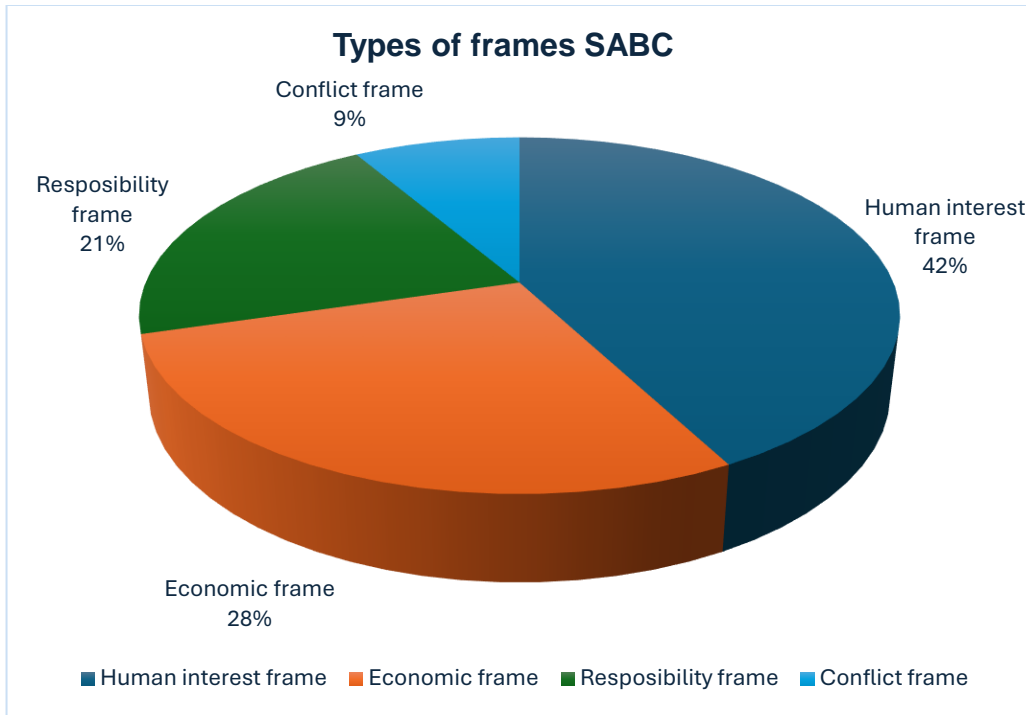
				<p><i>move to claim his people's land back.'</i></p> <p><i>'has submitted 12 claims and have been waiting for 20 years'</i></p>
<p>Conflict frame between individuals, groups, or institutions</p>	Yes	<p><i>'Strong police presence'</i></p> <p><i>'Blacks and whites'</i></p> <p><i>'Squabbles and scuffles'</i></p>	Yes	<p><i>'a contentious issue'</i></p> <p><i>'quite a big bone of contention'</i></p> <p><i>'the community is ready to take over what they believe is rightfully theirs.'</i></p> <p><i>'there's lots of contention around the land debate and how it should actually unfold.'</i></p> <p><i>'going to hear from people who say that their property is theirs'</i></p> <p><i>'we saw protesters.'</i></p>

				<p>'warning from the committee</p> <p><i>'chairperson calling on people giving evidence to remain tolerant.'</i></p> <p><i>'land being confiscated'</i></p>
<p>Economic frame consequences, it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country</p>	Yes	<p><i>'Plunge the country into an economic crisis.</i></p> <p><i>'Economic suicide'</i></p>	Yes	<p><i>'threatened food security and also jobs.</i></p> <p><i>'decline in investment into fixed capital.</i></p> <p><i>'be disastrous for the country.'</i></p> <p><i>'of reduced access to finance'</i></p> <p><i>"to consider the economic impact.'</i></p> <p><i>'what would happen in the economy with this</i></p>

				<p><i>threat hanging over it.'</i></p> <p><i>'loss of foreign investment the loss of agricultural jobs'</i></p> <p><i>'South Africa's economic situation technical recession,'</i></p> <p><i>'fixing our economy instead of maybe putting it in more dire straits.'</i></p> <p><i>'dire consequences for the country' what it would mean for food security and the broader economy.'</i></p> <p><i>'</i></p>
<p>Responsibility frame Who is to be blamed, individual, groups or government?</p>	Yes	<p><i>'The topic that is divided the country in this agricultural region, the land issue is a very sensitive one. Many white farmers here on multiple properties'</i></p>	Yes	<p><i>'government just needs to make this happen.'</i></p> <p><i>'desperately appealing to this municipality and</i></p>

		<p><i>'White people still own 71% of private farmland and 49% of urban land in South Africa.'</i></p> <p><i>'they want governments to partner with them in order to find a solution.'</i></p> <p><i>'they want government to come to them and sit them down and talk to them'</i></p>		<p><i>the province particularly to try and get more land just to grow some vegetables.</i></p> <p><i>'correcting the ills of the past and levelling the playing field.'</i></p>
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Figure 4 Frames used by SABC in percentage.



The results indicated that SABC predominantly framed the LEWC public hearings from a human-interest perspective (42%), followed by an economic frame angle (28%), a responsibility frame (21%), and lastly, the conflict frame (9%). In contrast, eNCA's framing leaned more towards an economic perspective (37%), followed by human interest (23%), conflict (30%), and responsibility frame (10%).

Figure 5 Frames used by eNCA in percentage.

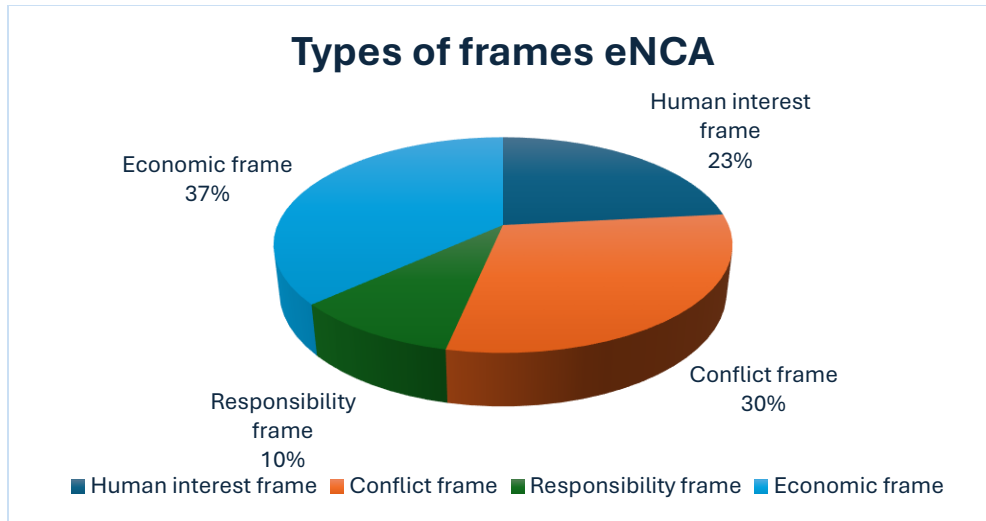
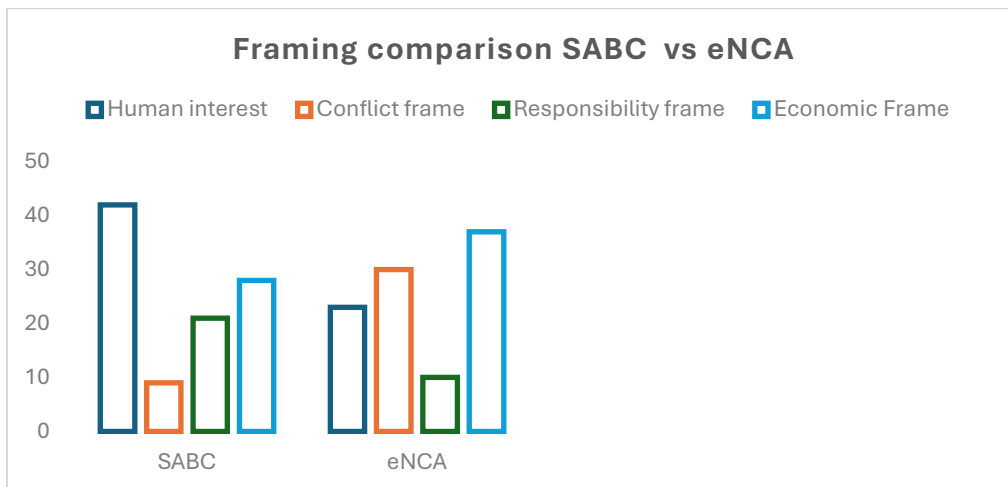


Figure 6 Frames in comparison SABC vs eNCA



5.3 Themes

A table style and figures are used to present the themes that are discussed in this section. In addition to the top five topics that arose from each channel, the general themes that came from each channel are also included. In addition to this, a provincial summary is supplied for each channel, which provides support for the themes that arose. Following

the presentation of both channels, an explanation of each theme is provided, along with an explanation of how it relates to the present research and the context of South Africa.

RQ2: What dominant themes emerged from the coverage of each channel?

5.3.1 Summary of all the themes that emerged from SABC.

Table 5 SABC themes

Themes emerged	Frequency	Further explanations
Traditional leaders (Cultural rights)	27 mentions	<p><i>-Traditional leaders want the land back to their hands/ want to keep their land.</i></p> <p><i>-Some participants indicated that they do not want the land in the hands of the traditional leaders</i></p> <p><i>-Land is seen as a cultural right to practice their traditions</i></p>
Rightful owner (Social Justice)	22 mentions	<p><i>Land must be returned to the rightful owner, In the context that black people were dispossessed of their land</i></p>

Economic crisis/ Impact on the economy Economic implications	22 mentions	<i>The country will be in an economic crisis/ affect the economy negatively. With the implication that white farmers know to use the land economically, Black people do not know</i>
White people (Social injustice: Racial division)	14 mentions	<i>White people have our land/ must give back the land. They are seen and described as the perpetrators, or / Criminals/thieves</i>
Land reform. (Social justice)	14 mentions	<i>Land reform as a program/ failure and success / current debate</i>
Political parties	10 mentions	<i>Campaigning/ Supporting members. Fighting for the majority meaning black people</i>
Indigenous people (Social injustice)	9 mentions	<i>Nama people/ Korana people especially from the Northern Cape/ They are the original landowners.</i>
Black people (Social Injustice, Race)	8 mentions	<i>Land was taken from black people; Majority Black people are</i>

		<i>landless. There is a clear tension on race</i>
Dispossession (Social injustice)	5 mentions	<i>The act of taking the land/ Black people dispossessed of their land</i>
Settlers (Social Injustice Racial)	4 mentions	<i>White European people who are rich stole the land from Nama people</i>
Peaceful (Reconciliatory)	2 mentions	<i>Issue can resolve in a peaceful manner / there was peace in Free State, from the perspective of white people</i>
Police (Tension/ Conflict)	4 mentions	<i>Police presence in the Free State / Welkom / Botshabelo</i>
Emotive	3 mentions	<i>Very emotive issue (White male: what are you going to do with the land? Are going to eat it?)</i>
Dignity (Social justice)	3 mentions	<i>Restore dignity/ Give dignity To black people</i>

Figure 7: Overall themes from SABC

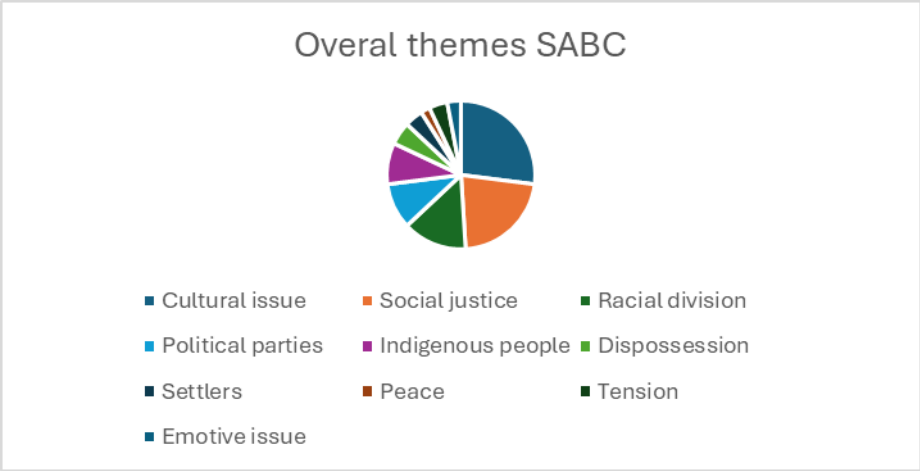
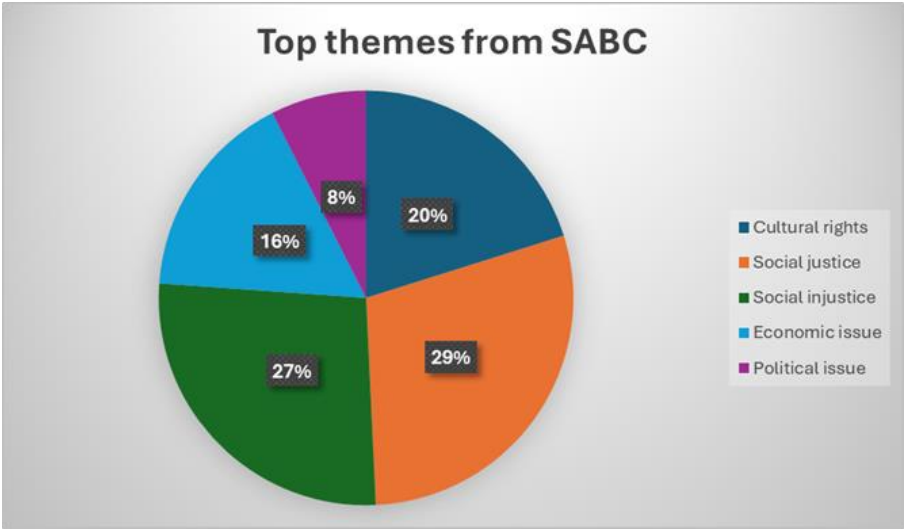


Figure 8: Top themes that emerged from SABC



5.3.2 Provincial coverage: SABC

This segment describes the main themes that emerged from the provinces.

Table 6 Summary of the provincial coverage: SABC

<p>Northern Cape</p> <p>- <i>‘Northern Cape saw tempers rising. Concordia community hall was packed to the rafters.</i></p> <p>- <i>‘Some agreeing and others vigorously opposing the review of section 25 of the constitution’.</i></p> <p><i>‘one woman’s pain of working on farms on white owned farms as labourers.</i></p> <p>-<i>Political clash DA & EFF</i></p> <p>-<i>Saw tempers rising (conflict), Vigorous debates,</i></p> <p>-<i>Political interference.</i></p> <p>-<i>Land back to rightful owners.</i></p> <p>-<i>Property value will diminish</i></p> <p>- <i>some community members are dissatisfied and concerned about the way forward. Land remains a thorny issue here in Namaqualand.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The phrases "tempers rising," "packed to the rafters," and "vigorous debates" suggest a highly charged atmosphere with strong feelings on both sides of the issue. ➤ The hearings revealed a clear division between those who support and those who oppose the review of Section 25 of the Constitution, which deals with property rights and expropriation. ➤ The mention of a woman's pain working on white-owned farms highlights the historical context of land dispossession and its ongoing impact on livelihoods. ➤ The statement "land back to rightful owners" reflects a sentiment that land redistribution is necessary to address past injustices. ➤ The reference to a "political clash" between the DA and EFF highlights how land expropriation is a deeply politicized issue in South Africa.
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The mention of "political interference" suggests concerns about the fairness and transparency of the process. ➤ The statement "property value will diminish" points to worries among some community members about the potential economic consequences of land expropriation. ➤ The phrase "dissatisfied and concerned about the way forward" reveals a sense of uncertainty and apprehension about the implications of land reform. ➤ The concluding statement that "land remains a thorny issue" emphasises the complexity and sensitivity of the debate in Namaqualand and the broader Northern Cape province
<p>Mpumalanga (Ermelo & Middleburg) <i>-Reporter, Jubilation, and anticipation,</i> <i>-Black people must receive their dignity.</i> <i>-Land is a unifier. Amongst black people</i> <i>-Nothing wrong with section 25, ANC is the problem.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The words "jubilation" and "anticipation" convey a sense of optimism and eagerness for change surrounding land reform.

<p><i>-LEWC is radical economic transformation.</i></p> <p><i>-Black people need land for their cultural and religious freedom</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statements emphasizing the need for Black people to "receive their dignity" and the view that "land is a unifier" highlight the perceived potential for land reform to address historical injustices and foster social cohesion. ➤ The assertion that "nothing is wrong with Section 25, the ANC is the problem" points to a sentiment that the governing party is responsible for the slow pace of land reform, rather than the constitutional provisions themselves. ➤ The characterization of Land Expropriation Without Compensation as "radical economic transformation" suggests a desire for fundamental shifts in economic power structures.
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The belief that "Black people need land for their cultural and religious freedom" features the deep connection between land ownership and identity, extending beyond purely economic considerations.
<p>Free State (Welkom)</p> <p><i>- Korana nation should have been the first people to be consulted on the issue of expropriation of land without compensation. As the indigenous people of South Africa and the rightful owners of the land</i></p> <p><i>- we saw some scuffles outside with people unable to go to enter the venue rather because it was at the time overflowing</i></p> <p><i>-Very strong Police presence</i></p> <p><i>-Strong presence of protests across the province</i></p> <p><i>- Farmers Union Free State agriculture maintained that land expropriation without compensation will plunge the country into an economic crisis</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement emphasizing that the Korana nation, as indigenous people, and rightful owners of the land, should have been consulted first underlines the importance of recognizing and addressing the historical land claims of indigenous communities in the land reform process. ➤ The observation of "scuffles outside" and an "overflowing" venue indicates a significant public interest in the hearings, potentially fueled by strong and opposing views on land expropriation. ➤ The "very strong police presence" suggests authorities anticipated

	<p>and prepared for potential unrest or disruptions during the hearings, reflecting the sensitive nature of the issue.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement from the Farmers Union Free State Agriculture, warning that land expropriation without compensation would lead to an economic crisis, highlights the strong opposition from some agricultural sectors who fear negative economic consequences. ➤ The mention of a "strong presence of protests across the province" suggests that the land expropriation debate is not confined to the hearings but is fueling broader public demonstrations and activism, indicating the high stakes and enthusiastic views surrounding the issue.
<p>Eastern Cape <i>-Traditional leaders want the land,'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The repeated statement that "traditional leaders want the land"

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>'Political presence ANC. EFF AND DA.'</i> - <i>'Traditional leaders want land.'</i> - <i>UDM land taken must be returned.</i> - <i>'Economy is a slow pace.'</i> - <i>'will kill the economy.'</i> - <i>'What are you going to do the land? Are' you going to eat it?'</i> 	<p>highlights their assertive stance in demanding a central role in land ownership and redistribution. This suggests a potential point of contention regarding the control and allocation of land in the province.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The presence of major political parties like the ANC, EFF, and DA highlights the high political stakes surrounding land expropriation. This suggests that the issue is likely to remain a key point of debate and competition among political actors. ➤ The United Democratic Movement's assertion that "land taken must be returned" emphasizes the need for land restitution to address past injustices and return the land to those who were dispossessed. ➤ The statements expressing concern about the slow pace of the economy and the potential for land
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	<p>expropriation to "kill the economy" highlight concerns about the potential negative consequences of land reform on economic growth and stability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The question "What are you going to do with the land? Are you going to eat it?" reflects a pragmatic perspective that questions the feasibility and potential outcomes of land redistribution, suggesting a need for clear plans and strategies for post-expropriation land use.
<p>Western Cape (Little Karoo) <i>Topic had divided the country.'</i> <i>-the land issue is a very sensitive one</i> <i>-Many white farmers here on multiple properties</i> <i>- 'Majority white farmers LEWC will cause' 'job loss, unproductive lands,'</i> <i>- But for the Khoisan people changing only one part of the constitution is not enough</i> <i>- 'Khoi people rightful owners'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The observation that the land issue "divided the country" highlights the dividing nature of the debate and its potential to exacerbate existing social and racial tensions. ➤ The acknowledgment that "the land issue is a very sensitive one" emphasizes the need for careful and respectful dialogue, recognizing the historical injustices and emotional weight associated

	<p>with land ownership in South Africa.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ The statement that "many white farmers here [are] on multiple properties" points to the legacy of apartheid-era land dispossession and the resulting unequal land ownership patterns that persist today. This observation fuels arguments for land redistribution as a means to address historical injustices. ➤ The concerns raised by some, primarily white farmers, that Land Expropriation Without Compensation will lead to "job loss" and "unproductive lands" reflect fears about potential economic consequences and the need for clear policies to ensure agricultural productivity and economic stability during and after land reform. ➤ Khoisan Demands: The assertion by the Khoisan people that "changing only one part of the constitution isn't enough" highlights their demand for broader
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	<p>recognition of their historical land rights as the original inhabitants of the land. This suggests a desire for more comprehensive constitutional and legal reforms that go beyond simply amending Section 25.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement that "Khoi people are the rightful owners" emphasises their claim to land ownership based on their historical presence and dispossession, challenging the legitimacy of colonial and subsequent land acquisitions.
<p>Gauteng <i>'Land must be returned to the owners.'</i> <i>"We are prepared to die for this land."</i> <i>'Land is identity,'</i> <i>'Criminals took our land.'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The demand that "land must be returned to the owners" reflects a view of land ownership as a matter of ancestral rights and historical inheritance, emphasizing the need to rectify past injustices. ➤ The statement "We are prepared to die for this land" conveys the profound significance of land to identity and a steadfast

	<p>commitment to reclaiming it, even at great personal cost. This sentiment stresses the depth of feeling, and the high stakes associated with land reform for some.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The assertion that "land is identity" encapsulates the deep-rooted connection between land ownership and a sense of belonging, heritage, and cultural continuity. This perspective highlights the cultural and social dimensions of land, extending beyond its economic value. ➤ The statement that "criminals took our land" frames land dispossession as an act of theft and injustice, emphasizing the need for accountability and redress. This perspective rejects the legitimacy of colonial and apartheid-era land acquisitions, portraying them as criminal acts.
<p>Limpopo <i>'No farmer in this land has taken land from black people (National Conservative Party)'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement by the National Conservative Party that "no farmer in this land has taken land from black people" represents a blatant

<p><i>'White people did not die for the land, our forefathers died for the land.'</i></p>	<p>denial of the historical reality of colonial and apartheid-era land dispossession. This perspective ignores the systemic and often violent processes through which land was forcibly taken from black South Africans.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The assertion that "white people did not die for the land, our forefathers died for the land" presents a counter-narrative that emphasizes the sacrifices made by black South Africans in their struggle for land and liberation. This perspective directly challenges the notion that white South Africans have a greater claim to land based on historical sacrifice.
<p>KwaZulu Natal/ Rustenburg</p> <p><i>'Land in good hands of Amakhosi.'</i></p> <p><i>'Land emotive issue.'</i></p> <p><i>'Whites took our land.'</i></p> <p><i>'Giving black people land is a racist act.'</i></p> <p><i>'Property rights affected.'</i></p> <p><i>'Will undermine the banking system.'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement that "land [is] in good hands of Amakhosi" reflects a perspective that emphasizes the role of traditional leaders as custodians of land, entrusted with its management and distribution within their communities. This highlights the importance of

	<p>considering traditional land tenure systems in the context of land reform.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ The acknowledgment that land is an "emotive issue" focuses on the deep-seated feelings of loss, injustice, and historical trauma associated with land dispossession, emphasizing the need for sensitivity, and understanding in addressing these issues. ➤ The assertion that "whites took our land" reiterates the historical reality of colonial and apartheid-era land grabs, fueling demands for restitution and redress. ➤ The statement that "giving black people land is a racist act" reflects a racially charged perspective that views attempts to address historical land injustices as inherently discriminatory against white South
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	<p>Africans. This highlights the persistence of racial divisions and the challenges of achieving a shared vision for land reform.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The concern that "property rights [are] affected" reflects concern about the potential erosion of property rights for all South Africans, regardless of race, and the need for clear legal frameworks to ensure fairness and transparency in land expropriation processes. ➤ The warning that land expropriation "will undermine the banking system" highlights concerns about the potential economic consequences of land reform, particularly the impact on property values, lending practices, and overall economic stability.
<p>North West <i>'Emotive debates'</i> <i>'White people who took the land.'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The recognition of "emotive debates" surrounding land shows the deep-seated feelings of loss,

<p><i>'Property rights'</i></p> <p><i>'Landowners vs the landless'</i></p> <p><i>'Youth must get involved.'</i></p> <p><i>The ruling party has failed people, no land to build decent homes.</i></p>	<p>injustice, and historical trauma associated with land dispossession, highlighting the need for sensitivity and empathy in addressing these issues.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement that "white people...took the land" directly attributes blame for historical land dispossession, emphasizing the need for acknowledgment and accountability in any land reform process. ➤ Concerns over "property rights" reflect worries about the potential impact of land expropriation on existing landowners, highlighting the need for a transparent and legally sound process that respects constitutional rights. ➤ The stark contrast drawn between "landowners vs the landless" stresses the deep socioeconomic disparities that persist in South Africa, emphasizing the need for land reform to address historical
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	<p>injustices and promote equitable access to land.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The emphasis on "youth [getting] involved" highlights the importance of intergenerational dialogue and the need for young people to actively participate in shaping land reform policies that will impact their future. ➤ The sentiment that the "ruling party has failed people, no land to build [a] decent home" reflects a deep sense of frustration with the slow pace of land reform and the perceived inability of the government to deliver on its promises of land restitution and redistribution.
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5.3.3 Overall themes that emerged from eNCA.

Table 7 eNCA Themes

Themes	Frequency	Further explanations
Land reform. (Social justice)	3 mentions	<i>'land reform is in the public interest of South Africa he said that it will boost our economy'</i>
Land must be returned. (Social justice)	11 mentions	<i>'now at 73, and having retired as a teacher, he's at the forefront of the move to claim his people's land back.'</i> <i>'It is a better option to claim back the land from the whites.'</i> <i>'the boers also the white people so they must give my land back.'</i>
Political issues	13 mentions	<i>'Now of course, political parties I play here as well. They will be able through their members, through their supporters on the streets, Different towns to get their views across.'</i>

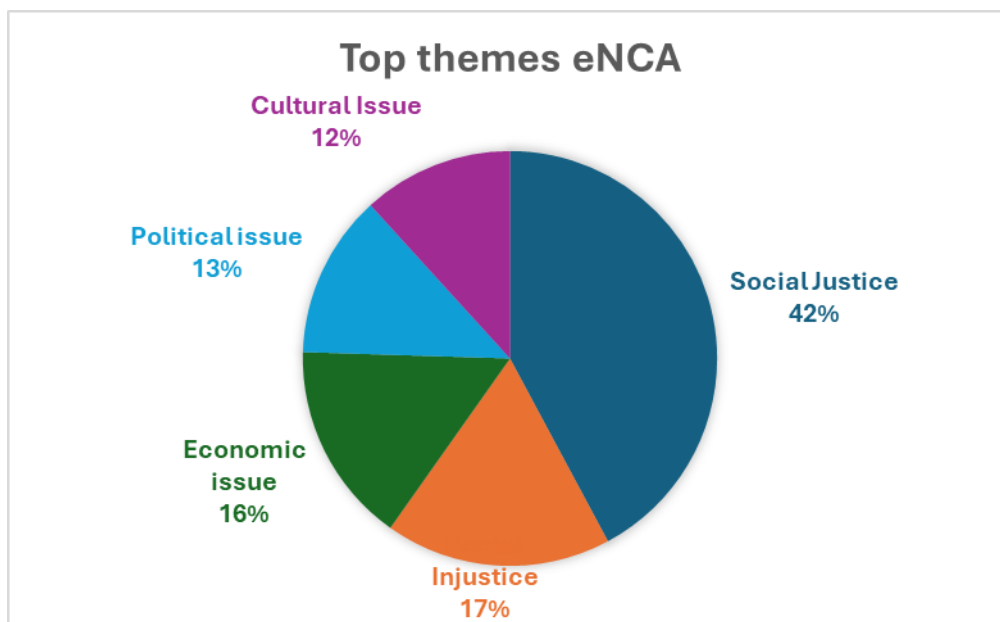
		<p><i>EFF, ANC, COPE'</i></p> <p><i>'Vincent Smith has left out at political parties scripting arguments during proceedings impressive it says this is a fruitless exercise that lengthens the process unnecessarily'</i></p>
Economic	16 mentions	<p><i>'potential damage that it would cause to the economy.'</i></p> <p><i>'will be deleterious for the economy and really harming South Africa's economy in a similar way if not a worse way than the COVID 19 '</i></p>
Food security (Social Justice)	16 mentions	<i>'Those opposed to the amendment say such a move threatens food security.'</i>

		<p><i>'Food security is a way of traditional life, is a way of cultural life and everything.'</i></p> <p><i>'land expropriation without compensation saying that that will be disastrous for the country and also opposes risk really for job security and food security.'</i></p> <p><i>'potential damage that it would cause to the economy and to food security.'</i></p>
<p>Property rights (Social justice)</p>	3 mentions	<p><i>'we recommend that private property rights be respected, However majority of black people don't have access to property such as the land.</i></p> <p><i>'Most white people claim the protection of property rights</i></p>
<p>Dispossessed (Social Injustice)</p>	2 mentions	<p><i>government has already had a positive obligation to</i></p>

		<i>restitution land dispossessed</i>
Traditional leaders (Cultural rights)	12 mentions	the traditional leaders are using this as a money-making scheme well this does it does seem that this is a monetary benefit the traditional leaders get from living against rural
Dignity (Social Justice)	7 mentions	<p><i>‘the reality is that land is our most valuable asset in a sense that it brings food it brings shelter it brings wealth and most importantly it brings dignity.’</i></p> <p><i>‘the land question is linked to our dignity.’</i></p> <p><i>‘talking about restoring dignity.’</i></p> <p><i>‘talk about the question of dignity identity and power’</i></p>

Wealth (Social justice)	3 mentions	<i>'to increase wealth generation across all sectors of society'</i>
Black People (Racial division)	10 mentions	<i>'been a victim of expropriation as black people but over and I mean by and large very many white people would argue against expropriation very many black people would argue for expropriation'</i>
White People (Racial division)	6 mentions	<i>'Our land was taken by white people'</i>
Emotive issue	3 mentions	<i>'people become more you know emotive'</i>

Figure 9 Top themes eNCA



5.3.4 Provincial coverage: eNCA

Notably, eNCA's coverage differed significantly from SABC's by not featuring all nine provinces. Instead, eNCA opted for a studio-heavy approach, with expert opinions comprising 32% of their coverage and journalist interviews contributing 16%. Actual on-location reporting in the affected areas only made up 52% of eNCA's coverage.

Table 8 Summary of provincial coverage by eNCA

Province	Further explanations
<p>Northern Cape</p> <p><i>'we must amend the Constitution of South Africa, and we must also give to Nama people and African people they land back.'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The quotes strongly emphasize the imperative of returning land to its rightful owners – the Nama and African people. Phrases like "must give my land back" and "we must

'my land is in the hands of those settlers, those colonel master's and the boers also the white people so they must give my land back.'

'can live in a dignified manner because land is your cornerstone of your structures, in culture and tradition heritage and everything. And the moment you took someone's land, you cut him off'

amend the Constitution" convey a sense of moral obligation and legal entitlement.

- There is a clear articulation of historical wrongs, referencing "settlers," "colonel masters," and "boers" as those who unjustly took land. This highlights the lasting legacy of colonialism and apartheid in land ownership patterns.
- The quote about land being the "cornerstone of your structures, in culture and tradition heritage" underscores the deep connection between land and identity. It suggests that land ownership is essential for cultural preservation, economic self-sufficiency, and overall well-being.
- The phrase "the moment you took someone's land, you cut him off" powerfully conveys the profound sense of loss and disenfranchisement resulting from

	<p>land dispossession. It suggests that access to land is crucial for participation in society and economic opportunity.</p>
<p>Mpumalanga (Ermelo & Middleburg)</p> <p><i>'That the constitution, be amended for the benefit of Africans, and the oppressed Africans in in their very own country of birth.'</i></p> <p><i>'Why must we compensate a criminal.'</i></p> <p><i>'because our forefathers when they were taken this land nothing was given to them, why should they be compensated.'</i></p> <p><i>'current landowner benefited through exploiting the Black people of this country'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The call to amend the constitution specifically "for the benefit of Africans and the oppressed Africans" stresses the perception that the current legal framework perpetuates historical injustices and needs revision to achieve equity. ➤ The question "Why must we compensate a criminal?" reframes land dispossession as a criminal act rather than a legitimate transaction. This perspective challenges the notion of compensating current landowners, viewing them as beneficiaries of past wrongdoing. ➤ The argument that "our forefathers...were taken this land [and] nothing was given to them" reinforces the view that land was

	<p>stolen, not purchased. It questions the moral basis for compensating those who benefited from this dispossession.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement that "current landowners benefited through exploiting the Black people of this country" directly links present land ownership to historical exploitation. It strengthens the case for LEWC as a means of addressing this enduring legacy of injustice.
<p>Free State (Botshabelo)</p> <p><i>'the reality is that land is our most valuable asset, it brings food it brings shelter it brings wealth and most importantly it brings dignity.'</i></p> <p><i>'they robbed and killed our forefathers for what belonged to them.'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The quote highlighting land's ability to "bring food...shelter...wealth...and most importantly...dignity" encapsulates the profound and holistic value placed on land ownership. It goes beyond mere economic benefit, emphasizing its role in ensuring basic needs, economic security, and self-worth. ➤ The bare statement that "they robbed and killed our forefathers for

	<p>what belonged to them" leaves no room for ambiguity about the nature of historical land acquisition. It directly accuses those responsible for dispossession of theft and murder, highlighting the violence</p>
<p>Eastern Cape</p> <p><i>'we see security standing at the gates.</i></p> <p><i>'we saw protesters people wearing EFF shirts stopping the start of the public hearings.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The observation that "we see security standing at the gates" suggests an atmosphere of tension and potential conflict surrounding the land hearings. This implies that the issue of land is extremely sensitive and evokes strong emotions. ➤ The mention of "protesters mainly people wearing EFF shirts stopping the start of the public hearings" points to active opposition and attempts to disrupt the proceedings. This highlights the contentious nature of the land issue and the presence of groups seeking to
<p>Gauteng</p> <p><i>'a lot of robust debating'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The mention of "a lot of robust debating" indicates that the Gauteng hearings witnessed lively

<p><i>‘expropriation of land without compensation is theft in fact and it would have dire consequences for the country.’</i></p> <p><i>‘is a third Force that’s trying to stop these hearings from taking place.’</i></p>	<p>and heated exchanges of views. This suggests a diversity of perspectives on LEWC within the province.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The quote stating that "expropriation of land without compensation is theft in fact and it would have dire consequences for the country" articulates a clear opposition to LEWC. It frames the policy as inherently unjust and economically damaging. ➤ The claim that there "is a third Force that's trying to stop these hearings from taking place" introduces an element of suspicion and conspiracy. It suggests that external actors are working to undermine the public consultation process, though it is unclear who these actors might be.
<p>Limpopo</p> <p><i>‘The Bakgaga ba Kopa people were forcibly removed from their land in 1962. Stories about how people watched</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The account of the Bakgaga ba Kopa people's removal in 1962, with homes being "bulldozed to the ground," paints a vivid picture of

<p><i>helplessly as their homes were bulldozed to the ground.'</i></p> <p><i>'Now at 73, and having retired as a teacher, he's at the forefront of the move to claim his people's land back.'</i></p>	<p>the brutality and trauma inflicted upon communities dispossessed of their land. This historical context underscores the deep emotional resonance of land restitution for many.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The story of the 73-year-old retired teacher "at the forefront of the move to claim his people's land back" highlights the unwavering commitment to reclaiming what was lost, even after decades of displacement. It speaks to the enduring hope for justice and restoration.
<p>North West</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The phrases "a few had words of warning" and "those that are threatening war" indicate a climate of intimidation and potential violence. This suggests that the land issue has inflamed passions and could lead to unrest. ➤ The mention of someone "lashing out at traditional leaders" hints at internal divisions and power struggles within communities. This

	<p>could complicate land restitution efforts and create further instability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The statement that those "in position of the land...will be met with equal resistance" underscores the determination of some to retain their land, even if it means resorting to force. This raises serious concerns about the potential for violent confrontations.
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It can be said that the overarching theme presented by the eNCA news channel regarding the Land Expropriation Without Compensation public hearings is one of deep-seated ill-treatment, vehement demands for restitution, and bubbling tensions with the potential for conflict. The quotes consistently highlight the brutal legacy of land dispossession, emphasizing forced removals, violence, and the enduring trauma experienced by affected communities. This historical context forms the moral foundation for demands for land restitution.

Across provinces, people emphasized the profound significance of land, linking it to economic security, cultural preservation, dignity, and overall well-being. This cements why the issue of land ownership carries such emotional weight. eNCA, like the SABC, highlighted the contested views on compensation and the envisaged process. While there's a clear consensus on the need for restitution, differing opinions on the issue of compensation and the potential consequences of expropriation without it were covered. This difference in perspective is a potential flashpoint for conflict.

Finally, one unavoidable element was the potential for tensions and conflict. The reports of protests, threats, and vows of resistance, particularly in the North West, highlight the volatility surrounding the land issue. This stresses the need for careful management, dialogue, and a commitment to peaceful resolution.

Figure 10: Themes comparison SABC and eNCA

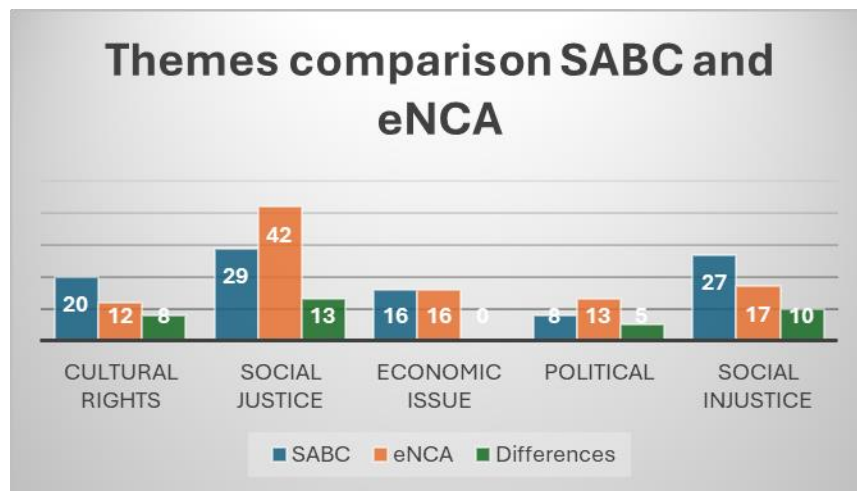


Figure 10 presents the following important findings:

Both SABC and eNCA portrayed LEWC as a matter of social justice, with eNCA giving it more attention compared to SABC (42% vs. 29%). In terms of cultural differences, SABC placed greater emphasis on arguments related to cultural rights, accounting for 20% of their coverage compared to 12% for eNCA. On the other hand, eNCA focused more on the political aspects, with 13% of their coverage dedicated to this topic compared to 8% for SABC. Both organisations assigned equal importance to the economic consequences of LEWC, with a weight of 16%. The SABC placed a greater emphasis on the issue of social injustice, with 27% of their focus compared to 17% on other themes.

5.3.5 Land as a form of social justice or injustice.

The findings reveal the framing differences that were observed. Moral Framing: SABC appears to use a strong moral frame, emphasising the suffering and injustice experienced by black South Africans due to land dispossession. The language used, such as "brutally taken", "deprived dignity", and "restore dignity", evokes strong emotional responses and paints a picture of historical victimhood. This moral framing aims to legitimise LEWC as a necessary measure to correct past mistakes. The portrayal of white people as "perpetrators", "criminals", or "thieves" further reinforces this frame by assigning blame and creating a clear contradiction between victims and oppressors. A legalistic framing approach was employed by (eNCA). While acknowledging the desire for land restitution, eNCA seems to focus on individual claims and the legal process of reclaiming land. The quotes emphasized individual actions and legal claims ("claim his people's land back", "a better option to claim back the land", "must give my land back"). This framing is less emotionally charged and focuses more on the legal and procedural aspects of land ownership, which may appeal to viewers who prioritise property rights and legal processes. The researcher observed similarities in the framing, both acknowledging historical injustice. Both channels acknowledge the need to rectify past injustices related to land ownership. This shared recognition of the historical context forms the basis for their coverage of LEWC. Focus on land ownership as central as both SABC and eNCA focus on land ownership as a central issue in addressing the legacy of apartheid. This shared emphasis underlines the importance of land in the South African context. Finally, the researcher can sum up the framing techniques employed by SABC as follows: SABC uses emotional appeals, evocative language, and visual imagery showing the suffering of Black people to create a sense of empathy and moral outrage. The use of labels like "criminals" and "thieves" contributes to a more polarised representation of the issue, while eNCA uses a more matter-of-fact tone by emphasising individual stories and legal claims. This approach may be perceived as more objective or neutral, though it also potentially downplays the systemic nature of land dispossession.

5.3.6 Land as a cultural right

SABC as a public broadcaster, SABC reinforced the government's dedication to resolving Khoisan land disputes and stressed the cultural significance of land for their traditional traditions, such as the practice of traditional medical methods. eNCA looked into the details of these claims, exploring the legal challenges and different views within the Khoisan community, while also comparing these claims to those made by other groups, like AfriForum, which says it represents them. By interviewing the same chief, both channels presumably recognise the Khoisan people as the original occupiers and the past abuses they endured. Both channels propagated the chief's assertion that white individuals, not Black ones, primarily control their territory (Majavu, 2013). This communal narrative component is substantial. SABC employed visual representations of an expressive chief's declarations to elicit an emotional response regarding land restoration (Barnard, 1992). In conclusion: The Khoisan interviews enhance the comprehension of land as not merely an economic asset but as profoundly connected to cultural identity and historical injustice. Both channels, notwithstanding some framing discrepancies, articulate the Khoisan perspective. The collective attention on the same leader underscores the significance of his message concerning land ownership, ancestral ties, and the aspiration to engage in traditional medicine (Mitchell, 2002). This study highlights the media's influence in cultivating public understanding of the intricacies of land reform in South Africa by transcending simplistic narratives (Barry, 2004; Dugard & Seme, 2018; Koot & Büscher, 2019). It highlights the need for land reform plans that are sensitive to culture and aware of history, specifically designed for the unique situations of Indigenous people like the Khoisan.

5.3.7 The land as a political issue

The framing of political dynamics regarding land expropriation without compensation by eNCA can be articulated as follows: eNCA highlighted the influence of political parties in shaping public discourse regarding LEWC. eNCA presents the debate as encompassing not only the issue of land but also the dynamics of political manoeuvring and influence, highlighting how parties utilise their members and supporters to communicate their

perspectives. This corresponds with your study's research regarding the relationship between framing, editorial stances, and wider socio-political discourse. Wasserman et al. (2018) examines the framing of conflict parties in service delivery protests by newspapers, providing a parallel to the potential framing of political actors by eNCA in the LEWC debate. Cottle and Rai (2008) examine the framing of political issues in South African television news, providing a comprehensive theoretical framework. eNCA emphasised the critique regarding the engagement of political parties. Vincent Smith's characterization of political parties as "scripting arguments" suggests that their involvement may be obstructive and unproductive. This introduces a crucial viewpoint to the narrative, indicating that political agendas may obstruct advancements regarding the LEWC issue. eNCA is framing the LEWC as a politically charged issue, emphasising the influence of political parties and the criticisms regarding their involvement. This framing may influence viewers' perceptions of the debate, possibly causing them to regard it as primarily concerning political manoeuvring rather than the fundamental issues of land ownership and redistribution.

In contrast to eNCA, the SABC presents the land issue as linked to racial inequality and the pursuit of Black majority rule. The assertion that political parties are "Campaigning/Supporting members" indicates an emphasis on political mobilisation and activism concerning land reform. SABC may be emphasising the organisation and advocacy efforts of various groups in pursuit of their interests. SABC presented its members in political attire. The statement "Fighting for the majority meaning Black people" explicitly connects the land issue to racial dynamics and the historical context of apartheid. The SABC's framing emphasises the historical dispossession of Black South Africans and their continuous pursuit of economic and social justice. This corresponds with the research question concerning recurring themes, particularly historical injustice. This text offers essential context regarding the racial disparities in land ownership in South Africa, which is vital for comprehending this framing.

5.3.8 Land as an economic tool

The data has revealed that the framing strategies employed by SABC and eNCA. While both acknowledge the economic implications of land reform, the way they frame these concerns differs significantly, aligning with their respective institutional mandates and target audiences.

eNCA, by platforming expert opinions that emphasize potential economic damage, and highlighting the principle of property rights, likely appealing to a predominantly white, property-owning demographic. This framing resonates with neoliberal anxieties surrounding market stability and individual ownership. It also potentially reinforces existing power structures by prioritizing the economic concerns of those who already hold significant economic power (Mzwakali, 2018). eNCA interviewed experts warning of potential damage akin to or worse than the COVID-19 pandemic, exemplify a framing strategy aimed at eliciting fear and skepticism toward land reform. (Potgieter, 2023) While experts can offer valuable insights, the selection of which experts are given a platform can significantly shape the narrative.

SABC, while acknowledging the potential economic impact, is more framed land reform within a broader discourse of social justice and historical redress. (Ndhlovu, 2019; Toit, 2024). It emphasized the need to address historical injustices and the unequal distribution of land, even if that means some economic risk. (Muswaka, 2019). This frame resonates with a Black audience who have been historically dispossessed of land. By highlighting the fact that the majority of Black people lack access to property, SABC's framing connects land reform to a broader struggle for equality and empowerment. (Stoddard, 2023)

The racial makeup of the participants in these discussions further emphasizes the power dynamics at play. The findings revealed that who focused on economic anxieties were mostly white is significant. This is not to discount the validity of economic concerns, but rather to recognize that these concerns are often amplified and prioritized within certain media spaces, potentially marginalizing alternative perspectives. (Hall, 2004)

Ultimately, both channels construct narratives around land reform, actively shaping public perception. eNCA constructs a narrative of economic risk and the sanctity of property rights, while SABC constructs a narrative of historical redress and social justice. Understanding these framing strategies, including who is given a voice and whose concerns are prioritized, is crucial for critically evaluating media representations of land reform and their impact on the political landscape. (Akinola, 2020; Mufune, 2010) As the research findings states, framing is not simply about what is said, but also about *how* it is said, and *who* is saying it.

5.4 Media Representation

As Stuart Hall argues, media representations reinforce dominant meanings, often favouring privileged elites. This reinforces existing power structures and can perpetuate marginalization. Therefore, media analysis must examine whose voices are amplified, whose voices are marginalized, and the potential impact of these portrayals on individuals and society.

Framing is central to understanding media representation. Framing involves selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of an issue while downplaying others, shaping how audiences interpret information. Media outlets do not simply mirror reality; they actively construct it through choices in language, imagery, and narrative structure.

In the case of the LEWC public hearings, both SABC and eNCA made specific framing choices that aligned with their respective ideologies and agendas. For example, eNCA airing a photo of a Black crowd behind a bar during the Eastern Cape hearing, without providing the full context of security managing a large crowd, created a specific impression. This framing choice potentially reinforced negative stereotypes. Similarly, the news anchor's selective focus on singing inside the hall while others were being monitored at the gate presents a partial, potentially misleading view of the event. These examples demonstrate how framing constructs a particular narrative, shaping public perception of the LEWC hearings. A thorough analysis should explore these framing

strategies in detail, demonstrating *how* specific choices in language, imagery, and narrative influence audience understanding.

By explicitly incorporating the concept of framing and strengthening the analysis of the Eastern Cape hearing example, the revised section provides a more focused and insightful discussion of media representation in the context of the LEWC public hearings. Furthermore, linking this discussion to broader theories of media representation, such as Hall's work on dominant meanings, will enrich your analysis.

RQ3 How did SABC and eNCA represent the LEWC public hearings?

Media representation pertains to how media texts, including television episodes, films, news stories, and social media content, depict and illustrate various groups, concepts, and occurrences. It involves evaluating the representation and incorporation of various groups, such as those based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, socioeconomic status, and disability, in media content. Representation goes beyond mere existence; it is crucial to assess the caliber of representation, making sure that marginalised groups are not portrayed in conventional or superficial roles, but rather as multifaceted people. It is necessary to analyse the methods used to provide information, the oversimplified beliefs, the accounts of events, the plotlines, and the distinguishing features linked to various social categories. Representation also entails the examination of power dynamics, specifically focusing on the individuals or groups that possess influence and authority over the generation and dissemination of media information. The text examines the contrast between dominant and marginalised perspectives, as well as the extent to which the content represents a variety of viewpoints.

The significance of media representation lies in its ability to shape and influence societal perceptions and attitudes.

The portrayal of information by the media has a substantial impact on our comprehension of the world and the way we think and feel about various social groups. The media is a potent instrument for socialization, especially among young individuals, as it influences their understanding of social norms and expectations. Observing one's image portrayed in the media can offer confirmation and empowerment, yet a dearth of representation can result in sentiments of being unseen and marginalised. The portrayal of media can either perpetuate established power disparities or confront them by magnifying under-represented perspectives and advocating for societal transformation. Media analysis entails a thorough evaluation of the personalities being portrayed, how they are portrayed, and the potential influence these portrayals may have on individuals and society at large.

Media representation significantly shapes public perceptions of social groups. Stuart Hall argues that media not only presents images and words but also reinforces dominant meanings, often favouring privileged elites (Campbell, 2017:11).

Media representations are inherently mediated, meaning that a single representation can never provide a comprehensive view of an event, but rather only a limited perspective. In the case of the LEWC public hearing, both SABC and eNCA selectively chose which parts of the event to display, aligning with their ideologies and agendas (Cilliers, 2008). During one of the public hearings in the Eastern Cape, eNCA aired a photo of a Black crowd behind a bar. However, the context was that security personnel were stationed at the gate to control the entrance, and the crowd was much larger. Furthermore, the news anchor moved throughout the venue, capturing footage of people singing inside the hall while others were being monitored at the gate. Once again, these media representations reflect specific ideologies.



Figure 11: EC Participants behind a security door

Understanding media narratives is crucial for comprehending the construction of race and ethnicity and how they influence societal cohesion. While the SABC highlighted diversity, it is evident that male speakers predominantly dominated, revealing racial disparities in coverage. For instance, there was a heavy emphasis on police presence in the Free State, contrasting with less attention given to Mbombela despite similar circumstances. In the footage, a high police presence is shown in the Mbombela area, but nothing was mentioned by the news reporter. The footage also shows about ten police officers who are inattentive in the Mbombela area. The headlines about the coverage indicate that the process was flawed and failed to accurately represent the residents.

5.4.1 Headlines for SABC and eNCA's coverage

Both channels displayed fewer engaging headlines for their coverage of the LEWC, primarily focusing on specific areas and provinces. Headlines play a crucial role in shaping viewers' perception and understanding of content, as well as influencing their memory of it (Kannikova, 2014). However, some headlines contradicted the actual video content. For example, eNCA's label of "fruitless" for the Rustenburg coverage did not align with the heated opposing views expressed by participants, including references to Parliament's ineffectiveness and potential conflict. Similarly, SABC's headline of

"Tempers Flared" for the Northern Cape Concordia coverage did not provide evidence of anger in the video. This is what is known as media Sensationalism. Sensationalisation in media is defined as exaggerated reporting to attract more viewers (Udeze & Uzuegbunam, 2013:71-72) and remains prevalent even on serious issues like the LEWC public hearings.

The media plays a vital role in shaping public perception and discourse, but this power comes with the responsibility to report accurately and ethically. Sensationalism, prioritizing shocking or exciting elements over factual accuracy and balanced reporting, poses a significant threat to this responsibility. Sensationalized reporting often relies on exaggeration, half-truths, or outright fabrication, which undermines the credibility of journalism. When the public loses trust in the media's ability to provide accurate information, it becomes difficult to engage in meaningful dialogue and debate on important issues (Chermak, 2008). Sensationalisation preys on the public's emotions, especially fear and worries (Salvi *et al.*, 2021). By focusing on the most extreme or negative aspects of a story, the media can create a distorted view of reality, leading to unnecessary panic and social division.

Sensationalized headlines, particularly those related to crime, disasters, or social conflicts, can heighten public fear and worries, potentially resulting in impulsive decisions or social unrest. Sensationalisation hampers effective problem-solving; it simplifies complex issues, focusing on emotional triggers rather than defined analysis. This approach can hinder the public's ability to comprehend the root causes of problems and identify viable solutions (Schildkraut & Muschert, 2013). One critical issue is the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes. In an attempt to grab attention, sensationalized reporting may resort to harmful stereotypes and generalizations. This can reinforce existing prejudices and contribute to discrimination against certain groups. Finally, ethical considerations must be addressed. Journalists and media outlets have a responsibility to report responsibly and avoid causing harm. Sensationalism conflicts with this duty, prioritising profit and viewership over truth and accuracy. The media plays a critical role in informing the public and holding those in power accountable. By practising responsible

reporting and rejecting sensationalism, the media can effectively fulfil this role and contribute to a more informed and just society.

To recognise sensationalism in society, the public must be aware of its elements and hold media outlets accountable. If the public is unaware, it becomes difficult to identify sensationalism. Demanding higher standards and an informed public is crucial. While the South African press enjoys the freedom of the press with self-regulation responsibilities, governments can introduce regulations to prevent deliberate sensationalism. Deterrence of sensationalism requires a collective effort. Journalists, media organisations, policymakers, and the public all have a role in fostering a media landscape that prioritizes truth, accuracy, and responsible reporting.

Sensational headlines can exploit tragedies or personal stories for profit or viewership, potentially causing harm to individuals or communities involved. The pressure to generate clicks and engagement can incentivize media outlets to prioritise sensational headlines over responsible reporting, leading to a decline in journalistic standards. While headlines are effective in capturing attention, they also pose dangers to the integrity and credibility of media news reporting. Sensationalized headlines have the potential to undermine media credibility. Viewers, who are constantly bombarded with exaggerated or misleading headlines, may develop skepticism towards the media's ability to report accurately and objectively. Furthermore, headlines can create an impression of bias, lacking the necessary context and nuance, thus potentially fueling perceptions of bias or a hidden agenda. Inaccurate headlines distort public understanding and contribute to the dissemination of misinformation. Exaggerated or misleading headlines easily contribute to the spread of misinformation, as readers might share or react solely based on the headline, without fully engaging with the comprehensive content of the news broadcast.

5.4.2 Visual and Contextual Analysis SABC visuals

Videos, with their ability to capture emotional cues through facial expressions, body language, and vocal nuances, are powerful tools for shaping audience perceptions (Fazeli, Sabeti & Ferrari, 2023). Both SABC and eNCA effectively used visuals to support their agenda-setting efforts. SABC controversial statements from Komani, including a white male speaking Xhosa in response to the BLF movement's actions (Davis, 2019). eNCA featured apartheid-era images of Black people mistreated by the white government, emphasizing the public's keen interest in the land issue, and illustrating the potency of visuals in conveying complex social and political matters.

The public hearings on the proposal to expropriate land without compensation are a significant event in South Africa. They address a crucial issue related to land reform and land rights, which are especially important given the historical context of land dispossession during apartheid (South African Government, 2018). The hearings are taking place in South Africa. The pictures provided by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) illustrate the wide variety of individuals who are participating in and interested in these talks (SABC News, 2024). Hearings like this, which are organised by the committee that oversees Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC), have a considerable impact on both the political and social spheres. These discussions are part of a larger conversation that will have an impact on legislative and political attempts to address land concerns. These efforts, in turn, will have far-reaching ramifications for property rights, economic development, and social fairness (LEWC, 2024). Additionally, the graphics bring attention to the involvement of the community as well as their democratic right to participate in the formation of policy changes that may have an immediate impact on them (SABC News, 2024). The role that the media plays in exposing these occurrences is extremely important because it fosters transparency, raises public awareness, and holds authorities accountable (Moyo, 2023).

The tables below show all the media coverage and a brief visual analysis per province.

Table 9: Gauteng highlights

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The presenter from SABC News describes the debate on whether section 25 should be amended as a 'Hot Topic'.



The gentleman in the image echoes the voices of many who say, "Criminals stole our land, humiliated us and enslaved us." He further states that he is in support of the amendment of section 25 because the real owners should own the land.



This elderly community member believes that the constitution is sufficient and broad enough to enable the government to adjust in an equal way without amending section 25.



Unrest from the crowd as one young lady says that South Africa should forgive and move on so that the people may live in peace. People's hands are eagerly raised to be given a chance to share their opinions.



This image shows the people from Gauteng who came in numbers to discuss their views and opinions on the amending or lack thereof in section 25. Majority being the Black people.

Table 10: Limpopo highlights

Limpopo, like some of the province's coverage, was not an exception. Both black and white were represented. Based on some of the images the racial lines were drawn according to the imagery that the news channel selected.



The image of the land has a colour interest. It is white versus black. The



This image is a close-up of and further highlights the majority race in the meeting

image of a gentleman who holds a microphone with a straight face.

as well as the seating positions of the white people. The image again shows the face of a lady who was happy with a smile at the back while the two white gentlemen were concerned. Again, the halls are packed with a mixture of black and white.



An elderly DA community member addressing the public on the importance of land reform. He is against land expropriation without compensation however suggests that each South African should have a title deed. Behind the EFF supporters are visible at the back



A diverse group of attendees sat and attentively listened to the ongoing discussions. This image represents the ratio of white people vs African people in terms of population in the area.



This image shows the number of people who came out in numbers to discuss

<p>This image shows an ANC supporter gentleman who is expressing that he believes that the land was criminally taken from them. And further suggests that all land should be owned by the state and the land must be redistributed equally.</p>	<p>their opinions on the amendment of section 25. In this image:</p> <p>The image above depicts the turnout of those who actively engaged in discussions over the amendment of section 25. Within this visual representation:</p> <p>Regarding the visual aspects, the audience and the venue are being considered. The image depicts a sizable and heterogeneous assemblage of individuals present at the hearing, signifying substantial public intrigue and engagement. This might present the issue as a matter that is of significant and widespread concern to the community.</p> <p>The presence of those seated at the front, officials, or prominent speakers, establishes the event as formal and authoritative.</p> <p>According to agenda-setting theory, the media influences what topics people focus on, rather than directly controlling their thoughts. This graphic and its accompanying text draw viewers' attention to the significance of Land</p>
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Reform by specifically highlighting Section 25, which addresses property and land reform in South Africa. The media emphasises this as a crucial matter. Similar to other images, this photo depicts the extent of public involvement in public hearings, highlighting the democratic procedures and the significance of popular sentiment in influencing legislation.

The image combines visual and linguistic components to present the matter of Section 25 modifications as significant, extensively debated, and requiring significant public involvement.

The agenda-setting function emphasises the importance of land reform and the role of public hearings in democratic governance.



52-year-old male from Polokwane stresses that he has enough farming resources all

he wants is land and a title deed. He says ownership will help him create jobs and keep hunger at bay.

SABC racial representation, Political representation, mixed emotions, tension or concerned facial expressions,



Figure 12 SABC Racial representation

Table 11 Eastern Cape highlights



The presenter from SABC News tells us that the expropriating bill seeks to appeal the existing expropriation act.

The image is a close up look of what looks like participants from the Amakhosi cohort. The image shows an individual with a keen interest in the debate in the process



Again, the narrative of black and white. The three women in their organisational regalia all attentively listening in.



This man says that his father worked on the land for 35 years yet only got a pension of R1000.00. I am landless, the government must fast-track the process so that we can get back our land.



This male says that they are calling for a total takeover of land because their great grandfathers were dispossessed of this land, and they want it



This male in the image says that the bill that is currently in place will not change the current

back so that we can work on the land to better our situation.

As seen throughout the images in the public hearings, the participants state the trauma that they are still suffering generations later because of being land dispossessed. The injustices of the past are still affecting them, and they show the desire to be healed from it. Over and over the media channels have captured this part. *“His wanting the land back is seeking for restitution as ingrained in the constitution.”* The eNCA by again focusing on the issues employs the human-interest frame to highlight the ongoing struggles of black people.



The man in the image believes that if the bill is passed it is going to kill the South African economy. He also believes that more resources should be provided for land reform and people should be given title deeds.

situation in South Africa. The government of South Africa has dismally failed the people of South Africa to depict proper land reform, 4300 state-owned farms have not been transferred to beneficiaries which represents more than two million hectares of land.



This male poses a question to the crowd *“What are you going to do with the land. Are you going to eat it?”*



SABC Visuals, The EC (left) and the Free state (right) . The reporter mentioned that there was strong police presence and tensions



Figure 13: Summarises SABC Visuals EC and Free State

SABC Visuals

"I want a piece of land",



Figure 14: SABC Visuals Limpopo, Gauteng, and Western Cape

SABC visuals (voice over by the reporter : Controversial comments were made)

"What are you going to do with the land. Are you going to eat it?"



'Majority of South Africans wants their land back'



Figure 15: SABC Visuals: Eastern Cape Komani and Gauteng

SABC racial representation, Political representation, mixed emotions, tension or concerned facial expressions,



Figure 16: SABC Visuals: Limpopo

Table 12: Mpumalanga Mbombela highlights



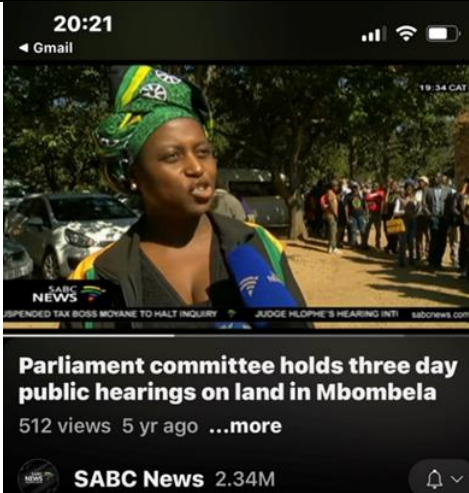
Political representation (EFF)



Political representation (DA)

The channel chose to source views from a political party representative over the view of ordinary citizens for this segment. Behind him, it's a group of people who seem to have gathered to have a discussion. The image is the camera

The screenshot shows a political figure speaking to the news reports, behind them is the queue of black people who are going to express or listen to presentations made. The report could have interviewed them on how the choice was made for politicians in this instant. Implying that the opinion was preferred over the opinion of the ordinary people on the queue



Political representation (ANC)
 In this image again a political party representation, A woman implying that women are represented in the party and that the land issue is important to them. There is a queue of black people in the image, Again the channel by focusing on the three parties tried to get a balanced representation of political parties so as



Queue of participants entering the hall, representation of both black and white
 In this image the channel aimed to present a picture of the race difference, the queue showing both black and white. In this picture, the white seems to be grouped or coming as a united front perhaps discussing the strategy
 The image depicts a diverse group of people standing in a queue, reflecting a

not to appear perhaps to favour one above the other

wide range of community members interested in or affected by the land expropriation discussions.

The variety in clothing and posture indicates people from different backgrounds and possibly different socio-economic statuses, highlighting the widespread impact of land issues. This has several diverse repercussions. There is a significant amount of public interest and participation in the hearings, as evidenced by the queue of people, which highlights the significance of the matter. This demonstrates the role that the media plays in covering and spreading information about the hearings, ensuring transparency and public knowledge. The SABC is the media. A parliamentary committee is responsible for organising the event, which is indicative of the official and structured approach that the government is taking to address land reform, which has implications on multiple fronts, including politics, economics, and society.

In a nutshell, the picture highlights the enormous public interaction that took place during the land reform hearings in Mbombela, which reflects the

diversified and extensive interest that exists in the matter. While the participation of the parliamentary committee demonstrates that the administration is taking a serious approach to the issue of land expropriation without compensation, the presence of the media guarantees that the procedures are open and available to a more extensive audience.



The representation in the hall, visibly seen by the political regalia

The image depicts a hall crowded predominantly with black people who appear to be supporters of the ANC. The image shows a large and diverse group of attendees seated in an auditorium or conference hall, indicating a high level of interest and

engagement in the land expropriation hearings.

The audience appears to consist of individuals from different backgrounds, as evidenced by their clothing and the overall diversity in the crowd. The setting is an indoor venue with a stage or central area, which is likely where the hearings are taking place. It is a formal setting that is suitable for important public events.

The crowd is seated and appears to be attentively listening or waiting for the proceedings to begin or resume. Many attendees are wearing yellow shirts, which could suggest that they may be affiliated with the ANC. This suggests that the large turnout signifies a strong public interest and involvement in the discussions on land reform. The formal organisation of the hearings by a parliamentary committee emphasizes the government's serious approach to addressing land expropriation issues.

The coverage by SABC News ensures transparency, widespread public awareness, and accountability in the

proceedings. In summary, the image highlights significant public engagement and diverse participation in the land expropriation hearings in Mbombela. The organised setting and substantial attendance reflect the importance of the issue to the community, while the media coverage by SABC News ensures that the event is widely reported and accessible to the public.

Table 13: Free State highlights



The image features a group of people, primarily middle-aged to older men, mostly white males, attentively participating in the hearing. This frame highlights the active involvement of citizens in the land expropriation



Reporter” Paramount Chief Tom Alexander who is of the Lynx royal house that is situated in Bethlehem now they are representing the Indigenous people of South Africa the Nama people or rather the Korana nation.’

‘Korana nation of South Africa to just you know pondering around what is happening in South Africa regarding the land. Now when it comes to the land, we are the rightful owners of the land the first Indigenous people and Government spoke about 1913 and also to the history of 1652, but we are the Korana nation we spoke about the 12 hundreds 13 and 14 hundred where every tribe and every nation has found us here.’

‘That’s what I am saying Palesa because how can I vote on my land with or without compensation I am the right owner. I was supposed to be consulted regarding this

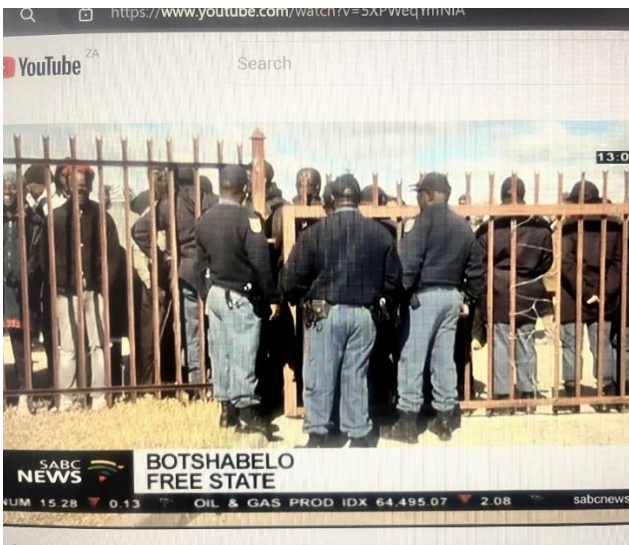
debate, showcasing democratic engagement and the importance of public opinion in policymaking.

The attendees’ attire, with several individuals wearing matching jackets, suggests that they might represent a particular group or organization, possibly farmers or agricultural workers. This frame emphasizes the presence and concerns of specific stakeholders who are directly affected by land expropriation policies.

The expressions on the attendees’ faces are serious and focused, reflecting the gravity of the discussions taking place. This frame shows the significant impact of land expropriation on individuals’ lives and livelihoods, portraying the hearings as a critical and consequential event.

In summary, the image conveys multiple media frames, including public engagement, stakeholder involvement, the seriousness of the issue, regional focus, transparency through media coverage, and the formal policymaking process. These frames together paint a comprehensive picture of the land expropriation hearings as a critical and

land even though white farmers all over South Africa'



The image shows a group of police officers facing a crowd from behind a fence. The police officers are in uniform, adopting an authoritative stance that conveys control and enforcement. The crowd is positioned behind the fence, indicating a division or conflict between the authorities and the people. The fence itself acts as a symbol of separation or containment.

With an emphasis on security and order, the presence of the police officers in uniform and the fence implies themes of security, control, and potentially civil unrest or protest. The image may frame the situation as one where law enforcement is necessary to maintain order.

multifaceted event in South Africa's ongoing land reform debate.

Agenda setting refers to the media's ability to influence the importance assigned to topics on the public agenda. Through this image, the media may engage in agenda-setting in the following ways:

By directing viewers' attention to the police officers and the crowd positioned behind the fence, the media draws attention to issues related to law enforcement, public safety, and the potential for civil unrest.

The visual and textual elements suggest that the interaction between the police officers and the crowd is a focal point. This can lead the audience to prioritize concerns about security, public order, and the relationship between citizens and authorities.

The presence of the news ticker displaying financial information may juxtapose the socio-economic context with the immediate situation, implying a connection between economic conditions and social unrest.

The portrayal of police officers in a position of control may cause the public to perceive them as necessary protectors of order. Conversely, the crowd positioned behind

the fence could be perceived as either a threat or as victims of heavy-handed policing, depending on the viewer's perspective.

The image from SABC News uses media framing to present a scene depicting law enforcement's interaction with a crowd, during a protest or conflict. The framing emphasizes themes of security and control, while the agenda-setting function of the media highlights the significance of this event in the Free State region. This influences public perception by prioritising issues of public order and the role of the police in maintaining societal stability.

5.4.3 eNCA visuals summary

The eNCA's coverage of the images has generated significant public attention. A heterogeneous assortment of individuals from diverse origins. The section provides a partial analysis of certain photos, similar to the preceding portion of the SABC, without offering a comprehensive and exhaustive examination of all the images. The purpose was to elucidate how the media employed the perspective of the footage as a means to solidify its role as a framing tool in the context of the public hearings. Each graphic captures the phrases used by some of the participants.

Table 14: North West highlights



‘it’s an insult Negro people whose land who had taken forcefully by them it took you 24 hours 24 years I mean to say to come back to us to address the issue of land.’



In terms of media framing techniques, the picture again shows a diverse audience: The image prominently features a large, diverse group of people, which frames the issue as one that affects a broad cross-section of the community. The varied attire suggests people from different socioeconomic backgrounds. The close-up of faces, some with serious or concerned expressions, personalises the issue, making it more relatable and



‘and those that are threatening war that are in possession of land they must know that they will be met with equal resistance.’



‘the land must come; South Africa is now. the land must come this is ours now.’

highlighting the human impact of the discussed topic.

eNCA focused on the audience, giving more attention to people's reactions and presence rather than providing specific information about the event itself.

By showing the faces and expressions of the audience, the media sets an agenda that highlights public opinion and emotional engagement with the issue at hand. This can prompt viewers to reflect on how the topic impacts ordinary citizens.

Highlighting Community Involvement: The large crowd indicates significant community participation, conveying that land reform is of substantial public interest and importance. The visuals aim to convey the significance of the issue through visual impact alone, assuming viewers have prior knowledge or encouraging them to seek more information.

The expressions and body language of the attendees suggest a serious, and possibly contentious, discussion. This can frame the event as one with high stakes

and a significant emotional investment from the community.

The image's diversity in terms of age, gender, and attire can frame the issue as one that transcends different demographic lines, emphasising its broad relevance and the inclusive nature of the discussion.

In summary, this image uses the visual impact of a diverse and engaged audience to frame the issue as one that concerns the entire community. The agenda-setting function bring out the importance of public sentiment and community involvement, encouraging viewers to consider the human impact of the issue being discussed.





‘Do not let the chiefs take our land, tenure rights are getting in deprived.’

The picture focuses on an individual, a woman who is a resident of Rustenburg, speaking passionately into a microphone. This personalizes the issue, giving it a human face and emphasizing individual stories and experiences. The angle of the picture captures her emotional expression, with the woman's expressive face and apparent emotional engagement framing the issue as one of significant personal and community impact, suggesting urgency and deep concern. When she says, "Do not let the chiefs take our land," this powerful statement frames the issue as a conflict over land rights, highlighting a specific grievance against local chiefs and setting the tone for viewers to understand the nature of the dispute. In terms of agenda setting, eNCA highlights key issues by focusing on the land dispute and the role of chiefs,



The image shows an elderly black male looking intently at the speaker focusing and concentrating on what is being said. His posture suggests a deep sense of focus and great interest. This close up helps the audience to see emotions and reactions creating a sense of connection. The facial expressions proves that the land reform public hearings are important to him



‘is not section 25 that has let you down, it is the ANC government that has let you down’

directing viewers to consider these as central issues. This can influence public discourse by emphasizing particular aspects of the broader land reform debate.

eNCA uses images that emphasize public sentiment, highlighting a resident's enthusiastic plea to highlight the emotional and personal stakes of the issue, encouraging viewers to empathize with the affected individuals and communities. The use of a direct quote and a named individual invites viewer to connect with the story on a personal level, potentially prompting them to seek more information or engage in discussions about land reform and community rights. eNCA focuses on the quotes spoken by the participants to frame the discussion around the chiefs as adversaries in the land dispute, suggesting a power struggle. This can shape viewers' perceptions of authority figures, and the legitimacy of the grievances expressed by the community.

The media platform, eNCA, is indicated through its branding, which

affects how the audience perceives the credibility and angle of the coverage. eNCA is known for focusing on significant national issues, which lends weight to the story.

The attire and setting provide cultural context, indicating the traditional and communal aspects of the issue, which are important in understanding the broader implications of land reform in South Africa.

In summary, the image frames the issue of land rights through a personal and emotional lens, emphasizing the conflict between community members and local chiefs. The agenda-setting function directs attention to the specific grievances and emotional stakes involved, encouraging viewers to consider the human impact and broader social implications of the land reform debate.

eNCA visuals

The camera showed people behind a security manned gate where people are waiting for their turn. The symbolisms not far from how black people were treated under apartheid

“Why should compensate a criminal”



Figure 17 EC Hall was staffed by security with butler doors and Mbombela in Mpumalanga

eNCA visuals (Voice over by the reporter)

‘our people have been robbed of their birthright to land liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality’ (Opening lines and images)

‘people were stripped of their land rights townships had been created characterized by poor living conditions . to add insult to injury it’s right next door to Africa’s richest square mile Sandton’



Figure: 18 eNCA visuals Gauteng Alexandra

eNCA visuals

'and those that are threatening war that are in possession of land they must know that they will be met with equal resistance.'

'is not section 25 that has let you down, it is the ANC government that has let you down''



Figure 19 eNCA visuals North West

eNCA visuals

Political presentation EFF and the ANC

Ques and halls that are packed with majority of black people



Figure 20: eNCA visuals Mpumalanga

eNCA/ SABC visuals some of the women representation



Figure 21 Women representation by both SABC and eNCA

eNCA / SABC Nama people

Both channels interviewed the Chief



- “Received positively and negatively”
- “ People want their land back”
- “ Land taken by settlers not African brothers”
- “Black evil forces took our land , we ant our land back”
- “My people need their land back”
- “Indigenous people are the original landowner”
- “White people have our land”
- “People are impoverished because of no land”
- “A dignified way to live”

Figure 22: Nama people interviewed by the SABC and eNCA.

Both channels conducted interviews with the Nama chiefs, who serve as the sole spokesperson for the Nama people, as if they were a single person representing the entire community. The researcher found this to be a distinctive feature. Based on the findings

of the study, there may not have been a representation that was both reasonable and accurate of the total Nama community. There was no expression of a variety of perspectives from the Nama people. The interview conducted in Botshabelo in the free state was also from a paramount chief Alexandra. Both the chiefs mentioned similar views about the Nama people that they are the original land owners. The fact that people of both Black and white races expressed their divergent points of view was something that was discovered. Some people of Black South African descent voted for the method of "forgive and forget," while others voted for "let's work together." Still others opted for "bringing back the land." On the other hand, among the Nama people, there were just the views of the chief, which may have suggested that other voices within the community were neglected. According to both news sources and the media, this action has demonstrated a level of prejudice on their part. The considerations that led to his selection will be of immense importance. The formation of a comprehensive understanding of the Nama or Khoisan people as a whole can be facilitated by examining the fundamental selection process that is used in the agenda. Both channels made an effort to demonstrate their willingness to be inclusive of all members of society, while at the same time highlighting a member of the Nama community in particular.

Generally speaking, both channels have tried to give a wide variety of perspectives by displaying the various ideas that were offered by the participants and featuring leaders from companies and individuals.

5.4.4 Race and gender representations

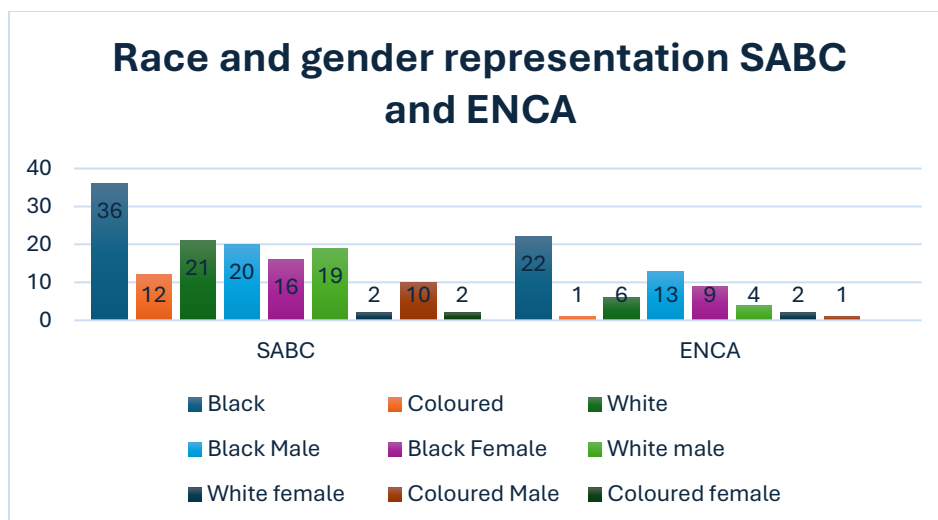
eNCA had fewer videos available compared to SABC, with only fourteen out of seventeen coverages accessible. Of these, three featured journalist interviews from the studio, while eight included studio guests or experts commenting on the LEWC process. Therefore, racial representation is based on the thirty-nine videos of actual coverages where the public participated in the hearings.

According to the data, 36% of the public participants were Black, with eNCA covering 22% of them. SABC covered 21% of white participants, while eNCA covered 6%. Coloured participants were represented at 12% by SABC, primarily in areas like the Northern Cape, Western Cape in Oudtshoorn, and the Little Karoo, reflecting South Africa's demographic composition of black, white, Coloured, and Indian individuals.

In terms of gender, Black males accounted for 20% of participants, with Black females at 16% in SABC coverage. For eNCA, these percentages were 13% for Black males and 9% for Black females. White males represented 19%, and white females 2% in SABC coverage, with eNCA covering 4% of white males and 2% of white females. Coloured males were at 10%, with females at 2% in SABC coverage, while eNCA covered only 1% of Coloured males and no Coloured females. Women's struggles to be recognized and their challenges in accessing land were discussed, reflecting broader issues of gender inequality in land reform (Akinola, 2018:2).

Discussions on land resources, conflict, and reform have been prevalent in Africa since the late 1970s, impacting countries from South Africa to Nigeria. Land, seen as wealth, is unevenly distributed, particularly concerning women's land rights despite gender-neutral laws enacted in many African states. This underlines the need for a reevaluation of land reform policies to address gender disparities across the continent.

Figure 23 Race and gender representation



Given the contentious nature of land reform, tension between Black and white individuals was evident, with Black people supporting LEWC while white people opposed it. Statements made by Black individuals depicted strong sentiments, labelling white people as 'killers,' 'thieves,' and 'criminals,' while both races expressed a willingness to die for the land.

The end of apartheid marked the demise of legislated identities, aiming for a unified 'rainbow nation' in South Africa. However, racial divisions persisted, highlighting the challenges of achieving peaceful coexistence and equal rights for all citizens. The emphasis on compromise and reconciliation sometimes overshadowed the pursuit of justice. Historically, white people in South Africa shared a common goal of exploiting non-Europeans for their benefit. The exploitation of resources fostered unity among colonisers, enabling them to establish white supremacy. Despite differences, they agreed on exerting power over conquered lands and people, perpetuating racial divisions.

Post-apartheid, racial divisions persist, with whites considered superior and Black people inferior. The study stresses the profound impact of land issues on black South Africans, reflecting a tender reality of historical injustice. (Moodley & Adam, 2000:1; Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi, 2015:211)

5.5 SABC and eNCA: Political parties in the coverage

The subject of media and politics in South Africa and across the world has been sufficiently covered. The media in terms of prominent political leaders about the top three political parties, from the EFF Floyd Shivambu, Julius Malema Bantu Holomisa from UDM were featured by the SABC, Mmusi Maimane (DA) and COPE were mentioned by eNCA the ANC did not have a prominent leader in the public hearing except for the area representatives.

Figure 24 and Figure 25 Both channels covered political parties extensively, particularly the ANC, EFF, and DA. This focus is unsurprising, given the ideological divide often characterised as black versus white, as represented by these parties.

Figure 24: SABC Political parties

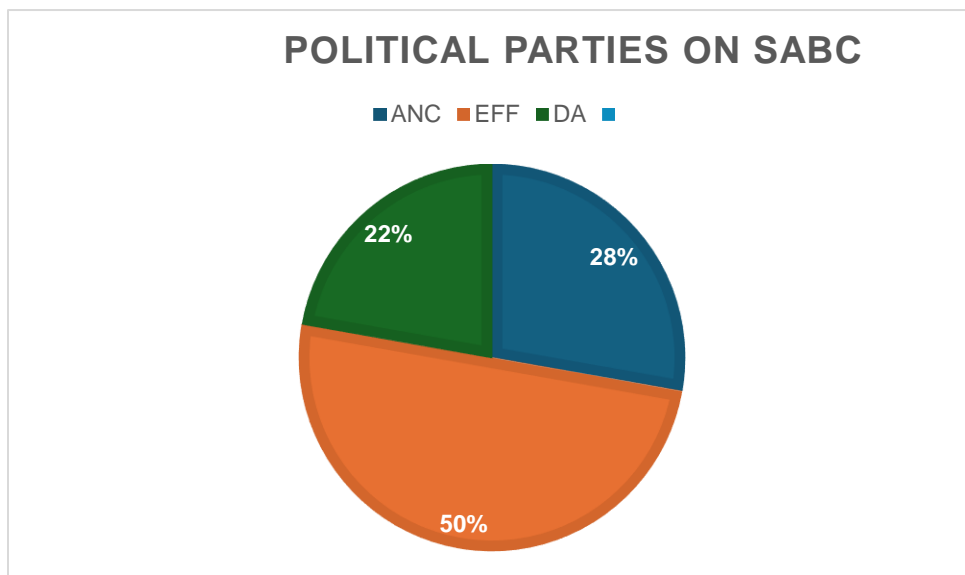
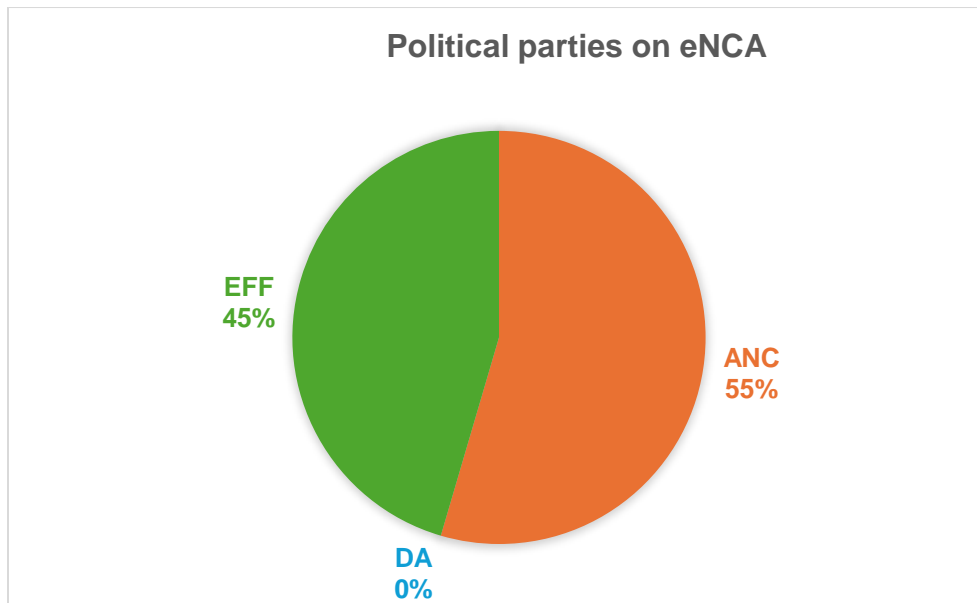


Figure 25: eNCA Political parties in the coverage



5.6 Conclusions

This study reveals that SABC and eNCA employed distinct framing strategies in their coverage of the LEWC hearings, reflecting their respective editorial positions and potentially shaping audience perceptions. SABC, operating as a public broadcaster with a mandate to promote social cohesion, framed LEWC primarily as a matter of social justice and historical redress. This was achieved through the selection of emotionally resonant stories highlighting the experiences of Black South Africans dispossessed of their land. eNCA, a commercial channel driven by market forces, adopted a more economically focused frame, emphasizing potential risks to investment and agricultural productivity. This was reflected in their reliance on expert opinions and visuals depicting underutilized farmland. These divergent framing strategies suggest that the media plays a significant role in shaping public discourse around LEWC, potentially reinforcing existing societal divisions or promoting certain policy agendas. While this study is limited to a specific time period and media platform, it provides valuable insights into the complex interplay between media framing, editorial policy, and public perception in the context of contentious socio-political issues in South Africa.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the implications of the findings of the study. The previous chapter presented the findings based on the three research questions that guided the study. Key questions focused on framing, dominant themes, and representation., aiming to understand the media responsibilities in promoting democracy and providing accurate information.

6.2 Overview of the findings

The research demonstrates a significant disparity in the framing of the Land Expropriation Without Compensation public hearings by SABC and eNCA, highlighting the impact of media ownership on the formation of public discourse. SABC employed a human-interest perspective, highlighting the social justice aspect of land ownership, whilst the eNCA focused on the economic ramifications. This corresponds with overarching trends in media representation, as government sponsored sources prioritise social equity, whereas privately held channels concentrate on market-driven viewpoints.

The analysis highlights fundamental themes about land as a representation of social justice, with Black individuals articulating a profound yearning for land restoration. This aligns with historical accounts of dispossession and the continuous fight for restitution in post-apartheid South Africa. Hall (2004, 2014) The divergent viewpoint of white persons, who saw land expropriation without recompense as theft, illustrates concerns over property rights and economic stability. This tension highlights the profound racial divisions that persistently influence the land discourse in South Africa. The involvement of the Coloured community claiming their land ownership rights deepens the subject matter, emphasising the complex nature of land claims and the variety of perspectives within the larger discourse.

The predominance of Black speakers in the hearings, along with the under-representation of female perspectives across racial demographics, highlights the necessity of examining who is afforded a platform in media portrayals. This imbalance prompts enquiries on fair representation and the possible marginalisation of some voices in public debate. It is essential to acknowledge that media representations not only mirror reality but also influence it by selectively enhancing specific viewpoints.

The study's findings confirm that media sources employ framing tactics to influence public comprehension of intricate issues such as LEWC. The divergent framing strategies of SABC and eNCA, shaped by their contrasting ownership models and intended audiences, illustrate the substantial impact of media ownership on the narratives conveyed to the public. SABC presents LEWC as a social and cultural issue, emphasising its human-interest aspect related to past injustice and restorative justice. eNCA, by emphasising economic ramifications, categorizes LEWC chiefly as an economic and potentially political matter, eliciting apprehensions over market stability and property rights. The variations in framing highlight the media's ability to influence both public perception and the fundamental parameters of discourse.

6.3 Themes

The study identified several key themes that emerged from the coverage of the LEWC hearings. These themes included social justice/injustice, land as a cultural right, land as a political tool, and LEWC as an economic issue. These themes provide insights into the different perspectives and motivations behind the land reform debate in South Africa. The power of themes emerges from the language used in the coverages. Looking at phrases and wording that are used by both the news reports and news anchors of the news channel, one can determine the agenda-setting and framing strategies of the news channels. The choice of words indicates the ideological viewpoints or the media's intention of the news channels.

6.3.1 Social justice/ injustice

The language used in this context frequently included terms like "*the land must be given back to the rightful owner,*" "*we want our land back,*" "*our land was stolen*" speaking to redress, equity, and correcting historical wrongs stressing the moral imperative behind land reform. Land is more than food. People have diverse relationships with their land beyond the agricultural potential. For some people, land is the cornerstone of their identity.

This is important in light of the historical context of South Africa. Land reform in South Africa is crucial for achieving social justice, especially considering the historical concentration of land in the hands of the white minority during apartheid, which marginalised Black individuals. The public hearings highlighted the desire of Black people to reclaim their land, a promise the government has made to fulfill. Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, there has been a shift in political power, enabling the redistribution of economic opportunities among all citizens. The constitution addresses three key areas: restitution of land rights lost due to the 1913 Land Act, redistribution to meet housing and agricultural needs, and recognition of tenure for farm dwellers and others with insecure tenure due to past discriminatory policies.

Mathiesen (2015) defines social justice as fairness, equality, inclusion, and diversity. It is a critical project that exposes the disparities between ethical ideals and actual social and economic conditions. The level of justice in society as a whole can be evaluated based on this. Social justice requires a society with interdependent parts and an institutional structure that promotes informational justice. This includes the fundamental framework of society, such as the political constitution and social and economic arrangements. It encompasses institutional organization, public action, social practices, habits, and cultural meanings. Therefore, social justice pertains to the entire social system. It prompts us to question injustices in the economic, political, and cultural spheres. Mathiesen's (2015) perspective aligns with the findings of various studies. In their discussion of social justice, Hlatswayo & Fomunyam (2019) particularly address core issues in South Africa, a country with a history of racial division. They reference Nancy Fraser's perspective,

emphasising the cultural and economic dimensions of social justice, including financial exclusion, language barriers, and the need for cultural recognition. They also highlight the historical influence of apartheid, where Black people were oppressed and denied their cultural and political rights. Social justice encompasses economic, cultural, and political aspects. The Nama chief mentioned that they were deprived of land, which denied them their cultural rights. Politically, white people oppressed black South Africans. The political aspect of social justice is evident in the divisions and the necessity of political will to address them. Social justice in South Africa, especially regarding land, requires a level playing field and equality across economic, cultural, and political areas.

In his recent address on the National Health Insurance (NHI), President Ramaphosa of South Africa reaffirmed that the bill marks a deliberate effort to transform the nation. It signifies a significant stride towards fostering a more just society, in line with the constitutional mandate to provide healthcare access to all citizens. The NHI seeks to rectify longstanding healthcare disparities by ensuring that every individual, regardless of their social or economic standing, can get access to essential medical services. By establishing a healthcare system that offers equitable opportunities, the NHI aims to alleviate the financial burden on those seeking medical care. This vision encompasses principles of social justice, while also striving for efficiency and quality in healthcare (Ramaphosa, 2024).

6.3.2 Land as a cultural right

Land Ownership and Cultural Rights in South Africa. This section presents a compelling analysis of the complex relationship between land ownership, cultural rights, and historical injustices in South Africa. The coverage reveals a deeply contested landscape surrounding land ownership in South Africa, particularly regarding the role of traditional leaders and the connection to cultural rights. Competing claims emerge. Traditional leaders assert their historical right to land ownership. Community members express opposition to this concentration of power, highlighting differing views on legitimate land control. This power struggle is further complicated by the cultural dimension of land:

- Land as Cultural Cornerstone: For many, particularly Indigenous and rural communities, land is intrinsically linked to cultural identity, heritage, and spiritual practices. Media coverage frequently emphasizes this connection, using phrases like "Land is the cornerstone of your structures, culture, and traditional heritage." The quote you provide, "*When they get back to the land, they can live in a dignified manner because land is the cornerstone of your structures, in culture and tradition heritage and everything. And the moment you took someone's land, you cut him off. You cut him off. Food security is a way of traditional life, is a way of cultural life and everything.*," powerfully illustrates this sentiment.
- Land and Human Rights: Land ownership is not merely an economic issue; it intersects with the enjoyment of several human rights, including economic, social, and cultural rights (Allsobrook, 2019). As Richardson argues, land is often tied to people's identities and cultural expression.

The study has revealed the complexities of Land Reform. It must address these multifaceted issues:

- *Historical Injustices*: The legacy of dispossession has had a profound impact on cultural identity and heritage. Restoring land to Indigenous communities is seen as a means of redressing these historical wrongs and preserving cultural practices (Obioha, 2013).
- *Cultural Preservation*: Land reform efforts must ensure the preservation of cultural heritage and traditional practices while also maximizing the land's economic potential (Matlala, 2017).
- *Balancing Economic Development and Cultural Expression*: Mograbi et al. argue that effective land reform can empower marginalized communities, promoting both economic and cultural well-being. However, striking this balance remains a significant challenge.

Zyl-Hermann & Verbuyst (2022) provide a compelling example of these complexities through their study of the Khoisan people. They highlight the historical marginalization of

the Khoisan, including their misclassification as "Coloured" rather than Indigenous. The authors analyze competing narratives presented by Khoisan activists and the Afrikaner interest group AfriForum, demonstrating how political agendas and cultural activities shape the discourse on land ownership in South Africa.

While diverse in their approaches, Khoisan activists in South Africa find common ground in their identification as "Indigenous people." This concept, recognized internationally, resonates with their claims of:

- Self-definition as Indigenous.
- Cultural distinctiveness.
- Prior occupancy and ancestral connections to the land; and
- Historical and present-day marginalization.

Since the late 1990s, this strategic use of "Indigenous people" has fueled their demands for official recognition, hoping to garner international support.

The study highlights Khoisan's unwavering stance during the land hearings. They boldly asserted their historical ownership, directly challenging narratives that excluded them. The quotes powerfully capture their frustration:

- *"Nama people and African people they land back. My land is not in the hands of my Black African brothers, but my land is in the hands of those settlers, those colonel masters and the boers also the white people so they must give my land back."*
- *"today I was very angry because that rubbish organization AfriForum was making a statement on behalf of Khoisan people. How can they do that? We reject it and AfriForum is not talking because the land that AfriForum is holding is my people's land. They must give back my people's land. We reject the statement of AfriForum that they speak on behalf of Khoisan incident people of the Northern Cape."*

These statements expose the hypocrisy of groups like AfriForum claiming to represent the Khoisan while benefiting from the very land taken from them. The Khoisan's anger is

palpable as they point out the stark contrast between their dispossession and the prosperity of those who control their ancestral lands:

- *"There's our Nama land is so rich, us with diamonds, but the land is in the hands of the De Beers and people across the sea."*
- *"We are living in the mountains because the boers take our land."*
- *"It is our Khoisan brothers. It is our African brothers who are working on that land and who's the, who's the guys who benefit. People who live in Europe, people who are living, sitting at their homes, going to the sea and enjoy life and my people must starve. It is wrong"*

The study's focus on SABC and eNCA's coverage of a Nama chief further emphasizes the Khoisan's perspective. This editorial choice amplifies their voices and experiences, challenging dominant narratives.

Furthermore, the study connects the Khoisan struggle to a global context of Indigenous land rights. As Gilbert (2015) asserts, this issue transcends national borders. Indigenous populations worldwide face similar challenges of dispossession, cultural erasure, and the violation of their deep spiritual and social connection to their lands.

The Khoisan case draws attention to the urgency of recognizing and addressing historical injustices. Their fight for land is not merely about economic control but about cultural survival, identity, and self-determination.



Figure 26: Land-related protests

Source: United Nations (OHCHR,2015)

In conclusion, the issue of land ownership in South Africa is deeply intertwined with cultural rights, historical injustices, and power dynamics. Media coverage reflects these complexities, highlighting the need for a delicate approach to land reform that considers both economic and cultural dimensions.

6.3.3 Land Reform in South Africa: A Political Battlefield

Even after three decades post-apartheid, the legacy of land dispossession continues to fuel political tension in South Africa. As Buthelezi [Buthelezi, 2018] argues, issues of land eviction and ownership are deeply intertwined with the country's history, evoking strong emotions, and shaping political discourse. Land becomes a political tool, particularly in the context of LEWC. Media coverage, as you demonstrate, often frames LEWC through a lens of political manoeuvring and power dynamics. Phrases like "political leverage," "electioneering," and "policy agenda" dominate the narrative.

This is clearly illustrated in Table 15, The table likely demonstrates how different political parties leverage the land issue for electoral gain, attempting to sway voters by promising

action on this emotionally charged topic. These statements from the broadcasts further explain this point:

- *The EFF's call to finalize EWC before the 2019 elections reveals their strategic use of the land issue to mobilize their base and pressure the ruling ANC.*

The SABC reporter's statement about the ANC feeling the pressure to support EWC highlights how land becomes a bargaining chip, used to secure votes and maintain political dominance. The mention of white ownership of 71% of farmland serves as a stark reminder of the enduring legacy of apartheid and fuels the urgency for land reform. This political manoeuvring creates a complex landscape where genuine attempts to address historical injustices become entangled with political expediency. The upcoming 2019 elections exacerbate this tension, pushing parties to adopt more radical stances to appease their constituencies.

While Section 25 of the South African Constitution aims to balance land reform with property rights, food security, and economic growth, achieving this balance remains a significant challenge. The need to address past mistakes while ensuring stability and progress creates a delicate and often contentious policy environment.

The 2019 South African national elections brought the politically charged issue of Land Expropriation Without Compensation to the forefront, exposing deep societal divisions and highlighting the enduring legacy of apartheid. This period revealed not only the polarized political landscape surrounding land reform but also the systemic challenges hindering equitable participation and representation in the process.

The elections became a battleground for competing visions of land reform. The EFF and ANC, capitalizing on the unfulfilled promises of post-apartheid land redistribution, championed LEWC as a necessary tool to rectify historical injustices. Their stance resonated with many black South Africans who continued to experience the socioeconomic consequences of dispossession. Conversely, the DA's opposition, framed around concerns for property rights and economic stability, was perceived by many as protecting the interests of the white minority and maintaining the status quo. This stark

contrast in political platforms emphasized the deep-seated racial tensions underpinning the land debate.

Beyond the political rhetoric, logistical barriers to participation in public hearings on land further exacerbated existing inequalities. The inaccessibility of venues for many rural Black communities, the group most acutely impacted by land dispossession, effectively silenced their voices in this critical national dialogue. This marginalization revealed a disconcerting reality: despite a democratic government, the legacy of apartheid continues to hinder equitable access to power and influence for many black South Africans.

Adding another layer to this complex issue, political parties exerted significant influence over the narrative surrounding LEWC. The presence of party opinions at hearings demonstrated how deeply intertwined political affiliation had become with personal views on land reform. The DA and AfriForum, often perceived as representing white interests, emerged as vocal opponents of LEWC, framing their stance as a defense of property rights and economic stability. This stance, however, often failed to acknowledge the historical injustices and systemic inequalities that fueled the demand for radical land redistribution.

Meanwhile, media coverage, particularly by the SABC, often presented a contrasting narrative emphasizing Black unity on land issues. By juxtaposing the historical injustices of apartheid with the ongoing struggles faced under black governance, the SABC's coverage underscored the enduring legacy of dispossession and the urgent need for meaningful land reform. This narrative, however, risked simplifying the complexities of the debate and potentially overlooking the diverse perspectives within Black communities themselves.

The study revealed a Spectrum of Approaches to Land Reform in South Africa: ANC, EFF, and DA. The issue of land redistribution in post-apartheid South Africa has ignited a spectrum of political responses, with the ruling African National Congress, the radical Economic Freedom Fighters, and the liberal Democratic Alliance offering distinct approaches.

African National Congress (ANC)	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Democratic Alliance (DA)
<p>-Positioning itself as a champion of social justice, the ANC seeks to redress historical land dispossession by transferring land to previously disadvantaged communities.</p> <p>-Their strategy blends state-led land reform initiatives with market-based mechanisms and the possibility of expropriation with compensation.</p> <p>-This multifaceted approach aims to balance social equity with economic stability.</p> <p>Criticism against</p> <p>However, the ANC has faced criticism for the slow pace and inadequate implementation of land reform policies, leading to</p>	<p>-Adopting a more radical stance,</p> <p>-the EFF calls for a complete overhaul of land ownership structures.</p> <p>-They advocate for the nationalization of all land, followed by redistribution based on demographic representation.</p> <p>-This approach, rooted in a Marxist-inspired ideology, extends to advocating for the nationalization of banks and mines, reflecting the EFF's commitment to dismantling what they perceive as the pillars of economic inequality inherited from apartheid.</p> <p>Criticisms against</p> <p>-Critics argue that the EFF's revolutionary approach is impractical</p>	<p>Standing in stark contrast to both the ANC and EFF, the</p> <p>-DA emphasizes property rights and free-market principles.</p> <p>-They oppose constitutional amendments aimed at facilitating expropriation, arguing that existing legislation, if implemented effectively, provides sufficient mechanisms for land reform.</p> <p>-The DA proposes a market-driven approach, focusing on streamlining land transactions, empowering emerging farmers, and fostering economic growth.</p> <p>Criticisms against</p> <p>However, detractors accuse the DA of</p>

accusations of prioritizing political expediency over tangible change.	and could destabilize the economy.	perpetuating the economic disparities rooted in apartheid by prioritizing the interests of established landowners.

Table 16: Top three political parties’ proposed land reform election approach

The Urgency of Land Reform in South Africa: Beyond Expropriation

"Power is land," a sentiment acutely felt in South Africa, where the legacy of dispossession continues to shape the sociopolitical landscape. While land reform aims to rectify historical injustices, its progress has been hampered by a confluence of factors, including economic constraints, the growing influence of traditional leaders, weak communal property associations, and mounting political pressure on the ruling party (Ranchod, 2004:1). This complexity stresses the assertion that land remains South Africa's most fundamental yet intractable political and developmental challenge.

As Xaba (2022:246) argues, the discourse on land in South Africa must extend beyond the current fixation on expropriation without compensation. Framing the issue within the broader context of post-Cold War geopolitics reveals the multifaceted dimensions of land ownership, access, and control. Regardless of whether expropriation occurs with or without compensation, politicization of the issue only serves to hinder progress.

It is crucial to recognize that South Africa, like any sovereign nation, possesses the inherent right to expropriate land (with or without compensation) to address historical injustices and pursue developmental goals. However, the urgency of the situation cannot be overstated. Rapid urbanization adds another layer of complexity, as failure to address

urban land distribution will inevitably lead to the proliferation of informal settlements and widespread unrest.

Public frustration stems not only from the slow pace of land reform but also from inadequate service delivery. The inefficiency and lack of coordination among key stakeholders, including municipalities, land reform directorates, and agricultural departments, pose significant obstacles. Bureaucracy, corruption, and a lack of cohesive action further hinder progress.

While South Africa faces no legal or policy vacuum regarding land reform, several critical issues demand attention. The perils of politicization, the appropriation of land reform by elites, and the allocation of private property rights that often result in land grabs by corporations and international entities require careful consideration.

Importantly, evidence suggests that addressing urban land challenges is achievable. [Cite relevant sources supporting this claim]. By prioritizing efficient governance, equitable distribution, and community engagement, South Africa can move towards a more just and sustainable land tenure system.

In conclusion, the debate surrounding LEWC during the 2019 elections transcended the immediate issue of land. It became a miniature of South Africa's broader struggle with racial inequality, political representation, and historical injustice. The events of this period serve as a stark reminder of the urgent need for inclusive and equitable dialogue to address the legacy of apartheid and chart a more just and equitable future for all South Africans.

6.3.4 LEWC as an Economic Issue

The theme has shown the economic and racial divide in LEWC. The debate surrounding land expropriation without compensation in South Africa ignites profound economic and social concerns. This analysis probes into the divergent perspectives on LEWC, highlighting the economic implications and the stark racial divide in perceptions of land

ownership. Media discourse surrounding LEWC fixates on its potential economic ramifications from the coverage by using terms like "economic crisis," "economic impact," "economic suicide," and "loss of foreign investment" the concerns surrounding agricultural productivity, investment climate, and overall economic stability. While proponents emphasize the potential for equitable redistribution and sustainable development, critics caution against jeopardizing economic progress.

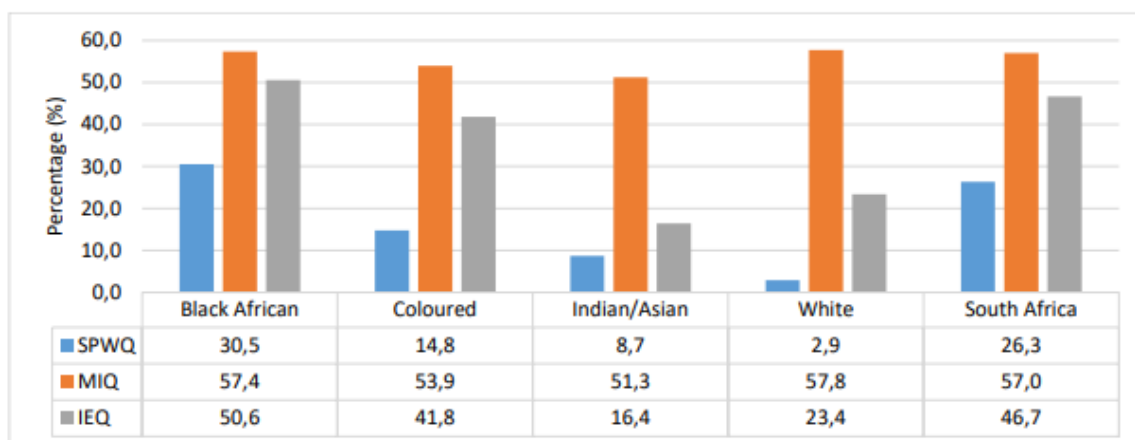
The study reveals a plain racial divide in perceptions of land ownership and its implications for poverty alleviation. Black South Africans view land as intrinsically linked to economic empowerment, food security, and human dignity. Land redistribution emerges as a pathway to redress historical dispossession, and uplift communities trapped in poverty. Conversely, many white South Africans express fear of economic dispossession. Land ownership represents not only economic security but also a legacy tied to identity and heritage. Arguments against LEWC often center around concerns about economic collapse, job losses, and the erosion of personal wealth.

One white farmer emotionally argued that the government already possessed ample land for redistribution, negating the need to expropriate from white farmers who had diligently cultivated their land. This perspective emphasizes the deep-seated resistance to relinquishing land ownership, perceived as a loss of both economic and symbolic capital.

Another aspect that the theme of the study highlights is the urgency of addressing the racial disparities in land ownership while mitigating potential economic risks. Acknowledging the historical injustices underpinning land dispossession is crucial for fostering dialogue and building consensus. Moving forward requires an enhanced approach that balances economic sustainability with social justice. Exploring alternative land reform strategies, such as market-based land acquisition, investing in rural development, and strengthening property rights for all South Africans, could pave the way for a more equitable and prosperous future.

Stats SA's report reveals poverty levels among different racial groups, using measures like the self-perceived wealth question (SPWQ) and minimum income question (MIQ) (Stats SA, 2019).

Figure: 27 Poverty indicator and population group



Source (Stats SA, 2019)

Figure 27 highlights obvious poverty disparities among different population groups in the country. Black African-headed households are significantly more impacted across all categories: SPWQ, MIQ, and IEQ.

Some of the views presented share a common concern: uncertainty surrounding land reform could negatively impact the economy. Mukatari, Mogale & Makombe (2020: 53) highlighted that stakeholder concerns about uncertainty breed economic fears. Below are the key issues discovered based on the coverage by both channels:

- **Impact on Investment:** Both the eNCA reporter and studio guest emphasize the potential for declining investment due to uncertainty. This aligns with broader economic principles: uncertainty makes investors wary, potentially leading to capital flight and reduced economic activity.

- Food Security: The eNCA reporter raises concerns about food security, a critical issue in South Africa. This concern likely stems from the historical context of land dispossession and its impact on agricultural productivity.
- Land and Economy Intertwined: The SABC quote succinctly captures the prevailing sentiment: "The economy is the land; land is the economy." This highlights the perceived high stakes involved in land reform.

Mukatari, Mogale & Makombe (2020: 53) further offer a precautionary perspective on the economic consequences of land reform:

- Addressing Inequality: They acknowledge the link between unequal land ownership and poverty, suggesting land redistribution as a potential solution. Because land dispossession contributed to economic disparities.
- Potential for Reduced Output: Their research also cautions that transferring land from commercial to small-scale farmers could reduce output, at least in the short term. This aligns with the concerns about food security raised by stakeholders.
- Intersectoral Impacts: The researchers further highlight the interconnectedness of the economy, noting that reduced agricultural output can have ripple effects on other sectors.

The stakeholder views and academia underline the complexity of land reform in South Africa. While addressing historical injustices and promoting equitable land ownership is crucial, it is essential to do so in a way that minimizes economic disruption.

The alleged economic catastrophe attributed to LEWC policies in South Africa is not a novel concern but rather the latest chapter in a long history of economic worries rooted in land dispossession. The new South Africa inherited a legacy of land dispossession. Nattrass and Seekings' (2010:21-22) argument is that the demise of the African peasantry, driven by land seizures and discriminatory laws like the 1913 Natives Land Act, created a legacy of economic vulnerability. This legacy continues to shape contemporary economic uncertainties surrounding land reform. The LEWC debate is not merely about economics but also about addressing historical injustices. The Apartheid

government had a complex economic legacy. It served a dual economic impact. While it spurred industrialization and growth in certain sectors, it simultaneously entrenched racial inequalities and created a two-tiered economy. This enduring consequence meant that transitioning to democracy did not erase the deep-seated structural issues rooted in apartheid. Poverty, inequality, and unemployment persist, fueled by the historical legacy of land dispossession. The hearings, while framed as an economic issue, expose the deep-seated fears surrounding land ownership that have persisted since the colonial era. Now the dilemma facing the ANC government is that balancing the need for economic stability with the imperative to address historical land injustices is a complex challenge. It can be noted that the study has revealed the concerns surrounding LEWC while advocating for policies that promote both economic growth and social justice.

6.4 Land administration under Apartheid government vs under democratic rule

The apartheid era in South Africa, which lasted from 1948 to 1994, was a period of racial segregation and discrimination that had significant effects on land administration in the country. The approach of the National Party government to territorial segregation, population resettlement, and political exclusion was rooted in a history of conquest and dispossession enforced through oppressive land laws (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017:682). This era of institutionalized racism not only stripped black South Africans of their civil rights but also entrenched economic disparities through systematic disenfranchisement and exclusion from land ownership.

A pivotal piece of legislation during this period was the 1913 Natives Land Act, which laid the groundwork for apartheid and territorial segregation by imposing severe restrictions on black land ownership (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017:688). Saunders (2003) emphasises the apartheid government's resolute actions, utilising laws like the Native Land Act of 1913, formalizing apartheid in 1948 with Acts such as the Registration Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950). This Act was one of the first legal steps toward institutionalizing racial segregation, and its effects were profound and far-reaching. By formalizing a

system of property rights that granted the majority Black population limited and conditional access to land, it created a stark disparity between the land rights of Black and white South Africans. The land allocated to black South Africans was often in less fertile and less desirable areas, further entrenching economic inequalities (Lahiff, 2014).

The 1913 Natives Land Act divided South Africa into racial zones for Black and white populations, restricting black South Africans to designated "native reserves," which comprised only about 7% of the country's land (Lahiff, 2014). This process of territorial segregation was further solidified by subsequent legislation, notably the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, which expanded the native reserves slightly but did little to alleviate the overcrowding and poor conditions within these areas. Moreover, the apartheid regime enforced these policies through violent forced removals of Black people from both urban and rural areas, uprooting communities and destroying livelihoods in the process (Lahiff, 2014).

The 1913 Act, while significant on its own, was also heavily influenced by earlier inquiries into racial segregation, most notably the Lagden Commission, which had been established to investigate the "native question" and suggested the enactment of territorial segregation. The Commission advocated for "restrictions upon the purchase of land by Natives," cementing the racial divisions within South Africa and shaping the country's land policy for decades to come (Feinberg & Horn, 2009).

The land administration policies of the apartheid government were driven by an ideology of racial segregation, seeking to create and maintain spatial separation between racial groups (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017). The implementation of these policies led to the dispossession of millions of black South Africans, who were forced into homelands or "Bantustans," where they had severely limited rights and opportunities. This system of forced removals and segregated land tenure was used to reinforce the political ideology of apartheid, ensuring that the white minority retained control over the majority of the country's land and resources (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017).

As a result of this racially based segregation legislation, black South Africans were forced into a state of "perpetual tenancy" with severely limited rights. They were often relegated to working as labourers on land that had once belonged to their communities, under exploitative conditions and dehumanising (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017). The historical context of land reform in South Africa is thus closely tied to the legacy of conquest, dispossession, and the institutionalisation of racial discrimination through oppressive land laws during the apartheid era. Understanding this history is crucial for addressing the ongoing challenges and inequalities in land distribution and ownership in contemporary South Africa.

The transition to freedom began with F.W. de Klerk's presidency in 1989 and Mandela's release in 1991, culminating in the Abolition of Racial Land Laws Act no 108 of 1991, repealing the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 (Klopper & Pienaar, 2014:680). The acceptance of the interim Constitution by the NP and ANC in 1993 recognized all races for the first time. In 1994, the ANC won the first democratic election, ending apartheid and establishing a government of national unity. The Government of National Unity initiated a land reform plan addressing apartheid injustice, enacting legislation like the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. However, implementation challenges persist despite legislative efforts.

This system was successful in using forced land tenure to reinforce the political ideology of apartheid, creating a deeply entrenched system of racial inequality that has had lasting impacts on South African society. The legacy of these policies continues to affect land reform efforts today, as the country grapples with the difficult task of redressing the injustices of the past while promoting equitable and sustainable land use for the future (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2017:680).

6.5 Media Representation: Race and Gender

How media shapes represent race and gender in this nation will possibly shape the social landscape. Looking closely at the LEWC public hearings it can be deduced that the media plays a crucial role in shaping public discussion, particularly in a society grappling with

historical injustices and striving for social justice like South Africa. This study examined the representation of race and gender within eNCA and SABC's coverage of the LEWC public hearings, revealing both progress and persistent inequalities.

Reflecting on the demographics, the study has reinforced existing power structures in terms of race and gender. Both channels predominantly featured Black participants, mirroring South Africa's demographic makeup where Black individuals constitute the majority (Smith & Steyn, 2016). However, this seemingly representative portrayal masked disparities within this group. Black males were most prominent, reflecting broader media trends where men, particularly Black men in this context, often hold greater visibility and voice. This reinforces existing power structures and risks sidelining the experiences of other groups (Statistics South Africa, 2022).

There was unequal representation which speaks to the broader societal issue about media representation. While Black females were the second most featured group, their representation lagged behind Black men. This highlights the need for greater inclusion of women's voices, even within majority groups. The limited presence of White males and females, and the particularly low representation of Coloured males, further stresses the unequal representation across racial groups. This media landscape mirrors broader societal inequalities, where certain groups remain marginalised and unheard.

One of the key issues that the study has uncovered is the land reform and gender and how it has amplified women's struggles. The study also sheds light on the specific challenges faced by women in the context of land reform. Access to land is crucial for economic empowerment and social status, yet women, especially Black women, encounter significant obstacles (Gqola, 2015). The media coverage, while acknowledging these struggles, highlights the need for more consistent and prominent representation of women's perspectives to ensure their voices are heard and their concerns addressed.

When covering societal issues, media representation must never be just about accomplishing numerical balance, it is about ensuring all voices contribute to shaping South Africa's future. By amplifying marginalised voices, particularly those of women, the

media can contribute to a more inclusive and equitable society. This requires a conscious effort to challenge existing power structures and provide a platform for diverse perspectives on critical issues like land reform.

6.6 The normative role of the media

The findings demonstrate that the normative role of media in South Africa is complex and multifaceted, particularly regarding land reform. The transition to democracy brought increased media freedom, but also a significant responsibility to inform the public and facilitate constructive dialogue (Wasserman, 2010). This responsibility is enshrined in the 1996 Constitution, which emphasizes ethical, independent, and accountable media practices, a vision echoed by the South African Press Council (SABC Editorial Policy, 2023).

The study shows that both the SABC and eNCA strive to fulfill this normative role by providing platforms for diverse perspectives, although their approaches differ based on their respective focuses. eNCA emphasizes economic implications and expert opinions, while the SABC highlights social justice and cultural rights, reflecting their differing mandates as private and public broadcasters, respectively (Benson, 2016).

The research also reveals the inherent tension between representing diverse views and the media's power to shape public opinion through framing. While offering multiple perspectives contributes to a broader understanding, the way these perspectives are framed can significantly influence audience interpretation. Therefore, responsible coverage requires a balanced approach, ensuring fair representation of all stakeholders and meticulous attention to historical context to avoid perpetuating existing power imbalances or creating new ones.

The study's findings regarding the importance of avoiding sensationalism is also critical (Bust et al., 2023). While sensationalism can attract viewers, it can also undermine the media's credibility and distort public perception (Tyali, 2019), particularly when dealing with complex and emotionally charged issues like land reform (Kuper, 2001). The research implicitly highlights the need for media outlets to prioritize accuracy and nuanced

reporting over sensationalism, thereby contributing to informed public discourse and a more robust democracy.

6.7 Conclusion

SABC framed the LEWC hearings through a human-interest lens, focusing on social justice while eNCA focused on the economic implications of the LEWC, highlighting potential negative consequences. This difference in framing likely stems from the differing ownership structures and target audiences of the two channels. SABC's public broadcasting mandate, which emphasizes social responsibility, while eNCA, as a private entity prioritized attracting a demographic more concerned with economic stability. Which agrees with Benson (2016), ownership structures can significantly influence editorial decisions and framing strategies. Furthermore, both channels employed sensationalism, potentially boosting viewership, but at risk of misrepresenting the issue. Sensationalism, while not a framing strategy in itself, can amplify existing frames, ultimately shaping public perception of complex issues like land reform. It is worth considering the ethical implications of this practice, especially given the sensitive nature of the LEWC hearings and their potential impact on South African society.

CHAPTER:7 CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to conclude the research by addressing the representation issues explored in the study and delivering a critical assessment of the findings. Additionally, this section will emphasise recommendations and identify potential areas for future research. The chapter commences with the overall study focus and then presents the key issues in detail.

7.2 Study summary

The study highlights the historical context and injustices of land dispossession in South Africa, dating back to the colonial era and the Apartheid regime. The new government implemented land reform policies to address these injustices, but significant disparities still exist. Public hearings on land reform highlighted the emotional impact of forced land dispossession on black South Africans, emphasising the need for more effective and equitable land reform policies.

The implementation of land reform policies in South Africa, specifically the Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC), has been contentious due to its ineffectiveness. Budget constraints prevent the government from fully realizing the program's potential. The lack of support provided after the settlement has impeded the program's success, leading to debates surrounding LEWC.

The land issue in South Africa has significant social and economic implications. The failure to effectively address land reform has perpetuated socio-economic inequalities, which undermine efforts at nation-building and social cohesion. Unresolved land reform issues have led to increased tensions and grievances among those who feel marginalized and excluded from the economic benefits of land ownership.

Economically, the unequal distribution of land has had detrimental effects on poverty reduction and economic development. The uncertainty and tensions surrounding land reform have created an unstable investment climate, stifling economic growth and job creation.

The study contributes to the body of knowledge, media, and agricultural news by highlighting the media's role in agricultural news and the underrepresentation of the land reform debate in South Africa. It emphasizes journalists' responsibility to report news accurately and truthfully, maintaining credibility by upholding principles of neutrality and accuracy.

This study examines the media's role in agricultural news coverage, focusing on the land reform debate in South Africa. It reveals that media outlets, particularly the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNCA, employed sensationalism in their coverage of Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC) hearings, compromising truthful representation of the news. This sensationalism highlights the media's power to shape public discourse and perception, emphasizing the need for ethical reporting.

Accurate and balanced reporting on land reform is essential for informed public discourse and effective policymaking. The agricultural sector relies on credible media coverage to engage stakeholders, from farmers to policymakers, in meaningful discussions. The study calls for greater accountability and professionalism in agricultural journalism and advocates for ethical reporting practices in the media.

Media framing practices significantly influence how audiences interpret and understand events and issues. The distinct approaches adopted by the SABC and eNCA in framing the LEWC hearings highlight the diversity of perspectives presented to the public. The SABC predominantly framed the hearings through a human-interest lens, focusing on the personal and emotional impacts of land deprivation, particularly on black South Africans.

In contrast, eNCA adopted an economic perspective, focusing extensively on the financial implications of land expropriation without compensation. This approach aimed to contextualise the debate within broader economic frameworks, highlighting the interplay between property rights, economic development, and investor confidence.

The study also drew attention to the differences between privately owned and public media, with privately owned media focusing on funding and content tailored to attract certain audiences and advertisers.

The study explores the role of media framing in shaping public perceptions and policy debates on complex socio-economic issues like land reform in South Africa. The SABC and eNCA's approaches highlight how different media outlets can influence audience interpretations of these issues. The SABC's human-interest framing aligns with theories of media and social justice, while eNCA's economic framing reflects media economics and agenda-setting theories. Both channels used sensationalisation in their reporting, which is crucial in the context of land reform debates where misinformation can exacerbate tensions and hinder policy implementation.

The study highlights the importance of media diversity and balanced reporting in fostering informed citizenship and democratic engagement on sensitive issues like land reform. It also highlights the normative role of the media, where the media acknowledges its role in society to present diverse opinions and representation from different role players. However, both channels did not honour their ethical code of conduct in some of their reports, highlighting bias towards the free state and stereotypes of the Free State as a racial tense province.

The study's scope was limited to two channels, one private and one public broadcaster, and focused solely on television networks' coverage, overlooking the input of the general

public, particularly South Africans. Future academic research could investigate audience reception analysis, international media perspectives, and African media's coverage of African matters, such as agricultural news and land reform.

7.3 Key findings of the study

7.3.1 The coverage highlighted the historical context and injustices of land dispossession from Black people.

The study showed that the media played a crucial role in bringing attention to the deep historical roots of land dispossession in South Africa. This issue dates back to the colonial era and the Apartheid regime, both of which implemented policies that led to a racially imbalanced distribution of land ownership. The apartheid policies were particularly harmful, systematically marginalizing the Black majority and ensuring that land ownership remained predominantly in the hands of the white minority.

After the end of apartheid in 1994, the new government implemented land reform policies to address these historical injustices and achieve a more equitable distribution of land. However, despite these efforts, significant disparities in land ownership still exist. This is clearly demonstrated by the Land Audit Report of 2017, which revealed that 72% of the land is still owned by whites, highlighting the slow progress of land reform initiatives.

The public hearings on land reform brought to light the profound impact of forced land dispossession on the majority of black South Africans. These hearings were extensively covered by media outlets such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and eNCA, emphasising the emotional nature of the issue. The media's coverage helped to draw national attention to the ongoing struggles and grievances related to land ownership, highlighting the need for more effective and equitable land reform policies.

7.3.2 Ineffective policy implementation that led to the LEWC debates.

The implementation of land reform policies in South Africa, specifically the Land Expropriation Without Compensation (LEWC), has been a contentious issue due to its ineffectiveness. Research supports the ongoing debates surrounding the failure of the land reform program to meet its objectives. Despite the existence of policies, their implementation has been hindered by various challenges, such as budget constraints that prevent the government from fully realising the program's potential.

Some argue that the Constitution already permits property expropriation without compensation, implying that the legal framework for land reform is sufficient. However, the execution of these policies has been problematic. Although the land reform policy is well-intentioned, it has not been effectively conducted. This is evident in the three main pillars of the policy: redistribution, restitution, and land tenure, which have not all achieved equal levels of success.

One significant issue is the lack of support provided after the settlement. Beneficiaries of land reform often receive land without the necessary resources and skills to make it productive. This has greatly impeded the program's success, as noted by Jankielsohn and Duvenhage (2018:24). Without follow-up assistance, training, and financial support, many beneficiaries are unable to sustain agricultural activities or generate income from the land. Consequently, the land remains underutilised and, in some cases, abandoned.

These challenges have sparked debates surrounding LEWC, with proponents arguing for more drastic measures to address historical injustices and current land ownership inequalities. These debates underscore the frustration with the slow progress of land reform and emphasize the need for more effective implementation strategies to ensure that land reform policies achieve their intended outcomes.

7.3.3 Social and Economic Implications

The land issue in South Africa carries profound social and economic implications. The ineffective land reform process has exacerbated socio-economic inequalities, hindering nation-building and social cohesion by perpetuating the wealth gap between the primarily white minority and the largely impoverished Black majority. Socially, unresolved land reform fosters tension and resentment among those marginalized and excluded from land ownership, a source of both economic benefit and cultural identity. These fuels feelings of injustice and undermines social cohesion and national unity.

Economically, unequal land distribution impedes poverty reduction and economic development. Concentrated land ownership limits opportunities for broad-based economic participation and growth (Lahiff & Cousins, 2005). Many land reform beneficiaries lack the support and resources for productive land use, leading to underutilization and hindering rural development, thereby worsening unemployment and poverty (Bradstock, 2005).

Furthermore, uncertainty surrounding land reform creates an unstable investment climate, discouraging both domestic and international investment in agriculture and related ventures due to fears of expropriation or regulatory changes. This stifles economic growth and job creation, hindering South Africa's potential for inclusive growth and development (Nhamo et al., 2022). As Bradshaw and Breakfast (2018:376) and Mokoena and Sebola (2020:405) argue, effectively addressing these socio-economic inequalities through land reform is crucial for achieving a more equitable and harmonious society.

7.4 Contribution to the body of knowledge, media, and agricultural news

This study examines television coverage of the land reform debate in South Africa, specifically analysing the role of sensationalism in the framing of Land Expropriation Without Compensation by the South African Broadcasting Corporation and eNCA. The findings reveal that both channels, particularly in their coverage of the Northern Cape and North West provinces, employed sensationalism, potentially compromising the truthful representation of the issue. This stresses the media's agenda-setting power and its influence on public perception, echoing Willis's (2023:22) emphasis on journalists' responsibility to uphold principles of neutrality and accuracy in reporting. By analysing the distinct framing approaches employed by SABC and eNCA, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of media framing practices and their impact on complex societal issues like land reform.

7.4.1 Media's Role in Agricultural News

This study examines the crucial role of media, particularly television, in shaping public perception of the land reform debate in South Africa. Focusing on coverage of Land Expropriation Without Compensation hearings, the research analyzes the framing techniques employed by two major broadcasters: the South African Broadcasting Corporation and eNCA. Findings reveal a concerning prevalence of sensationalism, especially in reporting from the Northern Cape and North West provinces, which potentially undermines the media's responsibility to provide accurate and impartial information (Knoetze, 2020). This echo concerns raised by Willis (2023:22) regarding the importance of ethical reporting for maintaining journalistic credibility and public trust.

Accurate and balanced reporting is paramount for fostering informed public discourse and effective policymaking, particularly in the agricultural sector, which is directly impacted by land reform. By highlighting instances of sensationalized coverage, this study highlights the need for greater accountability and professionalism within agricultural journalism. Advocating for ethical reporting practices that prioritize refined and informed coverage is essential to navigating the complexities of land reform in South Africa.

7.4.2 Media Framing Practices

The study provides critical insights into media framing practices and their impact on societal issues. Media framing, the process by which journalists and news producers construct, and present news stories, significantly influences how audiences interpret and understand events and issues. The distinct approaches adopted by the SABC and eNCA in framing the LEWC hearings highlight the diversity of perspectives presented to the public. SABC, as a public broadcaster, and eNCA, a commercial news channel, framed the LEWC public hearing according to their different editorial policies and target audiences, leading to varied representations of the same events.

These differences in framing significantly shape public perception and understanding of the LEWC issue. For instance, the SABC framed the hearings in a manner that aligns with government policies and national unity, while eNCA adopted a more economic impact stance, highlighting the dire economic consequences of the LEWC on the country and investor confidence. This divergence in framing underlines the media's role in either fostering support for or opposition to policy measures, demonstrating the critical need for objective reporting.

Both channels, as part of their media framing strategies used sensationalism, were biased towards the Rustenburg public hearings and the Concordia public hearings. The use of ssensationalism in their representation was in their headlines and visuals used by both channels. These sensationalist elements were aimed at attracting more viewers and contradicted the actual content of the videos. This highlights the prevalence of sensationalism in media representation, even on serious issues like the LEWC public hearings. When there is media bias in any news, it will hinder the audience from making accurate informed decisions about what they are reporting. Both channels had a negative framing. They used dramatic headlines and created the impression of conflict and the other implying that the hearings were fruitless which was contrary to the actual contents of the broadcast.

The SABC predominantly framed the hearings through a human-interest lens, focusing on the personal and emotional impacts of land deprivation, particularly on black South Africans. This approach is aimed at fostering empathy among viewers by highlighting individual stories of struggle and resilience. By centering on human experiences, the SABC underscored the social injustices and historical grievances associated with land ownership in South Africa. This framing strategy not only aimed to engage viewers emotionally but also to deepen their understanding of the broader societal implications of land reform.

Moreover, SABC's emphasis on human-interest stories served to amplify voices traditionally marginalised in public discourse, thereby giving prominence to narratives of dispossession and the quest for restitution. This approach aligned with a narrative of social justice and historical redress, positioning land reform as a means to address systemic inequalities and empower disenfranchised communities.

In contrast, eNCA adopted an economic perspective in its coverage of the LEWC hearings, focusing extensively on the financial implications of land expropriation without compensation. This framing strategy sought to elucidate the economic complexities and potential ramifications of altering property rights and land tenure systems.

eNCA's coverage included discussions on market-related trends, property rights debates, and expert analyses on the economic impacts of land reform policies. By featuring economic experts and stakeholders in-studio discussions, eNCA provided viewers with insights into how changes in land policy could affect investment, economic growth, and market stability. This approach aimed to contextualise the debate within broader economic frameworks, highlighting the interplay between property rights, economic development, and investor confidence.

Furthermore, eNCA's emphasis on the economic dimensions of land reform accentuated concerns about the potential for unintended consequences, such as reduced agricultural productivity, investment uncertainty, and market distortions. This framing positioned

eNCA's coverage as critical in facilitating informed public discourse on the trade-offs and policy challenges associated with land expropriation without compensation.

The implication of the difference may not be a new finding; however, it reinforces the differences between ownership, goals, funding models, editorial control, and content difference between privately owned and public media. Privately owned media focuses on funding which is generated through aggressive advertising. Their goal is profit driven. Their content is tailored to attract certain audiences and advertisers.

From an academic perspective, the study's findings underscore the pivotal role of media framing in shaping public perceptions and policy debates. The contrasting approaches of the SABC and eNCA highlight how different media outlets can influence audience interpretations of complex socio-economic issues like land reform.

The SABC's human-interest framing resonates with theories of media and social justice, which argue that media should serve as a platform for amplifying marginalized voices and advocating for equitable societal outcomes. This approach aligns with the concept of media as a public service institution, aiming to educate and mobilise public support for policies that address historical injustices.

Conversely, eNCA's economic framing reflects perspectives from media economics and agenda-setting theories, which emphasise how media coverage can prioritise certain issues and perspectives over others, thereby shaping public agendas and policy priorities. By focusing on economic implications, eNCA contributed to a refined understanding of the complexities involved in land reform, highlighting considerations beyond immediate social impacts.

In conclusion, the study's exploration of media framing in the LEWC hearings provides valuable insights into how different media outlets interpret and present contentious issues, influencing public understanding and policy discourse. This academic perspective call attention to the importance of media diversity and balanced reporting in fostering informed citizenship and democratic engagement on complex socio-economic issues like land reform.

7.4.3 Journalistic Responsibility and Ethical Reporting

This study highlights instances where both the SABC and eNCA employed sensationalism in their reporting, raising concerns about ethical lapses. As emphasized by Willis (2023:22), journalists have a fundamental responsibility to report accurately and truthfully, upholding principles of neutrality and accuracy to maintain credibility. Truthfulness in reporting necessitates avoiding distortion or fabrication of facts, ensuring that information disseminated to the public is credible and unbiased. This ethical responsibility is particularly crucial in the context of land reform debates, where misinformation can exacerbate existing tensions and hinder effective policy implementation.

Building on the identified instances of sensationalism, this study stresses the critical need for media literacy among the public. By enhancing their ability to critically evaluate news content and discern between sensationalism and factual reporting, individuals can become more informed citizens, capable of engaging in constructive dialogue on complex policy issues like land reform. This study, therefore, contributes to a deeper understanding of the ethical dimensions of journalism, particularly the necessity of responsible reporting when covering sensitive issues with significant societal implications.

7.4.4 The normative role of the media

This study examines the normative role of the media by analyzing coverage of land reform by the SABC and eNCA. One key aspect of this role is presenting a diverse range of voices and perspectives. The study reveals that both channels, in line with this normative expectation, provided a platform for diverse voices. However, the extent and nature of representation differed. SABC, as a public broadcaster, featured broader geographical coverage across nine provinces, while eNCA's coverage was more limited, relying heavily on in-studio interviews.

Despite their efforts to highlight diverse voices, both channels fell short in representing marginalized groups. Notably, both relied on the same source for representing the Khoisan people, a historically marginalized community. Additionally, gender representation across both channels exhibited a male-dominated bias.

Beyond representing diverse voices, a crucial tenet of normative media theory is the provision of accurate and ethical reporting. This study found instances where both the SABC and eNCA failed to uphold these standards. For example, the SABC highlighted strong police presence in the Free State while neglecting to report on the same fact in Ermelo. This discrepancy suggests potential bias and reinforces harmful stereotypes of the Free State as a racially tense province. Such reporting practices undermine the media's responsibility to provide neutral and truthful information, essential for an informed public and a functioning democracy.

7.5 Limitations of the Study

This study acknowledges several limitations that may impact on the generalisability of its findings:

Limited Scope of Media Outlets: The analysis focused solely on two South African television news channels: SABC English news and eNCA. This excluded other vernacular SABC channels (e.g., SABC 2, SABC 3) and did not consider the perspectives of other African media outlets or international media coverage of the LEWC public hearings.

Absence of Public & Primary Audience Perspectives: The study primarily examined television network coverage, neglecting to incorporate the input and perspectives of the general public, particularly South Africans, who constitute the primary audience for these land reform discussions.

These limitations highlight potential avenues for future research to expand upon the insights generated by this study. Including a wider array of media voices, particularly

those representing diverse geographical and linguistic communities, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the land reform narrative. Additionally, incorporating the voices and experiences of the South African public would enrich the analysis and offer valuable insights into the societal impact of media coverage on this critical issue.

7.6 Avenues for Future Research

This study lays the groundwork for several promising avenues of future research:

Audience Reception Analysis: A deeper understanding of how South Africans interpret and make meaning from the framing of LEWC hearings by SABC and eNCA is crucial. This line of inquiry could employ qualitative methods like focus groups or interviews to explore audience perceptions of media coverage and its impact on their understanding of land reform.

Impact on Investor Confidence: Investigating how media framing of land reform, particularly by prominent news channels like SABC and eNCA, influences investor confidence is essential. This research could analyze economic indicators alongside media content to assess potential correlations and impacts.

International Media Perspectives: Examining how international media outlets frame land reform in South Africa, including their motivations and potential biases, would provide valuable comparative insights. This analysis could help uncover broader global narratives surrounding land reform and their influence on international perceptions of South Africa.

Pan-African Media Analysis: Expanding research to encompass a wider range of African media outlets and their coverage of critical issues like land reform and agricultural news would significantly enhance our understanding of media dynamics within the African context. This comparative approach could reveal shared narratives, regional differences, and the influence of historical and political factors on media coverage.

By pursuing these research directions, we can gain a more exact and comprehensive understanding of the role of media in shaping public opinion, influencing policy decisions, and impacting the lived experiences of individuals and communities affected by land reform in South Africa and beyond.

7.7 Concluding Insights.

This research emphasises the enduring significance of land in South Africa, where its resolution remains critical for achieving lasting social cohesion and democratic stability. While legal mechanisms for land reform exist, the path forward necessitates navigating complex historical legacies, deeply held perspectives within diverse communities, and the potential for media framing to influence public discourse. Further research into audience reception, the interplay of political will and policy implementation, and the role of inclusive dialogue will be essential to achieving equitable and sustainable land reform in South Africa.

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