AN EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL PARODY IN REPRESENTING DEMOCRACY: A CASE OF *LATE NITE NEWS WITH LOYISO GOLA*

by

TAFADZWA SEHLILE YVETTE PFUMOJENA

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

MEDIA STUDIES

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

(School of Languages and Communication Studies)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR S.O MMUSI

2017

DECLARATION

I declare that **AN EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL PARODY IN REPRESENTING DEMOCRACY: A CASE OF** *LATE NITE NEWS WITH LOYISO GOLA*, submitted to the University of Limpopo for the degree of Master of Arts in Media Studies has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that it is my work in design and in execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

Pfumojena, T.S.Y. (Ms)   **30th May 2016**

Signed: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study examines how democracy is represented in *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* (LNN) using two qualitative content analysis methods: the social semiotic approach and thematic analysis. It is based on the assumption that representation in media serves to influence how viewers draw meaning from, and understand the political process and political issues in South Africa. Literature on what constitutes parody, the meaning of representation and democracy, and the functions of the media in a democracy was reviewed. Four media theories which are agenda-setting and priming; framing theory, social responsibility theory and democratic deliberative theory formed the theoretical framework for this study. The qualitative approach using a case study design as well as focus groups proved to be a useful tool for two reasons: it enabled the researcher to penetrate the deeper layers of the messages contained in the text in order to come to an understanding of how LNN represents democracy; and it enabled the researcher to understand how viewers engage with and understand democracy through watching LNN.

Table of Contents   **Pages**

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

During the 2008 United States presidential elections pitting Republican candidate John McCain and his running mate Sarah Palin against Democratic candidate Barack Obama and his running mate Joe Biden, *Saturday Night Live,* an American late night television sketch comedy and variety show, gained widespread attention for its impersonations of Sarah Palin by comedienne Tina Fey. These impersonations were important enough in the election discourse to generate a number of scholarly articles on the persuasive effects of consumption of political satire programmes on the minds of voters (eg Peifer 2013; Esralew & Young 2012; Matthes & Rauchfleisch 2013). Peifer (2013: 155) writes that *Saturday Night Live*'s Sarah Palin impersonations returned the nearly 40-year-old show to prominence after a series of largely forgettable parodies during the 2004 election cycle. In the past seasons there had been many impersonations of public figures, particularly presidents Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, George H.W Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush (Political satire…2014). These scholarly studies have not been limited only to *Saturday Night Live* but have included other television shows rich in political humour content such as *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* among many genres that encapsulate the discursive field of political humour.

Late night television comedy of a parodic nature is not only a phenomenon of the United States but is actually a global phenomenon that is present in many western countries including even young democracies such as Hungary and Romania (Baym & Jones 2012:8). *The Week That Was,* produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the 1960s is now regarded as the seminal programme in the television parody genre (Baym & Jones 2012: 6). *The Week That Was* contained what is now the typical television news parody format which is a hybrid blend of news, political conversation and comedy that challenges the serious and formal approach still typical of many news broadcasts. One other notable mention is Britain's *Spitting Image* which used puppets to caricature and critique politicians and public figures in

the 1980s. This show is worth a mention because it inspired South Africa's satirical programme *ZANews* which uses a puppet cast as mouthpieces for satirical commentary on South Africa's public sphere (ZANEWS…2014). *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* (LNN) which has stylistic similarities with *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* as well as *The Colbert Report* also has a resident puppeteer on the show called Chester Missing.

The discursive field of political humour consists of more than just the aforementioned shows. The United States has a rich political comedy culture. Hariman (2008:248) offers a long though certainly not exhaustive list of the many genres in the field of political humour. This summary includes (with South African examples where applicable) the genres in the field: editorial cartoons (*Zapiro*); cartoon strips (*Madam and Eve*); satiric magazines; animated sitcoms; variety shows (*Saturday Night Live*); late night monologues by Jay Leno, David Letterman and Conan O'Brien, with the South African equivalent being *Late Night with Kgomotso* and *Tonight with Trevor Noah* (Trevoh Noah now hosts *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah* in the United States, taking over from Jon Stewart); theatrical/improve shows; comedic songs ('The Moral Index by Deep Fried Man' on LNN); stand-up comic monologues by the likes of Trevor Noah, Loyiso Gola and Eugene Khoza; comedic roasts; mockumentaries; fake social media accounts that parody real politicians; fake television news and commentary (in which category Hariman places *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*) and many other avenues such as blogs and advertising that proliferate the internet.

Research on political parody across the globe, more specifically in the United States, has shown that entertainment is becoming more relevant in politics by 'empowering people with ways to identify and create their own emotional connections to the substantive political issues of the day' (Young 2013: 32). In fact, not only is entertainment proving to be more relevant in politics, but political communication scholars are beginning to acknowledge that the historical separation between news and politics is becoming obsolete, as both maintain political relevance in today's postmodern media environment (Esralew & Young 2012:338). Furthermore, research is showing that traditional satire such as is found in late night comedy is a source of political engagement by increasing the political knowledge of viewers and helping to

shape evaluations of politicians (and political issues) Semetko and Scammell (2012: 14).

Authors such as Mattes (cited in Malila et al 2013: 417) argue that the contribution that the mass media (in general) made in established democracies in terms of civil and political socialisation and increasing political knowledge and internal efficacy cannot be matched with those in South Africa because South Africa is a young democracy. According to Matthes (cited in Malila 2013), education or news media use has *not* been shown to have any positive impact on the attitudes of young South Africans in terms of political interest and discussion, political knowledge, or the extent to which young people believe their voices are heard outside of elections. This study examines, through a reading of the text and through focus group interviews, to what extent LNN enables political or civic socialisation.

The 2011 South African national census results show that the average age of the country stands at 24.9 years (SA Population is the Youngest in the World…2013). Because youths are the largest population group in South Africa, concerns have been raised about the youths being a sitting time bomb and that they will one day experience a social revolt of unprecedented proportions, because of their non-involvement in the making of decisions that affect them (SA youth face new struggle...2013). Similar concerns about youth disengagement have also been raised in the National Planning Commission, which describes the youths as the 'single greatest risk to social stability' and a potential 'hazard and lost resource to society' (Lefko-Everette 2012:7). Although studies on political apathy among the youth have been conducted (see Roberts & Letsoalo [n.d.]), these are mainly attitudinal surveys mainly to gauge opinion before elections. Research on political parody across the globe, more specifically in the United States, has mainly focused on the effects on 'young voters' in part because of the demographics of the viewers of these kinds of shows. Because of concern about lethargy among youths in South Africa on issues that concern them, it is necessary to focus this study on young people's interpretations of, and participation in, democratic processes in South Africa within the framework of the television parody show LNN.

An engaged citizenry is an important part of any democracy. Citizenship can be defined as the knowledge and skills to challenge and engage with the main pillars of democracy. Schudson (cited in Young 2013:30) says the characteristics of what constitutes a healthy citizenship change and evolve over time in response to threats and opportunities in the political environment. Active citizenship may involve participation in liquor fuelled celebrations such as was characteristic of politics in the 18th century, or rational models in which citizens are expected to become policy experts (Young: ibid). There is no model of citizenship that can be considered to be the ideal model for a healthy democracy.

As mentioned above, studies done on political parody especially in the United States have credited news parody shows such as *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* for the extensive political knowledge among especially young viewers, which knowledge is necessary in order to have an engaged citizenship. Young people constitute the bulk of South Africa's population and although concerns have been raised about disengagement and lethargy among youths in decisions that affect them, it is possible that young people in South Africa are finding ways to engage with the country's democratic processes through LNN in much the same way that their American counterparts are engaging in the democratic or political processes through *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* among a myriad of other similar television shows.

In South Africa, the term political satire is more commonly used to describe a media genre that challenges, lampoons or ridicules authority in the way that news parody shows such as *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* do. However, there are many terms that are used interchangeably with parody and some of these terms will be briefly discussed in section 1.3 below. In the twentieth century, satire in South Africa has been commonly associated with political cartoonist Jonathan 'Zapiro' Shapiro and Pieter Dirk-Uys, the latter gained modest popularity with his alter ego Evita Bezuidenhout, performing as a political satirist. Now in the 21st century there have been more vehicles for satirical content in South Africa which include (the now defunct) satirical news website Hayibo.com, LNN and *ZANews*, the last two which have already been mentioned earlier in this study.

The extent of freedom of expression in any democracy has a correlation with the freedom of criticism (satiric or otherwise) permitted in that democracy. Thurman (2009) says that those who are supposed to be speaking truth to power through a balance of anger and humour, have become timid and entrenched in a 'culture of deference'. Because of this culture of deference, there is little space for the Fourth Estate, which is journalists, to perform this critical function of speaking truth to power and holding a government to account.

The role of the media in a democratic society is to provide a service to the people by informing them responsibly, challenging those in power and being able to communicate and maintain social relations between social groups effectively (Toralieva, 2009). The US based show *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart,* has evolved into a social, political, and media satirical commentary show that is becoming a "check" on the accountability of the political process and major news networks (Popkin, 2012). In this regard, it is important to find out in what ways LNN fulfils the role of the media in a democratic society and whether it holds the political process accountable.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Parody as a form of political humour is an important means of resistance. According to Kuhlmann (2012: 298), political humour is seen as a form of dissent, a tool of communication, critical engagement and opposition within the context of a curtailed public sphere and the complex relations of power and resistance. Kuhlmann (ibid) further argues that political humour can be a crucial means of protest, political communication and expression, enabling ordinary people to voice criticisms on social inequalities and political misrule in a subtle manner. Parody's critical function is that it enables people to laugh at power and imagine alternatives (Critchley & Butler cited in Kenny 2009:222). Since parody is characterised as 'play' or 'laughter', Young, Holbert & Jamieson (2013:4) argue that parody provides affective dimensions of engagement for viewers of parody shows. According to Young et al (ibid) affective engagement is being increasingly considered by scholars as a complementary piece of the

democratic process. Another important role that parody plays is that it creates a common political pop culture experience (Young et al: ibid). This common pop culture experience provides a means through which audiences meaningfully connect [with politics].

The challenges that South Africa faces cannot be dealt with through rational discourse alone. Citizens who are disenchanted with politics and increasingly cynical of the democratic process can find new ways to connect with democratic processes through political humour. The purpose of this study is to examine how LNN uses parody to establish a connection between citizens and the democratic processes.

1.3 Definition of parody

Parody as a genre can be traced to ancient Greece where it was popularised through the mock orations of Greek philosopher Plato, who exposed the limits of public speech by doing mock orations of funeral eulogies which were one of the most solemn practices of the Athenian (which is in Greece) democracy (Loraux in Hariman 2008:251). Dentith (2002:40) concurs that ancient Greek culture was shot through with parodic forms, but that the greater historical distance between ancient Greek culture and contemporary culture makes it difficult to deconstruct the nature and form of ancient parody. This, as well as the scarcity of complete texts makes the interpretation haphazard and controversial (Dentith 2002:39).

The scarcity of complete texts notwithstanding, it is clear that parody can be traced back to ancient Greece since the concept of parody originated from the Greek term 'parodia'. Scholars acknowledge the difficulty of defining parody due to a contested history of the concept (e.g. Hutcheon 1989; Dentith 2002; Rose 1993) In particular Dentith (2002:9) questions exactly what the Greeks meant by the term 'parodia', and how it is distinguishable from other related forms such as travesty and pastiche. The complexity is also aggravated by the fact that parody has sometimes been confused with a variety of both ancient and modern terms such as burlesque, pastiche, satire, irony and meta-fiction (Rose 1993:2). Furthermore, later usage of the term refers to a

more widespread use of quotation, not necessarily humorous, in which both writers and speakers introduce allusions to previous texts (Dentith 2002:10). Hutcheon (1989:89) also adds appropriation and intertextuality to the list of alternative terms by which parody is called.

Dentith provides a definition of parody from the earliest use of the word parodia, which is used to refer to a narrative epic poem treating a light, satirical or mock-heroic subject (2002:10). Parodia was a specific literary form for which prizes were awarded at poetic contests (Dentith: ibid). Hariman (2008:250) refers to the earliest use of 'parodos' which came from the Greek oral tradition and was used to describe an 'imitating singer' or 'singing in imitation'. Rose (1993:5) defines parody generally as the comic refunctioning of preformed linguistic or artistic material. Dentith (ibid) provides a number of different ways of approaching parody, which include making it clearly distinguishable from its related forms in order to arrive at a definition of it as 'a polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice' (Dentith 2002:20); or in simpler terms, the transformation of a [cultural practice] by another, holding it up to public gaze, and ridiculing it. By transforming the cultural practice before a public audience and ridiculing it, it exposes the limits of the original, which is what Hariman (2008:248) was referring to in explaining how parody sustains a democratic public culture.

There are some commonalities in the different definitions of parody. For example, Hariman (2008:250), Dentith (2002:10) and Hutcheon (1989:89) all refer to the use of quotation, whether it is direct or ironic, in reference to the cultural practice being parodied. Hariman (ibid) refers to the use of quotation as a particular parodic technique among other techniques which are alternation of words and textual rearrangement. Dentith (ibid) makes reference to the widespread use of quotation in explaining the later usage of the term parodia by Greek and Roman writers. Hutcheon (ibid) makes reference to ironic quotation as an alternative term by which parody is called, and adds to this definition related forms such as pastiche, appropriation or intertextuality. Pastiche is also mentioned by Dentith (ibid), in arguing the difficulty of distinguishing parody from its related forms, and includes also travesty, burlesque, transposition, skit and forgery to the list of related terms. Burlesque and travesty are also mentioned by

Rose (1993:54) as part of an extensive analysis of a range of terms used to distinguish parody.

One of the features of defining parody is that the concept can be defined from an ancient, a modern and a postmodern perspective. Some of the different terms mentioned in the preceding paragraph are definitions of different periods.

1.4 Distinguishing parody from related forms

Two definitions of parody shall be taken into account as a point of departure in an attempt to separate parody from the multitude of related forms referred above. The first is Dentith's definition of parody as 'a range of related cultural practices, all of which are imitative of other cultural forms with varying degrees of mockery or humour' (2002:193). The second is Fourie's definition which describes parody as 'a form of mimicry with the specific intention to mock the original with a humourous outcome, such as in an impersonation or imitation, in order to deliver a critical comment' (2009: 299).

1.4.1 Burlesque

Burlesque, according to Rose (1993:54) is derived from the Italian word 'burla' meaning a joke or a trick. It is a form of theatre that became popular during the Restoration period of the late 17th to early 18th centuries (Dentith 2002:133-4). Watson cited in Rose (1993:55) says that burlesque is parody when the 'imitation humourously parallels the style or mannerisms of a [cultural production], but with a trivial or ludicrous purpose'. Burlesque was a sort of 'play within a play', as Dentith (2002:133) describes it. Burlesque plays were characterised as being hostile to heroic tragedy and heroic theatre (Dentith 2002:134). In Rose (1993: ibid) Markiewicz characterised burlesque as being flat and grotesque with a tendency to exaggerate its style with the use vulgar or extraordinary language.

1.4.2 Travesty

Another term which is also another form of parody or a term by which parody is simultaneously referred is travesty. Travesty is closely related to burlesque due in part to the time period when it was popularised, which is the 17th century. The other reason is that both types of literary productions were hostile to the heroic theatre. Travesty has now come to be differentiated from burlesque in the sense that travesty treated trivial matters in a 'high' or dignified way, which was its way of mocking 'heroic' theatre, with its high prestige form (Dentith 2002:104). Comparing parody and travesty, Rose (1993: 64) cites Gellman, who distinguishes between the two by saying that parody 'retains the formal elements of the original while changing the content to an unsuitable manner', while travesty 'retains the content of the original while clothing it in a new and unsuitable form'. Dentith (2002:11) distinguishes parody from travesty by saying that the textual transformation that parody performs is done in a playful manner rather than in the satirical way that travesty does.

1.4.3 Pastiche

Pastiche has in some instances been described as 'blank' or 'empty' parody for its inability to perform a satirical or critical function although it also imitates or copies the style of the original in the same way that parody does (Hutcheon 1989:90; Fourie 2009: 299; Dentith 2002:11). Pastiche is a more modern French term for the Italian word pasticcio, both of which mean 'a picture made up of fragments pieced together' (Dentith 2002: ibid). Pastiche is a genre that has evoked some moral judgement because of the difficulty in categorising it as either humorous or critical. For example, Rose (1993:74) says that later uses of the term 'pastiche' in English have implied a moral evaluation especially as pastiche has been used to mean a fake, direct copy or forgery of something. Rose (ibid) defends pastiche by arguing that although in media a compilation of different styles maybe used deliberately, this is done in an open manner which lacks the concealment characteristic of a fake, direct copy or forgery. Rose (ibid) further states that although some critics have regarded pastiche as a 'lesser' art form, it may have some positive aesthetic and other functions to fulfil in the transference of a design from one work or medium to another.

1.4.4 Quotation

Quotation in parody works by connecting and contrasting two disparate texts so that their concealed identity or lack of identity can be revealed with some comic effect (Rose 1993:77). Parodic quotation also works by recontextualisation whereby the parodist uses the borrowed words (quotation) to make a critical comment (Saxton 2000:276).

1.4.5 Satire

Of all the terms that parody is frequently interchanged with, satire is possibly the leading one. According to Rose (1993:81), the major factor which distinguishes parody from satire is parody's use of the preformed material of its target as a constituent part of its own structure, while satire on the other hand is not dependent, but may make use of, the preformed material in order to make critical comment. Druick (2009:301) differentiates the two by stating that parody is a double-voiced discourse that relies on the ability of the reader or viewer to decode multiple texts in a kind of self-reflexive (critical) textual analysis; whereas satire is [critical] commentary not on a text but on the social world. In other words, where parody relies on comic imitation to make critical comment, satire may use other vehicles not limited to comic imitation for the same purpose. Satire originated from the Latin term 'satura' which means a mixed bag or mixed ingredients (Peifer 2013:158). Peifer says by extension then, satire can be thought of as variously using mixed modes of humour such as irony, sarcasm and parody (2013: ibid). Test (cited in Peifer: ibid) states that the common denominator of satire is aggression, play, laughter and judgement. Play and laughter would possibly be categorised as 'horatian' satire according to a distinction by Holbert, Tchernev, Walther, Esralew and Benski (2013:172) who defined horatian satire as 'light and witty' while aggression and judgement would fall under 'juvenalian' satire which the same authors define as 'savage and merciless'. However, despite this distinction the use of the terms parody and satire especially in studies concerning political commentary shows *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* which closely resemble the case study LNN in form and structure, reflects a usage of the terms which makes them interchangeable to some extent. Just to cite a few examples, Holbert,

Tchernev, Walther, Esralew and Benski (2013) as well as Brewer, Young and Morreale (2013) refer to *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* as **satirical** news shows. Baym and Jones (2012) and Kenny (2009) refer to both shows as **parodical** news shows. Young, Holbert and Jamieson (2013) and Young (2013) refer to both shows as parody and as satire in the same article. This complexity is further aggravated by the description in at least one article of the two shows as '**fake news shows**' (Hariman 2008) as well as Druick's combination of terms in the description of '**news parody as social satire**' (2009).

According to Druick (2009) *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* equally perform a satirical and parodical function. If we consider that parody relies on preformed material to make a critical comment, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* are able to do this by engaging a running commentary on news coverage of daily events in exactly the same way that characterise news broadcasts; they deconstruct the scripts of mainstream news using the same feeds as the news outlets themselves; they criticise the elevation of reporters as people with enhanced access to knowledge by having comedian reporters named with 'flowery' titles such as 'senior Washington correspondent' and 'senior White House correspondent'; and finally they parody news broadcasts convention of satellite link-up by taking their comedian reporters in and out of their own screen inserts in order to show this aspect of news broadcasts as no less than spectacle (Druick: ibid). If we then consider Druick's definition of satire as [critical] commentary on the social world, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* do this through their approach to issues such as the American health care system (Druick 2009:304). Through satire, the two shows may critically comment on the profiteering of the American health insurance companies. The two shows do not have to re-enact or expand on an already existing performative act in order to deliver critical comment (as would be the case with parody), but through conversation with their guests they are able to subtly deliver that critical comment.

In South Africa, there appears to be no literature that specifically categorises LNN as parody or satire. The basic information available on the show's Facebook page describes its genre as satirical news (Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola…2010), and

other news articles reference the show generally as satire (e.g Ledwaba [sa] and Late Night News with Loyiso Gola…2011). However, LNN is very much similar in form and structure to the American shows *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report,* which, for the reasons mentioned above, makes it difficult to categorise its genre solely as satire or solely as parody. Perhaps, then, Druick's (2009) category of satirical news parody *would* be suitable to place LNN as it combines both elements of satire and parody. Looking at the examples given above by Druick (2009) in order to show how *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* engage parody, LNN also engages in a running commentary on news coverage of current events especially through the host Loyiso Gola's monologue at the beginning of each show; and the show also parodies the news broadcast's convention of having a 'foreign correspondent' reporting 'live' from 'the ground' by having comedian David Kibuuka as their regular foreign correspondent reporting 'live from the ground' and appearing on a different screen from the host to give the impression of the immediacy of the news broadcast. LNN also engages satire through their puppeteer Chester Missing who appears to have carte blanche with his guests, asking brazen questions which at times may provoke laughter or discomfort. Foreign correspondent David Kibuuka's deadpan style of reporting on foreign events is also ridden with satire.

1.4.6 Irony

According to Rose (1993:87) the term irony 'generally describes a statement of an ambiguous character, which includes a code containing at least two messages: the concealed message of the ironist to an "initiated" audience, and the other more readily perceived but "ironically" meant message of the code'. Although both parody and irony offer more than one message to be decoded by the reader, parody differs from irony in the sense that irony uses one code to conceal two messages (eg one statement may have an ambiguous meaning), while parody contains two codes (the original text and the parody), both of which may produce multiple ironic meanings (Rose: ibid). Parody also usually relies on humour, while irony is not usually intended for critical humour.

1.4.7 Meta-fiction

Meta-fiction is fiction which has built into it a moment of self-reflection, or which alludes to its own, or others', fictional practice (Dentith 2002: 192). Olson (1987:284) says the purpose of meta-fiction is to deconstruct the illusion that the world presented in literature is a "real" one, by drawing attention to the very devices used to create the illusion, making the reader more aware of the artifices of fiction while reading. In television, meta-fiction becomes meta-television, a popular form of postmodernism. Television has its own conventions of naturalism arising from cultural rituals of representations (Olson: ibid). Meta-television then becomes a way in which television undermines its own conventions, resulting in a self-reflexive (critical) television culture characterised by such programmes as news parody and late night comedy (Druick 2009:295). However, meta-fiction differs from parody in the sense that meta-fiction mainly concentrates on the *reflections* by an author on the structure or composition of a text or on its audience; while parody goes beyond those reflections and offers *a comic refunctioning* of the text (Rose 1993: 92). Although some meta-fiction may contain forms of comedy, Rose (ibid) says that not all meta-fiction is parodical and not all parody is meta-fictional. In essence, while meta-fiction serves to show how fictional work is constructed; parody may use such work in comic ways to criticise other works of fiction; to educate their own readers on the possibilities and limitations of fiction; and finally, to create new works from the old.

1.4.8 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is described by Dentith (2002:5) as the interrelatedness of texts wherein all texts situate themselves in relation to other texts that precede them and are in turn alluded to or repudiated by texts that follow. Dentith (ibid) further states that at the most obvious level, intertextuality denotes the conscious use of, for example, quotation, imitation and reference in order to allude to a text or to cite it. Intertextuality also denotes the allusion to a text through the use of certain stylistic elements such as ready-made formulations, catch phrases, slang, jargon and clichés (Dentith: ibid). Because parody involves some allusion to a previous text through reformulation, parody is related to intertextuality to the extent that it also relies on allusion to produce

a text (Dentith: ibid). Intertextuality can be seen as referring to a whole range of cultural practices that involve some allusion to another text (such as the different forms discussed above in this section); and parody as just one of those cultural practices whose intentions may be to mock or attack.

1.4.9 Appropriation

In its simplest terms, appropriation refers to the act of borrowing or reusing existing elements within a new work (Rowe 2011:1). When compared to parody which makes an appropriation or copy of the original text based on its defining features; appropriation -also referred to as inclusion- actually reproduces a portion of the original text (Ott and Walter 2000:437). This brings to the fore questions of originality (Van Camp 2010:1) and authorship (Irvin 2005: 125). The key issue in appropriation, according to Rowe (ibid) is that appropriation artists *recontextualise* the [reading] of the original imagery thereby allowing the [reader] to interpret the original in a different, more relevant, or more current context. It would appear then, that the distinguishing factor between parody and appropriation is the purpose of the artist. With parody, the parodist's intention is to make use of the original [text] in order to deliver a critical comment, while the appropriation artist's intention is to reproduce a portion of the original in order to allow the reader to interpret it in their own way.

1.5 Purpose of study

1.5.1 Research aim

The aim of the study is to examine how democracy is represented in *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola*.

1.5.2 Research objectives

- To investigate how LNN represents democracy through

  - ➢ Political socialisation

- ➢ Civic socialisation
- ➢ Building a sense of national identity
- ➢ Enabling citizens' decision making.
- To determine in what ways LNN uses agenda-setting and framing to influence viewers' perception of a political issue.
- To explore in what way LNN fulfils the functions of the media as outlined in the social responsibility and democratic deliberative theories.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The researcher endeavoured to adhere to the principles of autonomy, beneficence and justice as stipulated by Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2000:95). Participants in the focus group studies were informed about the purpose of the study and about their right to voluntarily accept or refuse to participate in the study. The second principle that this researcher adhered to is beneficence. In this case the researcher did not harm to the participants. Because the participants in the study were UNISA students and staff, the researcher endeavoured to balance responses from the participants in order to give rich unbiased data. Confidentiality was achieved by not referring to the participants by their names. To ensure justice, the researcher did not exploit or abuse the participants. Although focus groups tend to have a dominant participant, every effort was made to include the views of other participants in a way that was believed to not discourage both the dominant speaker and the reserved participant.

1.7 Significance of the study

This research is important because it will contribute to understanding about how young people are engaged with the democratic and political processes in South Africa. It may lead to understanding about the different ways that people engage with the democratic and political processes that are not only characterised by rational intellectual discourse, political party membership and town hall meeting attendance, but also by an affective engagement characterised by fun and laughter. The case study LNN

occupies a unique position in South Africa as the only show of such a genre that is shown on the independent terrestrial channel E-TV which means it has the potential to be seen and influence many more people than other shows that broadcast on pay-to-view satellite channels. There are also no known scholarly studies that have been done that seek to understand the democratic contribution that this show makes. The research may demystify myths about the youths in South Africa being a 'lost resource' and a 'ticking time-bomb' because of their non-involvement in decisions that affect them by showing the democratic tendencies that they exhibit. This research is important in understanding the media theories of democratic participant, social responsibility, agenda-setting and framing in a different genre of news known as news parody in the South African context. This research may contribute to understanding the growing popularity of political entertainment not as a separate genre to news but very much interlinked with news. This is relevant for broadcast commissioning editors who need to understand audience trends in order to plan their programming accordingly.

1.8 Scope of study

The study examines the role of political parody in the representation of democracy using South African satirical show LNN. The study is confined to season 12 episodes which were broadcast between January 2015 and April 2015. The approach utilised for this study is the qualitative research approach using a case study design. Qualitative approaches are used to penetrate the deeper layers of a message (Fourie 2009: 4) and are suitable for analysing mass media messages within their ideological contexts (Du Plooy 2001:10). Media content analysis; a specialised subset of content analysis (Macnamara 2005: 1) is used as a method to examine the representation of democracy on LNN.

The case study design optimises the understanding of a particular research setting because it produces an invaluable and insightful appreciation of the case (Yin 2012:4). Using LNN as a case study enabled the researcher to address the research problem

which is to explain and describe how parody represents democracy. A case study is suitable for addressing descriptive and explanatory questions (Yin 2012: ibid). Because the data collection methods used are focus group interviews and content analysis, the case study is appropriate as it enabled the generation of first-hand data to enable deeper understanding of the research phenomenon.

Viewers of LNN at the University of South Africa also form the population for the study. According to Fourie (2009: 498), the focus group is becoming an increasingly popular tool in the study of media audiences, for example when a researcher wants to determine media audience members' attitudes, perceptions, frames of reference and media usage (viewing, reading, listening) patterns.

The data collected is analysed using the methodological approach to social semiotics developed by Iedema (2004:191). This methodological approach is based on the assumption that meaning making always performs three overarching functions which are representation, orientation and organisation. Representation considers meaning in so far as it tells about the world in some way. Representation addresses meanings represented visually, verbally, musically or soundwise. Orientation has to do with how meanings position characters and viewers or readers. Organisation concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text. Thematic analysis is also used to identify the patterns of thought among the viewers of the show.

1.9 Layout of study

The study is laid out in 7 chapters as outlined below:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study, followed by the statement of the research problem. A definition of parody, which is a key element in the research topic, is provided. A historical overview of the term parody is provided. There are at least nine terms which are related to, and sometimes interchanged with, parody. These

terms are carefully distinguished from parody in section 1.4. This is followed by the purpose for the study, ethical considerations, the significance of the study as well as the scope of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter provides a literature review of the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the contribution of political humour to democratic culture (section 2.2). This is followed by a discussion of the discursive function of parody and the new media environment (section 2.3). In section 2.4 an overview of the case study LNN is provided.

In Section 2.5 the concept of representation is briefly discussed in terms of the key issues. Representation is a key concept in the research topic. The semiotic tradition which underlies the analytical approach to this study is discussed as a meaning making method. Section 2.6 is a discussion of the media, democracy and the public sphere. Democracy is also a key concept in the research topic. Four key concepts of democracy are provided, as well as how the public sphere enables the functioning of democracy. The role of the media is discussed, followed by a more detailed discussion of the key concepts of democracy. A historical role of the media in South Africa is provided, followed by a discussion of the concept of the public sphere. Section 2.6 concludes with an alternative view about the role of the media in democracies.

Section 2.7 discusses the relevance of entertainment in politics. It is important to include this discussion because the case study is a political entertainment show. The discussion begins with a historical look at the separation of news and entertainment. This is followed by a discussion of the current media environment. The section ends with a motivation for why entertainment can be considered a source of political engagement. The chapter concludes with a motivation for the relevance of news parody as a research area.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study. Four theories were selected for the study. The theories are: agenda setting and priming; framing; social responsibility; and deliberative democratic theory. The discussion summarises the main assumptions of these effects theories, applicability to entertainment media, weaknesses (where applicable) and relevance to this study.

Chapter Four: Research methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology that was used for the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research design that was used which is the qualitative research approach using a case study design (section 4.2). Motivation is provided for the use of this design for the study. Section 4.3 discusses the criteria for evaluating trustworthiness of qualitative studies. The elements of trustworthiness are then discussed in relation to the sampling, data collection and data analysis phase of the study.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis

In this chapter, the methodology discussed in chapter four will be applied to selected segments of LNN. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the functions performed by social semiotics, followed by an application of those functions to the selected segments.

Chapter Six: Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to link the data gathered from the social semiotic analysis of the television texts and the thematic analysis of the focus group interviews to the research purpose and objectives. The chapter will list the research objectives and key issues that the literature identified for each objective. These issues will then be identified in the data and discussed.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter summarises the key findings of the study and links them back to the research objectives. The limitations of the research are acknowledged and recommendations for future research provided.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a literature review of the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the contribution of political humour to democratic culture (section 2.2). This is followed by a discussion of the discursive function of parody and the new media environment (section 2.3). In section 2.4 an overview of the case study LNN is provided.

In Section 2.5 the concept of representation is briefly discussed in terms of the key issues. Representation is a key concept in the research topic. The semiotic tradition which underlies the analytical approach to this study is discussed as a meaning making method. Section 2.6 is a discussion of the media, democracy and the public sphere. Democracy is also a key concept in the research topic. Four key concepts of democracy are provided, as well as how the public sphere enables the functioning of democracy. The role of the media is discussed, followed by a more detailed discussion of the key concepts of democracy. A historical role of the media in South Africa is provided, followed by a discussion of the concept of the public sphere. Section 2.6 concludes with an alternative view about the role of the media in democracies.

Section 2.7 discusses the relevance of entertainment in politics. It is important to include this discussion because the case study is a political entertainment show. The discussion begins with a historical look at the separation of news and entertainment. This is followed by a discussion of the current media environment. The section ends with a motivation for why entertainment can be considered a source of political engagement. The chapter concludes with a motivation for the relevance of news parody as a research area.

2.2 The contribution of political humour to democratic culture

Hariman (2008: 247) argues that parody and related forms of political humour are essential resources for sustaining a democratic public culture. Regarding how parody is able to do this, Hariman says the following:

'They do so by exposing the limits of public speech, transforming discursive demands into virtual images, setting those images before a carnivalesque audience and celebrating social levelling while decentering all discourses within the 'immense novel' of the public address system.' (ibid)

The major contribution that parody makes to the functioning of a democracy is to expose the limits of public speech while being part of public culture. Hariman (2008: 251) says that parody works in great part exposing what is considered appropriate and rational and revealing it to be foolish, contrived and theatrical. For example, in the Greek tradition where it originated, parody entailed doing mock orations of funeral eulogies, which was one of the most solemn practices of ancient Greece (Hariman 2008: 251). This served to make self-government look ridiculous (Hariman 2008).

In terms of constituting public culture, parody functions on four levels which are doubling, carnivalesque spectatorship, levelling, and transforming the world of speech into an agonistic field of proliferating voices (Hariman 2008). Doubling is whereby ambiguity is introduced into the direct address, so that what seemed to have one meaning can have another meaning (Hariman 2008). For example, when the Republican and the Democratic parties in the United States hold their televised primary debates, news media often fact checks claims made by politicians during these debates. When *The Daily Show* said it was fact checking claims made during the Democratic primary debate, leading candidates Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders got their claims on domestic or foreign policies checked and judged as being true or false. When trailing candidate Martin O'Malley introduced himself and said he was running for President of the United States, the show introduced ambiguity in a humorous way by making it seem like that mundane statement needed to be fact checked. The intended meaning was to show the audience that Martin O'Malley is

considered to be of no importance in the democratic primary race and *The Daily Show* showed mock surprise that such an individual is running for president.

On the function of carnivalesque spectatorship, the parodied object is exposed for ridicule rather than discussed in formal deliberation (Hariman 2008: 255). Continuing the example of Democratic presidential hopeful Martin O'Malley, *The Daily Show* did not consider it worthy to discuss Martin O'Malley's declining poll numbers or how his policies fare compared with the leading contenders. Instead, he was sacrificed as comedic fodder for the viewers who may have declining confidence in his ability to lead.

When exposed through public media with its far reach, parody becomes a social leveller. According to Hariman (2008: 256), for levelling in parodic performance to be fully effective, it may have to be disseminated in the most apolitical form. Take for instance Republican presidential front runner Donald Trump's pandering to the evangelical community at Liberty University in the United States. *The Daily Show* broadcast a clip where Donald Trump quoted a verse from the bible which refers to liberty in a bid to connect it to the values of Liberty University. For a candidate whose controversial comments inspire the most criticism, it was his feeble attempt to connect to an evangelical audience that showed him to be disingenuous and disconnected with his audience.

Hariman (2008) argues that parody advances such a rich conception of the model of democracy being a stage on which citizens participate in the arena of public debate. This is the fourth level of public culture. Often on *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver* the show will run a special segment expose of unethical conduct by pharmaceuticals, tele-evangelists, congressmen and women or sport authorities in dubious stadium building deals. In explaining a parody on commercial enterprises working for capital against the common good shown on *The Onion*, Hariman (2008: 258) says that the parody fulfils two democratic functions: warning against the unbridled power held by corporates while also recognising that they are tied to the fabric of society. The same could be said about the function of the exposes shown on *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*.

This study examines how LNN contributes to democratic public culture in South Africa.

2.3 The discursive function of parody and the new media environment

Baym and Jones (2012:1) argue that parody is playing an increasingly discursive function because of the need to have an alternative to the authoritative, information dissemination role that television plays as well as the need to deconstruct broadcast news. This may be because both news and entertainment are no longer considered separate but are infact maintaining political relevance in today's postmodern environment as evidenced by politicians' appearance on these types of shows sometimes during campaign periods; as well as the extensive political knowledge found among viewers of political satire programmes (Esralew & Young 2012:338). Baym and Jones (2012:6) also state that in addition to the deconstructive function that news parody programmes fulfil, news parody at times performs a constructive role, providing the citizenry with discursive resources often absent in 'real' news. In South Africa it can be seen that high level politicians are open and willing to have an interview with puppeteer Chester Missing despite the puppeteer's obnoxious style of questioning.

A detailed discussion of the historical separation of news and entertainment as well as the new media environment is provided in section 2.7.1 and 2.7.2. However, it is suffice to provide a few introductory remarks. According to Delli Carpini and Williams (2001:163), the first several decades of the twentieth century resulted in economic, technological, political and socio-cultural changes that redefined the roles of the mass media, citizens, and elites. This resulted in, among other things, the news media being separated from entertainment media (Delli Carpini 2001: 164). From the 1980s however new media created an environment that called into question this historical separation of news and entertainment (Delli Carpini 2001). In terms of this new divergence of news and entertainment, not only do journalists, for example British journalist Piers Morgan who frequently moves between news and entertainment (he has been called upon to be a judge on pop cultural show *America's Got Talent*), but

so too are celebrities doing jobs that news journalists do, such as actors Leonardo DiCaprio and Sean Penn who interviewed former president Bill Clinton and Mexican drug lord 'El Chapo' respectively. Furthermore, with the campaign circuit in the United States in full swing, it is commonplace to find presidential hopefuls such as Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, Donald Trump and Rand Paul appear on such shows as *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, *Jimmy Fallon Live*, *Good Morning America* and *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah*. As further testament to the fluidity of news and entertainment, the hosts of these shows are sometimes called upon in news interviews to comment on the primary races, and their opinions may arguably have as much clout as those of politicians, academics and experts.

This study questions how LNN contributes to discussion about South African issues. It further questions the deconstructive and constructive role that the show plays in this regard.

2.4 Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola – an overview

Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola (LNN) was commissioned by independent broadcaster E-TV and started showing on South Africa's screens in 2009. The show gradually gained a loyal viewership and fan base of 51 385 on Facebook (as at 12 November 2013) and 9 246 followers on Twitter (as at 12 November 2013). Furthermore, the show gained an Emmy nomination in the comedy category for the 41st International Emmy Awards held on 25 November 2013 (Jason: 2013), further testament to the show's growing popularity not only locally but abroad as well.

The show aired on both E-TV and its sister station ENCA. It was hosted by comedian Loyiso Gola and directed also by a comedian Kagiso Lediga. It also featured a host of other comedians such as Chester Missing (as a political analyst), David Kibuuka (as foreign correspondent) and Deep Fried Man (who sings the 'morale index' which basically is the show's opinion of both the positive and the bad news that got South Africans talking). The show also featured some other comedians who regularly performed various skits throughout the show.

The show starts with a monologue from the host Loyiso Gola, rounding up some headline features of the week. This is usually followed by a skit to illustrate and invite reflection on one or other topical issue. This usually covers the entire first segment. The second segment features an interview by Chester Missing with any political figure. David Kibuuka also does his 'live' report from a 'foreign location' discussing any matter of international significance. That usually covers the entire second segment. The third segment also starts with a brief monologue from the host, and perhaps another skit to illustrate and invite reflection on the issue. The show then ends with Deep Fried Man singing a 'duet' with a real musician as guest.

On eNCA's website LNN is described as having a 'mad-cap take on South Africa's ever changing political and social landscape' and leaves no sacred cows while poking fun at the South African condition (Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola…).

Compared with *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, LNN does not have as many celebrity interviews and tends mostly to interview politicians. In addition, the interviews are conducted not by the host Loyiso Gola but by Chester Missing. For example, in season 12 Chester Missing interviewed the Deputy Minister of Communications Stella Ndabeni-Abrahams, Democratic Alliance caucus leader Jack Bloom, Economic Freedom Fighters secretary general Godrich Gardee, Democratic Alliance member of parliament Nomafrench Mbombo, Inkatha Freedom Party treasurer general Narend Singh and Zimbabwean politicians Tendai Biti and Jonathan Moyo. In addition to these interviews with politicians Chester also interviewed *Beeld* newspaper editor Adrian Basson, community leader Sindi Khetani, student leader Chumani Maxwell, and University of Cape Town vice chancellor Dr. Maxwell Price. Whenever Chester was not interviewing these guests he was covering events such as the African National Congress birthday bash and the State of the Nation Address from which he would offer his barbed commentary on the state of affairs.

Foreign correspondent David Kibuuka also provided some insightful commentary on international news throughout season 12. David reported from the following countries: 'Paris, France', where he reported on the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks; 'Phillipines', where Pope Francis had gone on a papal visit; 'Democratic Republic of Congo', where there

was civil unrest with President Kabila wanting to stay in power; 'Zimbabwe', from where he reported on President Mugabe's appointment as chairperson of the African Union; 'Shangai, China', where the Argentinian president had gone to ask for money and then proceeded to commit a social media faux pas by tweeting irresponsibly about the Chinese; 'Ukraine' where there was a ceasefire; 'Australia' where the ICC World Cup was taking place; 'Russia', where the Russian opposition leader was shot dead, 'Washington DC, USA' where Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had just addressed congress; another report from 'Washington DC, USA' where the US military was facing an online threat from ISIS; and finally from 'Dubai' which David wistfully declared to be racism free. The reason why the countries he visited are in inverted commas is because David was not really in those countries but only provided his report from the different countries in a typical split screen format that news broadcasters use when speaking to a reporter in another location. As explained in chapter 2, this is part of the parody of late night comedy where satirists mock the conventions of news.

LNN covered quite a number of current affairs issues in season 12. Apart from the current affairs covered by Chester Missing and David Kibuuka, LNN dealt with such topics as the matric results, chaos at Eskom, xenophobic attacks in Soweto and other parts of the country, the Guptagate scandal, racism in schools, the state of the police in South Africa, service delivery protests, the State of the Nation Address, the state of the EFF, the budget speech, the spy cables, parliament shenanigans by Agang, fires that ravaged Cape Town, poo protests in Cape Town, homeless evictions in Johannesburg, and a whole season finale dedicated to Zimbabwean politics.

2.5 Representation

2.5.1 Issues in the theoretical study of representation

Reid in Fourie (2008: ibid) differentiates between representation as an act and representation as a theory. Representation as an act refers to the creation and

production of visual signifiers which refer to something other than the signifiers. Representation as theory is about how the act of representation (the creation and production of signifiers) is defined.

In the field of media studies, visual and textual (spoken or written) representations operate as structured representations of reality or a reality (Reid 2008:199). In representing reality, one of the key issues is whether the signifier stands for or points to the real object (Reid 2008: ibid). The consensus in media studies is that signifiers do not stand for all of reality but that they offer a *mediated* (own emphasis) view of reality. This means that an event depicted on television news, for example, does not represent the whole of the reality of the reported event (Reid 2008:199) but only a *superficial* (own emphasis) and restricted view. Another issue concerning representation is whether the signifier can be considered to be authentic or not. According to Reid (2008), for representations to be credible they must be considered to be authentic. Yet another issue is with the notion of the nature of reality. Scholars are concerned with whether representation is the real object or simply a copy of the real object. According to Greek philosopher Plato, representations lack in truth or 'real' quality (Reid 2008: 205). Plato's judgement on the image as representing reality is that the artist imitates, copies or reproduces the superficial appearances of things, and, although the copy may be considered good, it always lacks prestige (Navarro 2007:105). The fourth and final issue is whether thoughts, daydreams or dreams can be considered mediated representations when translated into visible signs. Reid (2008) states that Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle considered real truth to be the mental images contained in the psyche, however even after the mental images have been signified, they remain a copy and not the 'real' truth.

2.5.2 Hall's definition of representation

Hall (1997: 15) defines representation in as far it connects language and culture. According to Hall (1997), representation means 'using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully, to other people'. Hall's theory is relevant for this study as the purpose for the study is to understand how LNN represents the South African political space to its viewers. Hall says that there are

three approaches to understanding how language is used to represent the world, and these are: reflective, intentional or constructionist. Reflective approach questions whether language simply reflects a meaning which already exists in the world; intentional approach questions whether language expresses only the communicator's intended purpose; and finally, constructionist approach questions whether meaning is constructed in and through language (Hall 1997: ibid). The focus of this study will be more on the constructionist approach which is concerned with the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning, and language operate. The purpose is to find out how LNN as a social commentator, uses representational systems to communicate in some way about the world. Hall's (1997) discussion of representation focuses on what he considers to be the two major variants of the constructionist approach which are the semiotic approach and the discursive approach. Another variant of the constructionist approach identified by Hall is the ideological approach. The focus of the next section is on the semiotic approach as this will be the analytical approach used in this study.

2.5.3 The semiotic approach

According to Reid (2008: 215), the semiotic approach allows for the detailed deconstruction of the representation in order to uncover the sign's various meanings at the connotative, mythical and ideological levels. The representation can be visual, written or verbal, and the analytic tools available to semioticians enable one to delve into the realm of the communication of meaning (Potts cited in Reid 2008:2016).

One of the first theorists to apply theories of representation from a semiotic perspective was French philosopher Roland Barthes. According to Barthes, the sign constituted a number of layers (Reid 2008: 216). The first layer consisted of the signifier and the signified, similar to Swiss linguist De Saussure's conception of a sign. The second layer, argues Barthes, is the sign's mythical level. Barthes' main contribution to the theory of representation is that signs could carry additional meanings separate from their denotative meanings. Barthes showed that second order meanings could be uncovered from mass media texts to reveal their myths at a connotative level. The success of the myth is a factor of the reader's cultural and geographic context (Reid

2008:217). This approach will be utilised in this study to unravel the myths that are perpetuated by LNN and what meaning these myths convey.

2.5.4 Visual semiotics

A distinction can be made between the semiotic tradition which was based on a structural approach (which focused on the sign as an observable phenomenon) and social semiotics (which focuses on how readers can interpret an image using the available resources), Jewitt and Oyama (2004: 134). Social semiotics of visual communication involves the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with those images and how the things people say and do with the images can be interpreted. Iedema (cited in Van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2004:187) discussed the relevance of social semiotics in the analysis of a television documentary on hospitals. Iedema (2004: ibid) states that social semiotics centres on the issue of how the viewer is positioned by the telefilm in question, and how the viewer sees social allegiances and values as being promoted over others. Iedema further states that the aim of social semiotic analysis is to enable [viewers] to question the ways in which the telecinematic text presents 'social reality', and to engage with the medium in a systematic and informed way. In contrast to traditional semiotics, social semiotics does not focus on 'signs' but socially meaningful and entire processes (texts).

2.5.5 Television as representation

Television is a 'text' which can be 'read'. According to Iedema (2004: ibid), texts are marked off by socially recognised beginnings and ends. As already mentioned in 2.5.1 above, visual and textual media representations operate as structured representations of reality or a reality. They are structured representations because they construct time and space and operate according to media conventions.

Television cannot represent reality in its totality because it 'shows as much as is considered artistically or logically necessary' (Iedema 2004: ibid). Television therefore uses specialised techniques such as editing, to construct time and space. These editing techniques have a bearing on how the text is read by the viewer. Social semiotics therefore focuses on those specialised techniques to show what was

considered important or unimportant in the construction of the text. Social semiotics is also crucially concerned with the choices television producers make in relation to the sociocultural fields which they focus on (Iedema 2004: ibid). In chapter 4 of this study, a more detailed explanation of the analytical approach to social semiotics is discussed before it is applied to selected texts from LNN in chapter 5.

2.6 Media, democracy and the political functions of the media

2.6.1 Democracy and the public sphere

2.6.1.1 Defining democracy

White (2008:273) citing Almond (1960) defines democracy broadly as the collective participation of citizens in the process of making public decisions and guaranteeing implementation of those decisions. White (2008: ibid) further adapted Almond's (1960) work and formulated a model of participatory collective decision-making that provides a framework for research on media and democracy. This model comprises component parts. The first component is political socialisation. Political socialisation entails bringing citizens into the democratic political culture of a society through learning political contestation. The role of the media in political and civic socialisation is discussed in more detail in sections 2.6.3 and 2.6.4 below. The second component is constructing the national community. This involves creating a national identity through political communication. The role of the media in creating a sense of national identity is discussed in section 2.6.5 below. The third component is interest articulation. This involves the presentation of the varied proposals of different interest groups for deliberation and decision-making. The fourth component is interest aggregation. This is a deliberative process of reducing the many proposals into a major alternative that in some way represents all the interests. The third and fourth component are discussed in section 2.6.9. The fifth component is authoritative decision-making, which should be done in a way that gains maximum legitimacy among various interests. The sixth component is the implementation of authoritative decision-making. The public must also have the capacity to monitor and evaluate this implementation. The fifth and

the sixth component are discussed in terms of the role of the media in the implementation of democratic decision-making in section 2.6.6.

2.6.1.2 The public sphere

The participation of citizens in the process of decision-making occurs through the public sphere, which according to Habermas (2006:415) acts as an intermediary between formally organised and informal face-to-face deliberations in arenas at both the top and the bottom of the political system. At the top or centre are institutions such as parliament, the courts, administrative agencies, and the government. At the bottom or periphery is the media, consisting of a range of published opinions that have an informative, polemical, educational or entertaining content (Habermas 2006: ibid). Habermas (2006:416) further states that from the spectrum of published political opinions, attitudes to controversial public issues can then be measured through polled opinion.

Journalists and politicians are two important actors within the political public sphere without which the public sphere would not be able to operate. The media therefore has political functions to fulfil within a democracy. These functions are: to inform about political developments; to guide public opinion about political decisions; to express different views about political developments and decisions; and finally to criticise political developments and decisions (Cuilenburg, Scholten and Noomen, cited in Fourie 2007:188). These functions give power to the media in the public sphere, which power is exerted through the selection and processing of politically relevant content which contributes to the formation of public opinion and the distribution of influential interest (Habermas (2006:418). This power also manifests itself in the choice of information and format, in the shape and style of programmes, and in the effects of its diffusion, that is, agenda setting or the priming and framing of issues (Callaghan and Schnell cited in Habermas 2006: ibid). (The power of the media at this level is discussed in a bit more detail in the following subsection on macro and micro perspectives). To enable the media to fulfil its political functions, Fourie (2009:188) states that two conditions must exist: the first is that media policy should ensure media pluralism; and the second is that media content should reflect social plurality. Fourie

(ibid) defines social plurality as the acknowledgement of political, social, cultural and economic differences between people and groups in society. Media pluralism is about the acknowledgement of social plurality; the reflection thereof in a diversity of media content; and the existence of different media to cater for the different groups within society (Fourie: ibid). Fourie (2009:190) states that the media can only play a democratic role only through acknowledging the plurality of political views and tastes.

According to Habermas (2006: 418), to the extent that media power can have democratic legitimacy, it needs to operate within a self-regulating system. This self-regulating system is a function of two factors: how the news agenda is set; and who supplies the content. The way the news agenda is set must reflect social plurality as discussed by Fourie (2009:188). Jarren and Donges (cited in Habermas 2006: ibid) state that in terms of inter-media agenda setting, there is usually a spillover of political news and commentary from prestigious newspapers and political magazines with nationwide circulation into the other media. In terms of supply of content, politicians and political parties are the most important suppliers.

Through a well-functioning media policy and self-regulating system, the media functions as a forum for discussion and debate (Dennis and Synder 1998: 11). The media is indispensable to a democratic society because it provides a service to the people by informing them responsibly, challenging those in power and being able to communicate and maintain social relations between social groups effectively (Toralieva, 2009; Dennis and Synder: ibid). By creating common experiences, offering shared symbols and giving the public a sense of contact with their leaders, the media offer a reminder of national identity (Dennis and Synder: ibid).

2.6.2 The media in democratic and nondemocratic regimes: the micro and macro perspectives

Gunther and Mughan (2000: 1) refer to two perspectives- the micro level and macro level perspectives through which the media influences the political process. According to Gunther et al (2000: ibid), the media influence citizens' attitudinal and behavioural

orientations towards politics on the *macro* level. The media serve as a mechanism of control and integration, functioning both as a means of transmission and reinforcement of the social consensus and as a means of inducing social change (Klapper et al cited in Adoni 1979:86). In authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, the media have been depicted as manipulative and subversive of individual freedom and political choice while in democracies they have been viewed as guarantors of political liberties and government accountability. To ensure that political information disseminated by the mass communication media serves to curtail government power, the constitutions of most democracies guarantee freedoms such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly which allows for a diversity of political communications. Also in the interests of media pluralism, legal frameworks are established to promote and sustain a number of media forms and outlets. Democracy is therefore further enhanced by the free flow of information allowed by the media pluralism. Gunther et al acknowledge that the view of the media as contributing to a healthy democracy is more an ideal than a reality that has been fully realised. However, for the purposes of this chapter, the distinction between media and regime type will suffice.

On a *micro* level, Gunther and Mughan (2000: 16) state that the initial fear over the power of the media to influence individual-level behaviour and attitudes such as was characteristic during the interwar period in Western Europe when dictators used the relatively new medium of radio by manipulating the flow of information has since subsided. Initial empirical research had dismissed the totalitarian potential of the media to manipulate citizens' attitudes and behaviours, and found in fact that individuals' attitudes and values were likely to be reinforced rather than changed by media exposure. However, these findings too came under further scrutiny and further research was conducted. Gunther et al state that the media, particularly television, have come to be recognised for their contribution to persuasion as well as learning. Research has shown that the mass media fulfil psychosocial needs of individuals (Katz et al cited in Adoni 1979:87). The media have also come to be recognised for their subtle, indirect effects that nonetheless amount to political persuasion.

Three effects in particular that the media have on a micro level are worth noting here as they form part of the theoretical framework of this study. The first is agenda-setting, whereby the media influences individuals' political agendas by setting the agenda of what they should be thinking about. The second is priming, whereby the media isolates particular issues, events or themes in the news as criteria for evaluating [politicians] in order to 'prime' the responses of citizens to [politicians]. A third type of media effect is framing. Gunther and Mughan (2000: 17) explain that the manner in which news stories allocate responsibility for action or inaction on issues, for example by allocating responsibility to individual rather than social causes, greatly influences individuals' attitudes towards the issue.

2.6.3 The function of the television medium in the political socialisation process

In the preceding section the power of the media in so far as it influences public opinion and distributes influential interests; as well as its influence on the macro and micro-level of society has been briefly discussed. The influence of the media in the political or democratic process can be broken down into component parts which are political socialisation; constructing national community; interest articulation; interest aggregation; authoritative decision-making; and implementation of authoritative decision-making. In each of these components a form of communication is central to the democratic process (White 2008: 273). Particular attention will be paid to the political socialisation influence of television, the civic socialisation aspects of the media in Africa, the influence of the media in building a sense of national identity, and finally the influence of the media in the implementation of authoritative decision-making.

Political socialisation can be defined as 'the process of induction into the political culture, the end product of which is a set of attitudes – cognitions, values and feelings – toward the various parts of the political system' (Almond and Easton cited in Adoni, 1979: 84). Kononova, Ahabash and Cropp (2011: 302), citing several authors, also concur with this definition, and describe it as 'a process by which people acquire political knowledge, norms, values, attitudes and learn about political

behaviours…which behaviour provides a stimulus for change and the underpinning of stability'. In a study about Britain's news environment, Semetko (cited in Gunther and Mughan 2000: 355) found that as far back as the 1959 elections, when television was still a relatively new medium, television exposure was shown to have a direct effect of improving the voters' level of political knowledge. Semetko in Gunther et al (2000: ibid) also noted that in that year, television exposure did little to change voters' issues agenda, a finding which remained consistent even in the 1990s due in part to the failure of television to set the public's issue agenda (Semetko cited in Gunther et al 2000: 363). In another study about the functions of mass media in the political socialisation of adolescents, Adoni (1979: 91) found that the media directly contribute to the development of political values. Adoni (1979:92) also found that the degree of importance attached to both civic and national values is positively connected with preference for informative television and radio programmes and news and commentary features in newspapers. Further, the researcher's results indicated that newspapers, television and radio are 'chiefly perceived as useful for the development of civic attitudes towards the political system…'Chaffee, Nas and Yang (1990:277) found in their research on the bridging role of television in immigrant political socialisation that US television news significantly and positively related to both US political knowledge measures and discussion of US politics. Chaffee et al (1990: ibid) also found that television is the critical medium for US political socialisation, while newspapers are the significant predicator of ethnic political socialisation.

With regards to concern about mass media having a negative effect of contributing to what is known as media malaise (or video malaise in reference to television in particular), Newton (1999:594) found that television has a *mobilising* rather than a *demobilising* effect, and finds further evidence to support Chaffee et al (1990: ibid) that television news increases political knowledge. Research by Kononova et al (2011:316) also largely confirmed television as increasing internal efficacy.

In terms of contribution to democracy, television gives people 'an opportunity to maintain the equilibrium between participation and passivity'; Dlutsky (n.d.) further states that through the presentation of a wide variety of issues, television helps people consider in what particular ways they can participate. This participation in turn helps

in broadening a sense of group identity, which is especially significant for young people when they are establishing some kind of political orientation Dlutsky (ibid). Dlutsky goes on to say that political television is important in maintaining the power of elites and their responsiveness to influence from non-elites. From the vantage point of the elite, considered public opinion sets the frame for what Habermas 2006:418) calls a 'range of what the public of citizens would accept as legitimate decisions in a given case', while for the non-elites, considered public opinion present plausible alternatives for what counts as a reasonable opinion on public issues. In terms of democracy having 'rules' by which certain players must partake – the players being government, civil society and the public, and the rules being an equitable distribution for means to influence public opinion – political television plays a key part (Habermas 2006, Dlutsky [n.d]).According to Dlutsky (n.d.), political television help to maintain the equilibrium between passivity and participation by presenting an image of an issue and showing how each issue is being handled by the main political forces.

However, the political socialisation aspect of television is also viewed negatively in terms of the theory of hegemony. According to Dlutsky (n.d.) the political effect of socialisation is based on the assumption that political power is unequally distributed and that political television plays a part as an instrument of hegemony propaganda which ensures that political demands are met in such a way that is favourable to the ruling class or elites.

2.6.4 The role of the media in civic socialisation in Africa

According to Bratton, Mattes and Boadi (2005:203), an individual or society's awareness of public affairs as determined by their education, media exposure, information, interest, and personal efficacy will have important effects on the expression of public opinion. Bratton et al (2005:208) further state that whatever their level of education, Africans enjoy unprecedented opportunities for awareness of a wider world because of the global communications revolution. Congruent with the general political functions of the media discussed earlier, news bulletins and other

public affairs programmes play several roles including 'making people aware of the issues confronting government; helping to set an agenda for national development by raising the salience of particular policy issues; priming the general public to lean one way or another on these issues; increasing or reducing the perception of risks; and aiding the mass political learning about the operations of state and market institutions' (Bratton et al 2005:209).

In terms of exposure to media that has the potential to help the public form their political and economic attitudes, Bratton et al (2005: 209) found that radio by far exceeds other media as the principal source of information about public affairs. The authors also found that due to the decline in the circulation of newspapers and an accompanying spread of electronic communications, residents of African cities are more likely to obtain their daily news from television rather than from a newspaper.

Bratton, Mattes and Boadi (2005:210) state that regular consumption of news reports is associated with popular awareness of both democracy and adjustment. Because television news is more easily susceptible to government control than newspapers, reading newspapers has more impact on democratic attachments than watching television news (Bratton et al 2005: ibid). According to White (2008:276), this finding by Bratton et al suggests that the use of media in Africa is the 'single most important factor in active, knowledgeable capacity to participate in democratic governance'. Bratton et al (2005:234) further found that the consumption of all types of news media, notably newspapers, radio and television, increases the extent to which people perceive corruption. This may lead to citizens becoming advocates of reform as a means of combating corruption (Bratton et al 2005:235).

2.6.5 The role of the media in building a sense of national identity

Earlier reference was made to the fact that the media offer a reminder of national identity by creating common experiences, offering shared symbols and giving the public a sense of contact with their leaders (Dennis and Synder 1998: 11). White (2008: 280) states that 'nationalism cultivates a sense of working with others in

interdependence so that the promotion of the welfare of the nation promotes the welfare of each and all who live in the nation'. The mass media is expected to be a major factor in the promotion of nationhood. Hyden and Okigbo (cited in White 2008: ibid), offer five roles of the media, particularly the press, in the process of nation building and strengthening national identification. The process of nation building and strengthening national identification coincided with the period when African states began to gain independence from their colonial masters. Independence leaders quickly realised that the press was a better medium for communicating the goals and policies of the new nation (White 2008: 281). According to White (2008: 282), in order to help form national identity, the press, firstly, provided a common language for an emerging community of young educated Africans who were trying to carve out professional roles for themselves in a field dominated by expatriates. Secondly, the press provided a forum for independence leaders to de-legitimise the colonial governments. Thirdly, before and after independence, the print media introduced a discursive practice that gradually sketched out an African model of modernity. Fourthly, independence leaders began to formulate the principles of conduct that Africans would be expected to live up to in an African nation. Finally, the print media placed emphasis on charting a course of self-determination and self-reliance.

2.6.6 The role of the media in the implementation of democratic decision making

According to Carey et al (cited in White 2008:309), the role of the media in the democratic process is 'to act as a trustee of the public to continually monitor and evaluate whether the government is implementing the legislation and providing the services that this legislation implies.' White (2008: ibid) states that the media in Africa have been struggling since independence with how to exercise this trustee role. A fine balance needs to be created between, firstly, editorial independence, secondly, responsible journalism that not only criticises the government but also supports its programmes, and thirdly, setting the agenda for debate on how democracy should work.

White (2008: ibid) discusses four phases in the development of free and independent media in Africa. The first phase is the 1960-1980 period, where the media was content with a focus on development journalism. This period was characterised with the beginning of democracy as African states gained independence. The newly independent states were not comfortable being challenged on their policies, and, through coercion (closing down newspapers [Hyden, Leslie and Ogundimu 2002:39]), persuasion (taking over state monopoly of radio [Hyden et al: ibid]) or whatever means was necessary, created an atmosphere for a pliant media that was increasingly parochial and not critical in its style of reporting. Thus the media became pliant and was an instrument of political propaganda (Hyden et al 2002:39).

The second phase was the 1980s, when the public began to look to the media to support its moves against autocratic governance, and media professionals were trying to respond to their critical role. According to White (2008: 310) the period of the 1980s was 'a period of great economic hardship in Africa, and the emerging middle class were deeply dissatisfied with the fumbling governance of the period.' The middle classes were frustrated with the increasingly repressive power of the new nation states that made critical discourse within the public sphere much more difficult. In the francophone countries such as Benin, Niger, Congo, Mali, Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of Congo, members of the elite class as well as intellectuals began to gather together in so-called 'national conferences' to begin a new political dialogue (Hyden et al 2002: 42). In the Anglophone countries such as Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Uganda, democratisation efforts took the form of broad based constitutional reform programmes with input from the people at grassroots level (Hyden et al: ibid). White (2008: ibid) further states that the journalism schools established around that period began to graduate students more skilled in the 'trustee journalism' tradition. Also in this period African journalism began to develop its own style of flamboyant investigative journalism that uncovered corruption, clientelism and inefficiency of their regimes (White 2008: ibid). A case in point is a Zimbabwean daily's exposure in 1988 of widespread corruption and fraud among high ranking government officials related to the illegal resale of automobiles from the Willowvale Motor Plant based in the capital Harare. The exposure by *The Chronicle*

became known as the 'Willowgate scandal' (the suffix –gate being in reference to the Watergate scandal of the United States which brought down President Richard Nixon and by which most political scandals are now known). The discovery resulted in the resignation of five cabinet members, one of whom committed suicide (Chivara 2013).

The third phase was the 1990s, when governments were learning to accept independent media, and the media were developing far greater competence in their trustee role. According to Ogbondah (cited in White 2008: 313), the period of the 1990s was marked by three major changes which enabled the media to perform its evaluative role. The first of these was the removal of the one party state and president for life provisions and the introduction of multi-party elections, which implied free public debate of political issues. The second was the limitation of state of emergency limitations, which always included measures to limit media freedom. The third major change was the opening up of licences for all types of independent media. White (2008:314), citing Gyimah-Boadi, further states that the media's role in evaluating government service delivery was aided by the growth of civil society whose independent voice the media relied on. However, from a broadcasting perspective, observers noted that the liberalisation of the airwaves was limited to advertising and superficial news (White 2008: ibid).

The fourth phase is the 2000s, when the media have begun to play a much more significant role as the fourth estate in African countries. According to White (2008: 315), the rapid increase in investment in commercial media and a great diversity of newspapers, broadcasting networks, and Internet providers by African entrepreneurs has enabled the media to become a forum for public debate about governance. The diversity of media is felt more acutely in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya which have a more highly developed economy, but even countries like Tanzania with smaller economies are developing media penetration wise (White 2008: ibid). A major challenge within this period is the concentration of ownership of media houses to a few businessmen who themselves have close links to the ruling elite, making any serious criticism of the government nearly impossible (White 2008: ibid). However, the support of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), as well as other foundations make investigative reporting still possible in African newsrooms (White 2008: ibid).

Eighty-three percent foreign shareholding in the *Daily News* of Zimbabwe at the time of its launch in 1999 made it possible for the newspaper to become 'the most strident critic of the Mugabe government, exposing corruption and holding the government accountable to its actions' (Moyo 2005:113). The paper stimulated nationwide debate on constitutional reform, and greatly influenced the defeat of the state-sponsored draft constitution in the 2000 referendum (Moyo 2005: ibid). Furthermore, the paper exposed state-sponsored violence, abuse of power, and electoral fraud in both the 2000 parliamentary elections as well as the 2002 presidential elections.

Weeklies such as the *Mail & Guardian* in South Africa which have a dedicated investigative team known as *Amabhugane*, make it possible for the newspaper to expose well researched incidences of government incompetence. The *Sunday Times* also of South Africa normally also carries out thorough investigations of government incompetence, fraud, and corruption and can possibly claim some credit in the fall from grace of some government ministers as Dina Pule and former police commissioner Jackie Selebi, among other top government officials. Television news current affairs programmes such as *3rd degree*, *Carte Blanche* and *Special Assignment* and other programmes which are not investigative type in nature but have live in-studio guests where politicians and public officials submit themselves to an aggressive line of questioning evident in programmes such as *The Justice Factor* and *Interface*, have also covered widespread corruption in government as well as in the public sector. These efforts have the effect of enhancing the legitimacy of the media and making it more difficult for public officials to act as if they were above the law (Hyden et al 2002:48). All this provides evidence of the media growing in its trustee role.

2.6.7 The historical role of the media in democratic South Africa

From the discussion above concerning the influence of the media in macro and micro contexts it can be seen that the media, particularly television, - operating in a free libertarian environment underscored by democratic principles -, could be credited for political knowledge and internal efficacy among citizens in established democracies.

However, when it comes to emerging democracies such as in Africa, the effect or role of the media in enhancing democracy is not so linear as a number of other factors impact on the media's role to enhance the concept of democracy in a meaningful way. Issues to do with access to the media, exposure to types of media, the legislative framework in which the media operates, ownership of the media and different interpretations of the role of the media all impact on the media's ability to enhance democracy. Some of these concepts will now be discussed.

2.6.7.1 The legislative framework

In Wasserman and Garman (2014: ibid) the authors state that freedom of expression in South Africa as well as freedom of the media were guaranteed in the Bill of Rights which rights were enshrined in the first democratic constitution of 1996. This was the most important legislative change influencing the operation of the media (Oosthuizen et al in Wasserman and De Beer 2007:37). Johnson and Jacobs (cited in Wasserman and De Beer 2007: ibid) state that these changes formed part of a general liberal media consensus that emphasised independence of the media from government and a free-market environment in which the media should conduct its business. This libertarian approach was not without its challenges, as will now be explained.

As the legislative environment became freer with the implementation of the Bill of Rights, the South African media was, in the new democratic dispensation, expected to reposition itself towards civil society as opposed to the previous regime where certain sections of the media had aligned themselves to the apartheid regime (Wasserman and Garman 2014:2). The implications for democracy have not been as expected as a result of two factors: the first being that South Africa is still considered an emerging rather than an established democracy; and second, the implications for media practice of the value of democracy (Malila, Oelofsen, Garman and Wasserman 2013: 417).

Regarding the fact that South Africa is still an emerging rather than an established democracy, Mattes (cited in Malila et al 2013: 417) says that the contribution that the mass media made in established democracies in terms of civil and political

socialisation and increasing political knowledge and internal efficacy cannot be matched with those in South Africa. According to Matthes, education or news media use has *not* been shown to have any positive impact on the attitudes of young South Africans in terms of political interest and discussion, political knowledge, or the extent to which young people believe their voices are heard outside of elections. With regards to the issue of the implications of media practice of the value of democracy, Nyamnjoh (cited in Malila et al 2013: ibid) states that the view of democracy as contributing to such things as democracy education and enabling civic action assumes or ignores the fact that such a potential of the role of the media in Africa is limited by unequal access to wealth and power which in turn have implications for access to the media. Therefore, argues Nyamnjoh, media practitioners in African newsrooms are often faced with a conflict regarding the libertarian views of democracy often expressed as an individualist emphasis on the independence of the media, against the imperative of remaining loyal to ethnic/cultural communities where alternative ideas of personhood and agency manifest (Malila et al 2013: ibid).

2.6.7.2 Ownership and editorial shifts

According to Wasserman and De Beer (2007: 38), 'democratisation brought a move away from largely white-owned media under apartheid', and [newspaper titles] that were responsible for critical journalism during the apartheid period were taken up into the mainstream print media. The changes have *not* enhanced democracy in any meaningful way as the media industry operates according to free-market principles while the market segmentation largely mirrors the societal polarisations of the apartheid period (Wasserman et al 2007: ibid). These changes have also impacted the media in ways that raises questions of whether the media has indeed 'broadened the public sphere to encourage a more participatory, democratic exchange of perspectives' (Wassermann et al: ibid). Of concern to Wasserman and De Beer is that the print media in South Africa has been opened up to global competition due to a foreign media group taking ownership of a series of black newspaper titles. As a result, commercial, rather than editorial concerns drives the agenda of the newsroom and a general tendency to resort to tabloid journalism has taken over. Despite a racial transformation of the owners and editorial staff, this has not impacted on the quality of

news as the newspaper titles still operate under the same market principles (Wasserman et al 2007: 39). Another effect of the commercial driven nature of the media is that it positions the public as *consumers* rather than as *citizens*, and this distinction has implications for how the public can in fact participate in democratic processes (Wasserman et al 2007: ibid). Wasserman and De Beer suggest broadening a range of channels through which information can be distributed, which could contribute to a more open society and help to strengthen democracy.

2.6.7.3 Media ethics and professionalization of the media industry

In the apartheid dispensation the media was very heavily regulated by the apartheid government. However, with the new democratic dispensation, bodies such as the Press Ombudsman and the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) began to represent a fundamental shift from government regulation to self-regulation (Wasserman and De Beer 2007:40). Two perspectives guide the thinking about the media's role in a self-regulating environment. The first is the functionalist perspective. According to Christians and Nordenstreng (cited in Wasserman et al 2007: ibid), self-regulation leads to greater professionalism of the journalism industry which in turn has the potential to bring 'social cohesion and new morality' to the project of modernisation. However, from another perspective, the critical perspective, 'professionalism holds the danger of entrenching "narrow and elitist interests" that are oriented towards market-led conceptions of the public', Wasserman et al (2007: ibid). This compromises the media's ability to enhance democracy. Wasserman and De Beer suggest that the 'ethical norms that govern post-apartheid media [be] aimed towards transformation of the industry and society at large, by enabling citizens and communities to participate in the democratic process…' (2007).

2.6.7.4 Interpretations of the role of the media: national versus public interest

Yet another challenge that affects South African media's role to enhance democracy and improve the internal efficacy and political knowledge of citizens is the interpretations of what role the media should be playing in a democracy. Two central concepts emerged in media debates in the early years after democracy, and these are

national interest as well as public interest. As was typical of newly independent states, the South African government was concerned about the media's 'reluctance to embrace the concept of national interest', Wasserman et al (2007:45). The government defined national interest as 'the aggregate of things that guarantee the survival and flourishing of a nation-state and nation' (Netshitenzhe cited in Wasserman et al 2007: ibid). By extension then, the national interest is 'circumscribed by a democratically elected government'. However, argues Wasserman and De Beer, the media did not accept the concept of *national interest* as an adequate description of its role in post-apartheid South Africa and instead asserted its role as being in the service of the *public interest*. From a functionalist perspective the media's interpretation of its own role was in line with the professional role adopted since the end of apartheid and which the media saw as being a defender of the public's interest in the face of possible abuse of government power (Wasserman et al 2007: ibid). However, from a critical perspective the media's public interest role would have to be critiqued against how it facilitates democratic participation and its own political role; as well as its relationship with government and capital (Wasserman et al 2007: ibid).

2.6.8 Criticism of Habermas' theory of the public sphere

At the beginning of this section on media and democracy, the role of the media was discussed from a Habermasian view of the public sphere. The public sphere was described as a space provided by the media for citizens to participate in the democratic processes (Habermas 2006:415). This public sphere functions as an intermediary between citizens and government.

However, Habermas' account of the public sphere is criticised for being idealistic. Scholars such as Joan Landes, Mary Ryan and Geoff Eley (cited by Fraser 1990:59) argue that despite the rhetoric of publicity and accessibility, the official public sphere rested on a number of significant exclusions which included gender exclusions as well as exclusions rooted in processes of class formation. For example, the growth of the civil society - marked by emerging voluntary societies which formed the power base

for a class of bourgeois men preparing themselves to govern - was in fact very exclusionary (Fraser 1990: 60). Fraser also criticises Habermas for his failure to examine other, non-liberal, non-bourgeois, competing public spheres. Examples of these competing public spheres found expression in creation of access routes to public political life by North American women; building counter civil societies constituted by women only; and participating in supporting roles in male dominated working class protest activities. Habermas' conception of the public sphere is therefore seen as 'a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule' (Fraser 1990:62).

With regard to criticism of Habermas' conception of the public sphere and that it rested on a number of significant exclusions which ends up marginalizing certain voices and limiting understanding, Dahlberg (2005:116) argues that this is not necessarily a reading of Habermas' conception. Using forms of discourse as a point of departure, Dahlberg (2005 :115) argues that despite critics arguing that aesthetic-affective modes of communication (which include rhetoric, myth, metaphor, poetry, theatre and ceremony) were devalued in Habermas' conception, the public sphere conception does make room for such (Dahlberg 2005:116). Dahlberg (2005: ibid) argues that the misreading of Habermas' concept [of communicative rationality] is based on liberals' 'rationalist' reading of Habermas' concept which are in fact in contradiction to Habermas' concept, if the public sphere is seen as a space that embrace differences through argument. However, despite much criticism, Habermas' concept of the public sphere remains one of the more popular starting points for researchers' theoretical understanding of the political system (Fraser 1990; Dahlberg 2005).

2.6.9 An alternative view about the role of media in democracies

Curran (2007:34) has for some time argued against what he describes as a 'pious, and fossilised' traditional theory of the democratic role of the media that is detached from the realities of contemporary life. In Curran (2007) and in Curran (2010), the author offers the same argument against the theory of the democratic role of the media

in a democracy. Curran (2007:34) argues that this traditional theory which is based on Habermas' concept of the public sphere downplays the role of social groups, political parties, civil society, ideology and globalisation; and also that it is very narrowly concerned with political journalism, and has little to say about the democratic functioning of fiction and entertainment. In Curran (2010:54), the author also argues that the idea that democracy consists of only the government, the media, and the public ignores or discounts the role that political parties and civil society have in the functioning of contemporary democracy. Curran states that political parties and civil society aggregate interests, develop political programmes, and define electoral choices (ibid). Thus, Curran advocates for a more inclusive role of the media in a democracy, a media that serves as mouthpieces of collective organisations and communities of interest in order to foster dialogue and solidarity in society (ibid).

In terms of the role of the media as agents of monitoring of (political) power, Curran (2007: 35) says that 'concentration on institutionalised political power can lead to neglect of other forms of power – economic, social, and cultural – that can also restrict'. Curran also argues that the rise of international regulatory authorities; continental structures and trading arrangements; global financial markets; and transnational corporations, means the traditional watchdog function of the media needs to understand the changing power structures, as well as to act as a mediator for whistle-blowers, dissenting elite members, and civil society (among other independent players), rather than as a substitute for them (Curran 2007: ibid).

Curran (2007:36) also criticises the traditional view of the role of the press which claims that the 'media's provision of information and debate enables a public consensus to emerge that guides the direction of society'. To this, Curran says that real differences do exist in politics and it is the role of the media to reveal these conflicts and debate them as the 'value of dissent lies at the heart of free societies'. Curran also puts forward an argument for partisan journalism, which he sees as making an important contribution to the functioning of democracy as it 'offers a way in which reality can be interpreted from the viewpoint of different social and political groups' (Curran 2007: 37).

However, as much as Curran argues for partisan journalism, he also argues for a media that encourages conciliation by promoting a search for compromise (Curran 2007:38). This means that different media can have different functions to fulfil in promoting democracy. Core media, such as mass television channels and local monopoly dailies should promote the following core values: civility, empathy, mutuality, objectivity, public benefit, and democratic efficacy (Curran 2007: ibid). Curran also adds to this list social integration.

With regard to the traditional view of the media as a vertical channel of communication between private citizens and government, Curran (2007: 41) makes a case for conceiving of the media as generating 'multidirectional flows of communication and influence within the democratic system'. These multidirectional flows help to 'sustain adequate levels of political information and participation and strengthen civil society', among other things.

Media fiction and entertainment, both of which are excluded in the traditional view of the democratic role of the media, are seen as vehicles through which social identities are transmitted and confirmed. Curran (2007: 43) argues that social groups transmit their values through the medium of entertainment, which greatly influences the culture of a nation. What is normally considered 'soft' journalism or fiction can be viewed as contributing to social conversations about common social processes and the rules that govern them. This contributes to the democratic role of the media because it enables sub-cultural groups to find expression (Curran 2007:45).

2.7 The relevance of entertainment in politics

Curran (2010) provides at least four ways in which entertainment can make politics more meaningful or better understood. According to Curran (ibid), political parties often have to aggregate both economically based and value-based groups in order to optimise votes, and entertainment offers a flexible exploration of the moral and emotional deep structures that underpin politics. Young (2013: 32) agrees that political entertainment can make politics more meaningful by 'empowering people with ways

to identify and create their own emotional connections to the substantive political issues of the day.' The second way that Curran (2010) identifies as another way that entertainment contributes to the political process is by contributing to the formation, maintenance and reformation of social identity. Because social identity is fluid, people's interests are influenced by the interests of the group they identify with, and therefore political parties have changed their electoral appeal strategies by attempting to connect to changed social identities. The third way that entertainment influences politics is by offering cognitive maps which help people make sense of the reality around them. The way issues of national importance are framed in news reporting as well as other less intensive genres like comedy and drama influences people's understanding of the world. The fourth way that entertainment influences politics is through contributing to a dialogue about social norms. For example, people's attitudes towards the role of women in society and towards homosexuals have changed or are changing (through enactment of laws or through socialisation) and the media is a participant in this change.

Political communication scholars are increasingly acknowledging that the historical separation of entertainment and news is obsolete, as both maintain political relevance in today's postmodern media environment (Esralew and Young 2012:338). That the two were considered separate entities was in fact a socially constructed distinction maintained through a set of institutional structures and processes (Delli Carpini & Williams 2001:167). Holbert (2005: 436) says that the study of entertainment television as part of political communication scholarship is relevant because the messages being offered via entertainment outlets are qualitatively distinct from those provided in news. For example, the satirical political messages being offered via entertainment outlets like *The Tonight Show, The Simpsons, Saturday Night Live,* or *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* 'are explicit examples of how audience members come into contact with entertainment-based political messages that are distinct from the storylines derived from traditional news conventions' (Holbert 2005:438). However, other entertainment media, not necessarily rich in political content, may also provide political knowledge and /or create awareness about political issues.

2.7.1 A historical look at the separation of news and entertainment

According to Delli Carpini & Williams (2001: 163), the 'distinction between news and entertainment can be traced in large part to the first several decades of the twentieth century, when economic, technological, political, and sociocultural changes redefined the roles of the mass media, citizens, and elites'. In the political and economic realm, [American] life was becoming increasingly centralised and nationalised, which resulted in tensions between the economic, entertainment and civic goals of the media (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). In the socio-cultural realm, social science research was beginning to indicate concerns about the stability of democratic systems and the civic capacity of citizens (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). The public was increasingly seen as a disengaged mass susceptible to manipulation.

Delli Carpini and Williams (2001: 164) further state that, as a result of the technological, economic and cultural changes discussed in the previous paragraph, there emerged three ways of conceptualising and theorising about the media. The first was that the news media were separated from entertainment media, with the news media being viewed as responsible for fulfilling the media's civic function (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). Secondly, within the news media, 'fact became distinguished from opinion, and news reporting increasingly strove to be accurate, objective, and balanced' (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). Thirdly, 'the public was distinguished from media professionals and policy experts, with the former viewed as passive, easily manipulated consumers of information, and the latter as information gatekeepers who took primary responsibility for determining and representing the public interest' (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid).

2.7.2 The media environment from the 1980s to date

According to Delli Carpini and Williams (2001: 166), the media environment has been changed by the proliferation of VCRs and remote television controls, cable and satellite television, the internet and horizontal and vertical integration of the media through conglomerates, among other things. These changes have an influence on the type of information available, the speed at which it is available, and the speed at which

it is distributed. It also leads to a convergence of types of media, ownership of media, and media genres (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid).

Delli Carpini and Williams (2001: ibid) argue that the new media are creating an environment that is increasingly incompatible with the institutional structures and processes that maintained the distinction in the first place. The division of media organisations into separate news, entertainment and sports divisions has become more porous, with journalists moving freely between both types of media and developing celebrity status (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). Well known British journalist Piers Morgan is one example of the fluidity of journalists, as he frequently moves between being a newsman and being judge or guest in pop culture reality shows such as *America's Got Talent* and *Celebrity Apprentice*. Furthermore, the economic changes have resulted in news media being seen as potential sources of revenue (as opposed to just performing a public duty), and the downsizing of news organisations makes it increasingly difficult for news media to perform their journalistic function with the same diligence as in the past (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid).

The new media environment has implications for the social and political environment. Socially, power is shifting from information elites; that is journalists, policy experts, public officials and academics, although it is not clear to whom the power is shifting (Delli Carpini and Williams 2001: 167). Politically, there is evidence that new or marginalised groups, as well as non-political media, are playing a role in setting and framing the public agenda (Delli Carpini et al 2001: ibid). Nonpolitical media will now be discussed as an alternative source of political engagement.

2.7.3 Entertainment media as an alternative source of political engagement

Dennis and Synder (1998:8) consider the increase in mass media entertainment to be anti-political, because it diverts the public's attention from 'real-world' matters that inevitably carry political content. They argue that mass media can support democracy only through information and ideas, both of which are now being supplanted in favour of entertainment. Indeed, even news media devote increasing proportions of their output to soft news and entertainment (Curran 2010:38). However, the increase in

entertainment mass media content does not necessarily mean that audiences are being deprived of 'real world' matters that 'carry political content' as Dennis and Synder argue (1998: ibid). One needs only to note the preponderance of political entertainment content (print, visual, audio-visual) (see Hariman 2008: 248) to support Esralew and Young (2012:338)'s observation already noted earlier in this essay that news and entertainment are no longer considered separate but are in fact maintaining political relevance in today's postmodern environment.

Holbert (2005:443) offers a useful typology for the study of entertainment television and politics. This typology consists of nine dimensions which include entertainment talk-shows; soft news; entertainment television events; fictional political dramas; political docudramas; reality-based programming/documentaries; traditional satire; satirical situation comedies; and lifeworld content. The content of these shows differs in the amount of political content and range from primarily political to having secondary socio-political ramifications. Particular attention will be given to reality television, talk shows, fictional political drams and traditional satirical content.

2.7.3.1 Reality television as a source of political engagement

Van Zoonen (2004:39) takes issue with the common understanding of television being a medium detrimental to the maintenance and encouragement of political citizenship. Van Zoonen argues for the political relevance of participatory television genres such as *Big Brother* and *Pop Idol* (American pop culture shows both of which have South African versions) and draws similarities between the fan communities around entertainment 'genres' and the political constituencies around candidates, parties or ideologies. Among some of the harmful roles of television in politics that Van Zoonen (2004:42) argues *against* are that 'television does not produce adequate knowledge and does not inform citizens satisfactorily; [that] it alienates us from the political process and diminishes our sense of citizenship; [that] it weakens rational public debate; and [that] it fails to provide an awareness of political and social variety'. Van Zoonen (2004: ibid) argues that shows such as *Pop Idol* and *Big Brother* have been 'capable of activating audiences into discussion, participation, creativity, intervention, judging and voting, [all of which] are activities that would qualify as civic competencies

if they were performed in the domain of politics'. Using three analogies between fans and citizens, Van Zoonen (2004:43) demonstrates the role of entertainment and politics in the following way: by first comparing the political constituency and the fan community; secondly by drawing comparisons between fan activity and political activity; and finally by comparing fan investments and civic investments.

Abercrombie and Longhurst (cited in Van Zoonen 2004:44) developed a continuum of audience involvement which Van Zoonen appropriated to the understanding of the relationship between political constituency and fan community. On this continuum are fans, cultists and enthusiasts. Fans can be described as those people who become attached to certain programmes or stars within the context of a relatively heavy media use (Abercrombie and Longhurst cited in Van Zoonen 2004: ibid). These according to Van Zoonen can be compared to the voters of a party or a candidate. Cultists 'meet each other and circulate specialised materials that constitute the nodes of a network' (Abercrombie and Longhurst cited in Van Zoonen 2004: ibid). These according to Van Zoonen can be compared to the members of a political party. Finally, there are enthusiasts, who according to Abercrombie and Longhurst (cited in Van Zoonen 2004: ibid) are based predominantly around activities rather than media or stars. These enthusiasts would be analogous to party representatives in various governing bodies (Van Zoonen 2004: ibid).

With regard comparisons between fan activity and political activity, Van Zoonen (2004: 46) says that the intense individual investment in a text by fans, the way fans participate in communal discussions about a text, as well as the discussion of alternatives that fans would implement if they could have their way are in fact customs that have been laid out as essential for democratic politics. For democratic politics to work it needs to have the same amount of information, discussion and activism that fans employ when engaging with a text.

Finally, with regard fan investments and civic investments, Van Zoonen (2004:47) states that the relation of a fan with his or her favourite object is primarily based on affective identifications. It is also on these affective orientations that political research has found that emotional political motivations are used in the concept of party

identification. Van Zoonen says that election nights, for example, are 'invariably staged as a theatrical climax' and that the scenes of crowds yelling and cheering when a party leader arrives are not so different from the scenes of fans shouting for their favourite sports or movie star. Van Zoonen's main argument therefore is that the relevance of television for politics lies in 'the emotional constitution of electorates which involves the development and maintenance of affective bonds between voters, candidates and parties'.

Other reality-based programs have been analysed for their potential socio-political ramifications. Holbert (2005: 440) cites strands of research that have analysed youth-oriented MTV programmes *The Real World* and *Road Rules* for their messages concerning capitalism, race, and homosexuality. Holbert (2005: ibid) also cites research by Eschholz on reality police programmes which revealed that 'the viewing of reality-based crime programs leads to a greater racial divide when assessing attitudes toward the police'.

2.7.3.2 Talk shows as a source of political engagement

Semetko and Scammell (2012: 13) cite different strands of research that is indicating that 'under the right conditions and for the right people, politically relevant entertainment media can affect citizens' attitudes, opinions, knowledge and behaviour in much the same way as traditional news and public affairs broadcasting has been found to do'.

For example, with regard to daytime and evening talk shows, as well as infotainment news, Baum (cited in Semetko and Scammell 2012: 13) found that these shows can 'increase awareness about major public issues among citizens who are unmotivated to learn about these issues through traditional news venues'. *Larry King Live* and *Oprah* are examples of talk shows that allow politicians an opportunity to communicate their political convictions in a political setting that is quite distinct from traditional public affairs outlets (Holbert 2005: 447). Baum et al (cited in Semetko et al 2012: ibid) say that watching candidate appearances on shows such as *Oprah* increases the likelihood that viewers will vote for a specific candidate whose stance closely

resembles their own. Other researchers, such as Glynn et al (cited in Semetko et al 2012: ibid) found also with the talk show *Oprah* that exposure to the show 'increases government intervention into the social issues being discussed, even moderating the effects of political ideology on these issues'. Brewer and Cao (cited in Semetko et al 2012: ibid) found in their research that watching presidential candidates on late night talk shows correlates with greater political knowledge.

2.7.3.3 Fictional political dramas as a source of political engagement

The U.S political drama *The West Wing* is an example of a fictional drama grounded in a political setting. *The West Wing* offers audience members 'a combination of political information that is at times overt while also supplying political messages embedded within the program' (Holbert 2005:446). In a study to investigate the potential effects of the U.S. political drama *The West Wing* on individual level perceptions of the U.S. presidency, Holbert, Pillion, Tschida. Armfield, Kinder, Cherry and Daulton (2003:437) found that watching *The West Wing* produced among the viewers, positive images of the U.S. presidency and with the individuals most directly associated with that office, that is George W. Bush and Bill Clinton.

Moy and Pfau (cited in Holbert et al 2003: 430) examined the relationship between prime time entertainment television use and trust in democratic governance and argue that prime time television viewing can have an effect on how much faith individuals place in their representative governmental bodies. Moy and Pfau (cited in Holbert et al 2003: 439) also found in an analysis of the influence of different forms of television use on trust in various democratic institutions, that 'hour-long prime time television dramas [have] a positive effect on individual-level ratings of the competence and character of the U.S. president'.

2.7.3.4 Traditional satire as a source of political engagement

Hollander (cited in Semetko et al 2012: ibid) says that watching late night satirical and political comedy shows can 'increase recognition of political figures and topics, but not recall all of them'. Other strands of research cited by Semetko et al 2012: 14) indicate

that exposure increases political knowledge and shapes evaluations of presidential candidates when they appear on the shows.

Satirical shows such as *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *Saturday Night Live* present political humour to an audience, but audience members play a very active role in determining the true meaning of the humorous stories and anecdotes offered to them (Young cited in Holbert 2005: ibid). The popularity of *Saturday Night Live's* impersonations of former Alaskan governor and vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin resulted in several scholarly studies being done to investigate issues such as the dynamics of parody (Peifer 2013), the influence of parodies on mental models (Esralew and Young (2012), and the negative effects of political parody on the evaluation of politicians (Matthes and Rauchfleish 2013). Analysis of the dynamics of parody in the Sarah Palin impersonations, although considered more aesthetic than critical, more personality-oriented than issue-based, were seen to help to create new and meaningful interpretations of Palin beyond the parameters of immediate "real life" (Peifer 2013: 170).Other effects of exposure to satirical or parodical content are that it improves the cognitive abilities of viewers, as in the findings by Esralew and Young (2012: 338) which indicated that exposure to both the Sarah Palin interview and its parody 'cause[d] viewers to devote more cognitive attention to Palin's intelligence, competence and experience'. Matthes and Rauchfleish (2013:596) found in their study of the negative effects of political parody on the evaluation of politicians that those individuals high in political knowledge had decreased competence rating of politicians. In yet another study on a satirical show, *The Colbert Report*, Brewer, Young and Morreale (2013: 323) found that exposure to satire can influence knowledge, opinion and political trust. These findings indicate that, although considered entertainment and grounded in humour, satirical programmes engage viewers on a cognitive and emotional level and have an impact on their knowledge, opinions and attitudes with regard to political issues.

2.8 The relevance of news parody/political satire as a research area

There are a number of reasons why news parody or satire is worth reflecting on. As already mentioned elsewhere in this essay, the traditional distinction between news and entertainment is becoming obsolete, and political humour is considered an important way of sustaining a democratic public culture. Parody, according to Baym and Jones (2012:4) is a critical means of confronting and deconstructing sources of authority. News, on the other hand, offers those in power an authoritative platform to shape public perceptions (Baym and Jones: ibid). Therefore, *news parody* offers a way to challenge or deconstruct the perceptions of those in authority. News parody offers a way to deconstruct the machinery of news in order to expose the artifice of their 'authority.' It also provides a constructive role by providing a means for citizens to communicate their concerns in a 'less sanitised' way than they would to 'real' journalists (as opposed to the puppet Gabibo in the Italian satirical show *Striscia* or the puppet Chester Missing in LNN), Baym and Jones (2012:6).

News parody offers a critical examination of both the information provided by the real news and the agendas that lie behind or beneath it (Baym and Jones 2012: 5). News parody and similar shows 'present a means through which audiences are invited to reinterpret, ridicule, and challenge the characters that populate citizens' public imaginations'(Baym and Jones 2012:6). Billig (cited in Kuhlmann 2012:298) agrees that the purpose of political humour, in particular caricature, is 'to ridicule and demean those in positions of wealth and power'. Kuhlmann (2012:298) makes reference to recent critical geopolitical work on political humour in Africa which has 'pointed to the importance of cartoons, jokes, and other forms of political satire as aspects of dissent and tools of communication, critical engagement and opposition within the context of a curtailed public sphere and the complex relations of power and resistance'. Political humour is a relevant area of research considering that it is considered a 'crucial means of protest, political communication and expression, enabling ordinary people to voice criticism on social inequalities and political misrule in a subtle manner' (Obadare in Kuhlmann 2012:299).

News parody exposes the broader machinery of public discourse by challenging those who shape public discourse, and also 'encourages and models news ways for people to connect with politics' (Young 2013:28). These new models provide a research opportunity for scholars to examine the effects of political satire such as sharing, play and the generation of a common pop culture experience (Young, Holbert and Jamieson 2013: 3). Sharing is considered a signifier of social dimension and identity construction because the sharer conveys something about themselves while incorporating a cultural text in that construction (Young et al 2013: 3). Another under researched area according to Young et al (2013:4) is with regards the importance of play/emotion/laughter as affective dimensions of engagement. Cues, heuristics, personal traits, interpersonal discussion, and the construction of candidate narratives in the minds of the voter are under researched areas in political effects research. Young et al (2013: ibid) argue that these affective means of engagement enable political concepts and practices to be *reconstituted* (author's emphasis) in the minds of the audience. Parodic texts engage not so much in argumentation but in *redescription* (of a cultural text), an act which Jones (cited in Young et al 2013: ibid) considers to have important consequences, such as cultivating a connection with national politics while also fuelling other democratic outcomes (Young et al 2013: 6). News parody is a relevant research area because it creates a common political pop culture experience which involves an awareness of, and engagement with, the message itself, as well as awareness that the user is sharing in a common cultural experience with others in the social environment (Young et al 2013:6).

The teaching function of parody is also another possible research area. Parodic texts can be considered as teaching tool for media literacy (Gray 2005:223). Gray (2005:227) argues that parody threatens the ideologies that underpin certain genres. Jenkins' (cited in Gray 2005: 227) work on parody has shown that for producers and consumers, 'parody can provoke a heightened form of criticism and analysis of a media text', as well as specialised knowledge of its grammar and ideology. Gray (2005: ibid) further states that successful parody's textual and linguistic power can also become social power, an important aspect of research especially in this study that examines how parody represents democracy.

Another important question when considering the relevance of political satire as a research area is the persuasive effects of political satire. Holbert, Tchenerv, Walther, Esralew and Benski (2013:171) argue that 'coming to an understanding of how audience members perceive political satire can help [to] better identify where citizens position these types of messages in the political media landscape. Holbert et al (2013: ibid) state that questions need to be asked about how consumers of satire perceive there to be persuasive intent, whether they feel influenced by this material, and if they believe satirists are providing strong messages when communicating their points of view.

The challenge in researching news parody is the apparent contradiction in the nature of parody itself and the commoditisation thereof. The nature of parody is that it relies on existing material for it to work. Hutcheon (cited in Druick 2009:302) says that parody's parasitic relation to previous texts means that it's 'transgressions remain authorised - authorised by the very norm it seeks to subvert'. With regard to the commoditisation of parody, Kenny (2009:226) questions the validity of parody when it is dependent on (advertising) sales to make a profit. Boltanksi and Chiapello (cited in Kenny 2009: 226) say that 'cynicism is big business in contemporary Western societies, and where it is mass-marketed and sold for profit the sharp edge of cultural critique is deadened'.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a literature review of the study. Seven key areas were discussed. The first was the contribution of political humour to democratic culture. The second area discussed was the discursive function of parody and the new media environment. The third area was an overview of the case study LNN. The fourth area focussed on representation. The fifth area of focus was on media, democracy and the public sphere. The sixth area of focus was on the relevance of entertainment in politics. The seventh area focused on the relevance of news parody as a research area. In the following chapter, the theoretical framework for the study is provided.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter a literature review of the study was provided. This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study. Four theories were selected for the study. The theories are: agenda setting and priming; framing; social responsibility; and deliberative democratic theory. Of these, agenda-setting, framing and priming have been briefly introduced already in section 2.5.2 above in the discussion of the media in democratic and non-democratic societies. In that section it was stated that agenda-setting, priming and framing together constitute the three effects that the media have on a micro level in democratic and non-democratic societies. According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11), the emerging body of research on priming and framing, for example, were based on the idea that mass media had potentially strong attitudinal effects, but that these effects also depended heavily on predispositions, schema, and other characteristics of the audience that influenced how they processed messages in the mass media. The following discussion summarises the main assumptions of these effects theories, applicability to entertainment media, weaknesses and relevance to this study. The relevance of news parody as a research area and importance to democracy was discussed in chapter one and two. The roles of the media in a democracy are directly tied to the key attributes of the social responsibility theory. News parody needs to work within an ethical framework which falls under social responsibility theory. This chapter links ethical norms for news media to social responsibility. Finally, news parody is quite distinct from traditional (broadcast) news because it encourages viewers to think more critically about the consequences of government action. Examples of how news parody utilises deliberative democratic theory are provided followed by how this theory will be utilised for this study.

3.2 Theories used in the study

3.2.1 Agenda-setting and priming

That the mass media have potentially strong attitudinal effects relates to the power of the media. Before discussing what agenda-setting and priming theory entails, a brief overview of Habermas' views on the power of the media is in order. The discussion of the public sphere in section 2.5.1.2 above provides an overview of Habermas' (2006) views on the power of the media. In that section, it was explained that media power manifests itself in the choice of information and format, in the shape and style of programmes, and in the effects of its diffusion, that is, in agenda setting or the priming and framing of issues. It was also explained in that section that how the news agenda is set and who supplies the content are the two factors that enable media power to have democratic legitimacy. In terms of inter-media agenda setting, Habermas (2006), states that there is usually a spillover of political news and commentary from prestigious newspapers and political magazines with nationwide circulation into the other media. In terms of supply of content, Habermas (2006) asserts that politicians and political parties are the most important suppliers.

The seminal study on agenda-setting is the Chapel Hill study conducted by McCombs and Shaw (1972). Quoting Lang and Lang, McCombs and Shaw (1972: 177), state, with regard to the agenda-setting function of the media, that the mass media force attention on certain issues; they build up images of political figures; and they constantly present objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about and have feelings about. McCombs and Shaw (1972: ibid) further hypothesised that the mass media set the agenda for each (political) campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the (political) issues.

Priming on the other hand refers to changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations (Iyengar & Kinder cited in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007:11). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: ibid) state that priming occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders of governments. Priming is often seen as an

extension of agenda-setting. This is because both theories are based on cognitive mechanisms rooted in associative network models of knowledge storage and retrieval (Anderson cited in Esralew & Young 2012:339), and they work by construct salience, whereby previous knowledge of a construct, together with new knowledge gained on that construct or a related one, increases the salience (importance) of the construct in the mind of the receiver (Esralew & Young: ibid). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: ibid) argue that by making some issues more salient in people's minds (agenda-setting), mass media can also shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about political candidates or issues (priming). Citing Higgins, Bargh, and Lombardi, - Esralew and Young (2012:339), say that the *recency* and *intensity* (author's italics) of an incoming message will enhance its perceived importance, rendering it more salient in the mind of the receiver. Furthermore, the *consistency* (author's italics) of the message ensures that it will be chronically accessed by the receiver and become a prominent node in the individual's schema (Price & Tewksbury cited in Esralew & Young 2012:340).

According to Holbrook and Hill (2005: 277), the effects of agenda-setting and priming are well established with regard to news media. McCombs and Shaw (1972) utilised agenda-setting theory in their Chapel Hill study to ascertain how the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues. Serino (2010) also utilised agenda-setting theory to examine the production of opinion at the *Sunday Times* newspaper. Holbrook et al (2005) cite several other studies (including Iyengar & Kinder,1987; Iyengar, Kinder, Peters, & Krosnick, 1984; Iyengar, Peters, & Kinder, 1982) which utilised agenda-setting to study the influence of the news media on political attitudes. Holbrook et al (2005) argue, however, that despite numerous studies being conducted on the effects of agenda-setting and priming vis à vis the news media, 'considerably less attention has been paid to these phenomena in entertainment media, in spite of the fact that entertainment media enjoy larger audiences than do news media and often address political topics'. Holbrook et al (2005) then conducted a study to examine these effects in prime time crime dramas. According to the typology provided in section 2.6.3 above, crime dramas fall under 'lifeworld content', which Holbert (2005: 445) describes as dramatic

or comedic content that deals with, among other things, individuals being the victim of a crime. Holbert (2005) states that despite the fact that audiences do not turn to these programmes for their socio-political statements, nor do the programmes make an overt attempt at providing political information, research has shown that lifeworld content *does* have the potential to influence public opinion on a range of issues.

Holbrook and Hill (2005) found in their study of the effects of agenda-setting and priming in selected prime time crime dramas that significant agenda-setting and priming was indeed present in four of the selected dramas and this revolved around the issue of violent crime and the subsequent investigation and prosecution of that crime. The evidence presented showed that viewers of the programmes were significantly more likely to enumerate crime as one of the most important issues—if not *the* most important issue—facing the nation (Holbrook & Hill 2005: 291). Holbrook et al (2005) concluded that sources of entertainment and sources of information (news) are relatively unimportant when it comes to the formation of political attitudes.

The seminal work by McCombs and Shaw (1972) opened the door for numerous studies on the agenda-setting role of the news media (examples have been noted above). The agenda-setting and priming effects of crime dramas as entertainment programmes has also been shown with reference to the study by Holbrook and Hill (2005). It has also been established in section 2.6.3 that traditional satire and fictional political dramas are sources of political engagement. The focus now shifts to the agenda-setting and priming effects of these genres.

Leano (2014) conducted secondary research on the agenda-setting power of *Saturday Night Live*, an American late-night satirical show. According to Leano (2014: 81), the most recent literature on *Saturday Night Live* delves mainly into the 2008 political season, specifically actress-comedienne Tina Fey's impersonations of then Alaskan governor and vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin. Leano (2014) also makes reference to the agenda-setting research conducted by Holbert, Tchernev, Walther, Esralew, and Benski (2013) wherein the authors investigated young voter perceptions of political satire as persuasion. In Leano's (2014) secondary research on this study the author concluded that the original study agrees that political parodies do contribute

to political knowledge but that there are limitations for parodies in actually setting the political agenda. In addition to the satirical characterisations of politicians, *Saturday Night Live*'s 'Weekend Update' news segment also influences viewers' political views (Leano, 2014: 82). With regard the Tina Fey impersonations of Sarah Palin, Leano's secondary research on Young's (2013) study found that *Saturday Night Live does* play a role in political agenda-setting as the media was shown to focus primarily on Sarah Palin in comparison to Tina Fey's satirical portrayal. Leano (2014) concludes that 'the majority of literature on the subject supports the argument that *Saturday Night Live* agenda setting influences the political sphere and possesses the ability to set the political agenda' as the programme shapes what viewers perceive to be the most prominent issues.

With regard to priming, priming theory was used to measure whether the caricature of former US vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin on the late night show *Saturday Night Live* had more salience on viewers' mental construction of the candidate (Esralew and Young 2012:338). Because priming works by construct salience - whereby previous knowledge of a construct, together with new knowledge gained on that construct or a related one, increases the salience of the construct in the mind of the receiver - the lack of any real knowledge about who Sarah Palin was made the Tina Fey impersonations an easily accessible construct with which to evaluate the vice presidential nominee. In their findings, Esralew and Young (2012) concluded that the priming effect was that viewers devoted more cognitive attention to [the real] Sarah Palin's intelligence, competence and experience.

Yet another example of the priming effect can be found in *The West Wing*, an American political drama which falls under the category fictional political drama. Holbert, Pillion, Tschida, Armfield, Kinder, Cherry, and Daulton (2003) conducted research to investigate the potential (priming) effects of *The West Wing*. Holbert et al (2003: 432) hypothesised that the viewing of positive images of the American presidency offered on *The West Wing* 'will prime more positive images of the office and those who have served in the capacity of president'. The authors found evidence that viewing *The West Wing* seems to prime more positive images of the US

presidency as well as the individuals most directly associated with that office, George W. Bush and Bill Clinton (Holbert et al 2003).

Agenda-setting and priming effects are not without limits. As already mentioned above, the recency, intensity and consistency of a message will render it more salient in the mind of the receiver. For example, in the research by Holbrook and Hill (2005) about the effects of agenda-setting in crime dramas, the authors state that although their study was constrained to respondents who claimed to be weekly viewers of the crime show *NYPD*, 'occasional viewers are statistically indistinguishable from non-viewers'. Therefore it would appear that the accessibility of crime as an issue is not so much a factor of frequent exposure but general exposure. In the study by Esralew and Young (2012) where the researchers tested for a 'Fey effect', the authors acknowledge that both the Sarah Palin interviews and the *Saturday Night Live* parodies of those interviews caused viewers to have increased salience of Sarah Palin's intelligence, competence and experience. The authors also state that it '[is] conceptually impossible to view the parody as a distinct entity from its real-life source' (Esralew et al 2012: 349). This means therefore that the priming effect cannot be attributed to the Tina Fey impersonations alone, rendering void any assumption that the *Saturday Night Live* impersonations were, in the main, responsible for how viewers evaluated the real Sarah Palin. A weakness in the study by Holbert et al (2003) in which they investigated potential effects of *The West Wing* on individual-level perceptions of the U.S. presidency was that the study only showed transitory effects of exposure to *The West Wing* and the authors suggested that 'future work should incorporate delayed measures to track whether the influences of *The West Wing* persist'. The findings of that study are also not generalizable as only a single episode was used to investigate the priming effect.

The above discussion has shown that agenda-setting is not limited to news media alone, but that this theory is expanding to entertainment programmes and more so those with covert and overt political agendas. In terms of this research, using agenda-setting as a theoretical framework will help to uncover which particular political issues are salient in the minds of viewers of LNN. The research of the 'Tey effect' by Esralew and Young (2012) showed that priming effects are not limited to policy topics or issues

but extend to the salience of image characteristics and personality traits as well. This is all the more relevant for this research in terms of investigating the salience of political individuals' caricatures as featured in political parody programmes.

Considering that LNN is based on political commentary, it is expected that this study will reveal not only what LNN considers to be the main political issues and candidates but how viewers should consider those political issues and candidates. It is expected that this study will show how LNN exerts pressure on its viewers to consider a political issue or candidate in a certain way. Finally, it is expected that this study will highlight the characteristics of the television medium in general and the nature of political parody in particular, as well as the inherent biases which influence the agenda-setting within LNN.

3.2.2 Framing theory

Closely related to the agenda-setting theory is framing theory. Framing theory relies on patterns of cognition, and also utilises salience in the same way that agenda-setting does. Framing provides a way to understand an event or issue by emphasising some elements of a topic above others (De Vreese 2005:53). Framing is based on the assumption that 'how an issue is characterised in news reports can have an influence in how it is understood by audiences' (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007:11). Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) further state that framing is both a macro level and micro level construct. As a macro construct, framing is a way for communicators in general and journalists in particular to reduce complexity by presenting information in a way that resonates with the schemas already existing in the audience's minds (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007:12). As a micro construct, framing describes how people form impressions based on how the information has been presented to them (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: ibid). These constructs can also be described as frame-building, frame-setting and framing consequences which form part of the framing process (De Vreese 2005:52). Frame-building refers to factors that are both external and internal to news organisations and journalists. In the discussion of the public sphere in section

2.5.1.2 above, it was stated that the media forms the periphery of a system that constitutes parliaments, courts, administrative agencies and the government. The media shapes public opinion from politicians (who are the main suppliers of content), as well as lobbyists, advocates, experts, moral entrepreneurs and intellectuals (Habermas 2006: 416). These players in the public sphere influence the frame-building process on a macro level by exerting external pressure to news agencies and journalists to present (frame) issues in a certain way. At a micro level, the discussion on media power showed that news agencies and journalists set their own news agenda, prime audiences to consider issues in a certain way, and frame issues – and this is reflected in the choice and style of programmes, for example in a satirical style such as on *Late Night News with Loyiso Gola* or in an informative style such as on CNN or eNCA. This presentation style is the internal factor that influences the frame building process for audiences. Frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions (De Vreese 2005:52). This matches with Scheufele and Tewksbury's (2007:12) description of frames as macro concepts. De Vreese (2005) argues that frame-setting may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. The consequences of framing can be considered on an individual and societal level (De Vreese 2005). On an individual level frames can alter attitudes about certain issues while on a societal level frames can shape political socialisation, decision-making and collective actions, all of which have been identified as characteristics of democracy.

Research has shown that just as with agenda-setting and priming theories, framing theory as a media effect is not confined only to news media but extends to entertainment media as well. Mulligan (2009) conducted research on the consequences of fictional framing for political opinions using two movies which framed the issue of unplanned pregnancy in different ways. *Cider House Rules* framed the issue in terms of the problems that would arise if abortion is illegal and *Bella* framed the issue in terms of the choice of adoption (Mulligan 2009). Mulligan (2009) argues that fictional entertainment media convey politically or socially relevant messages through character development, dialogue and imagery. Furthermore, fictional framing helps viewers to form the most relevant considerations to an issue (Mulligan 2009).

The study hypothesised that people perceive truth in fiction, and that the way fictional media frame an issue influences beliefs and opinions about the issue. The results showed that fictional framing *does* affect opinions and influences beliefs about abortion. The researcher found that those who were highly absorbed by the film they watched and those who perceived some realism in the film were more affected than otherwise (Mulligan 2009).

In the fictional political drama *The West Wing*, Holbert, Tschida, Dixon, Cherry, Steuber, and Airne (2005) investigated depictions of the American presidency using framing theory. Just as Mulligan (2009) argued that fictional entertainment media convey political or social messages through character development, Holbert et al (2005) also argue that a focus on *character* rather than *policy* (own emphasis) drives the frames used to depict the character of the President of the United States (POTUS) in *The West Wing*. The study hypothesised that POTUS in *The West Wing* is depicted through three different role displays: chief executive, political candidate, and private citizen. Holbert et al (2005) argue that *The West Wing* is one example of how the political world is presented to viewers through a diverse set of messages. The study found evidence that the role displays in *The West Wing* 'provide[d] an understanding of 'what it means to work in the White House and be the President of the United States on a daily basis' (Holbert et al 2005:517).

Yet another example of framing effects in political entertainment can be found in the satirical show *Saturday Night Live*. Peifer (2013) used framing theory in the analysis of television comedy sketches (of Sarah Palin) and hypothesised that 'parodies of political figures can be understood to principally reflect, refract and create political realities'. The study found that the Sarah Palin impersonations helped to 'create new and meaningful interpretations of Palin beyond the parameters of immediate "real life" circumstances' (Peifer 2013:170). Peifer (2013: 171) found four frames in the comedy sketches which are competence frame, folksy frame, female-beauty frame and faith frame. Of these, the researcher argues that the competence frame 'captured the deepest concerns and most spirited discourse revolving around Palin's candidacy' (Peifer 2013: ibid). In line with research of framing in entertainment television as provided above, Peifer (2013) found that the sketches were more personality than

issue based, confirming Mulligan (2009) and Holbert et al (2005)'s assertions that framing in fictional (political) entertainment tends to focus more on character than on issues.

Framing theory is relevant to this study because, among other things, framing promotes 'particular definitions and interpretations of political issues' (Shah cited in Chong & Druckman 2007: 106). Chong and Druckman (2007: 109) also state that the bulk of research on framing in political communication has focused on framing effects, which they define as how 'frames in the communication of elites (such as politicians, media outlets and interest groups) influence citizens' frames and attitudes'.

In terms of this research, it is expected that framing will provide a way of understanding how LNN as a communicator presents information in a way that reduces complexity for the viewer. It is expected that framing theory will provide an understanding of how viewers form impressions (about political issues) based on how the information has been presented to them. Framing theory is also relevant for this research as it may show how the style of the programme influences the frame building process for viewers. Through content analysis and focus group interviews the use of framing theory may provide evidence of altered attitudes and opinions based on how the issues are framed on LNN. Framing theory may provide an understanding of how viewers learn, interpret and evaluate issues based on how those issues are framed on LNN.

3.2.3 Social responsibility theory

The social responsibility theory was borne out of a commission known as the Royal Commission on the Press which was formed to consider means of improving press performance in Britain (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm 1956: 75). The major premise of the theory is that the press is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass media in contemporary society. The functions of the press under social responsibility theory are generally similar to the functions of the media in a democratic society as outlined earlier in this essay. Such functions as

providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs and enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government are as much general functions of the media as well as key tenets of the social responsibility theory. Other tenets of the theory include safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; servicing the economic system primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising; providing entertainment; and maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of social interests (Siebert et al: ibid).

According to McQuail (cited in Fourie 2007: 194), the basic principles of the social responsibility theory are that the media must accept certain responsibilities towards society; must benchmark their responsibilities against professional standards; should self-regulate within the framework of the law; should avoid publicising information that leads to social disruption; and should represent all social groups in their diversity.

In the educational, social and political fields, Reith (cited in Fourie 2007: 196) saw [public service] broadcasting as a powerful tool for the creation of social unity, consensus and enlightened and reasonable public opinion. Broadcasting is seen as 'part of the government's task to uplift the working class morally, politically and culturally' (Reith in Fourie 2007: ibid).

However, public service broadcasting has faced challenges related to economic trends as well as criticism that it has often been misused for state propaganda (Fourie 2007: ibid). Private broadcasting, operating according to a market philosophy and reflecting dissatisfaction with the interpretations of the media functions by the public broadcaster, offers a new way to view social responsibility within an increasingly commercial broadcasting environment.

In the introduction to this dissertation it was stated that parody and related forms of political humour are essential resources for sustaining a democratic public culture. Reference was made to Hariman (2008) who stated that parody sustains democratic public culture by, among other things, exposing the limits of public speech and celebrating social levelling in the public sphere. Parody was also described as playing

an increasingly discursive function because of the need to have an alternative to the authoritative, information dissemination role that television plays.

However, despite parody's importance in the functioning of a democracy, or perhaps in spite of it, many comedians found themselves 'paralysed' in terms of how to respond to the September 11 attacks in the US (Achter 2008:274). Achter (2008) says that highly visible comedians such as Jay Leno, David Letterman and Conan O'Brien moved uncomfortably into serious reflection on the meaning of the events. Comedians were so paralysed because they did not know what was the proper decorum, how to fulfil their mandate of providing entertainment without offending a nation in mourning. *The Onion*, a print and online news parody was one outlet that was able to navigate political and media culture by setting an agenda for learning about Islamic culture and Middle East politics (Achter 2008: 277). *The Onion* was able to re-frame the September 11 attacks in comic, carnivalesque terms (Achter 2008: 277). *The Onion*'s first issue after the attacks was well received judging by a sample of the comments provided by Achter (2008: 286). It can therefore be argued that in terms of social responsibility, *The Onion* fulfilled their mandate of providing entertainment as well as a forum for discussion for issues of national interest.

That the comedians were constrained with issues of decorum shows that they were considering ethics of humour. Peifer (2012) conducted a study which established the relevance of ethics within society's political humour using tenets of the social responsibility theory. The researcher states that as far as ethics of humour are concerned, some scholars adopt a position of amoralism, which views jokes as neither moral or immoral (Peifer 2012:266). Other scholars adopt a position of moralism, which attributes moral value to joking and humour (Peifer 2012: ibid). The researcher adopts a continuum model developed by Gaut (cited in Peifer 2012) wherein not only one factor but a combination of the underlying attitude, the context and the humourist's intention bear consideration in evaluating the ethics of humour. If, as Peifer (2012) argues, political humour is held to the same standards as journalism because of its equally far reaching consequences and ability to shape public opinion, then comedians can benefit from a social responsibility framework in which to operate.

Christians and Nordenstreng (2004: 21) regards what they term global social responsibility as comprising these main principles: respect for human dignity, truthtelling, and nonviolence. These principles will now be applied to political humour.

Because comedy often hinges on the ridicule of people and institutions, Peifer (2012: 271) argues that establishing a normative comedy ethic of respecting human dignity takes the punch out of most jokes. The argument presented is that although politicians may accept caustic humour as part of their job, it is not ethically sound to play on stereotypes on classes of people such as minorities who do not have the same political clout as politicians to be able to respond to such jabs. For example, it could be argued that French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* showed a disregard for human dignity by continuously producing images that mocked the Prophet Mohammed which was distasteful for the Muslim community.

Truthtelling is the second guiding principle in the global social responsibility framework. Peifer (2012: 273) says that even though political humour and satire should not be taken at face value, they are nonetheless presenting some refracted version of reality. Peifer (2012) further argues that while comedians should have freedom to exaggerate and hyperbolize the political scene, they should consider the responsibility of presenting the essence of the truth in the given situation. For example, corrupt politicians are often depicted in political cartoons with exaggerated potbellies in order to show that they are inappropriately benefiting from the public purse. Although the caricatured politicians may in reality be considered slightly overweight, this is exaggerated to effect in political cartoons.

The third principle in the global social responsibility framework is non-violence. As with respect for human dignity, this principle also touches on infringement on the rights of minorities, wherein comedians are urged to be mindful of humour that damages reputations and causes and affects even children of politicians (Peifer 2012). In 2013 Hindu organisations in South Africa were outraged by a cartoon by South African satirist Jonathan 'Zapiro' Shapiro depicting their god of success, Lord Ganesha (see SAPA, 2013). The Hindu community complained that the cartoon showed a lack of respect for their religious beliefs. Granted, what constitutes 'harm' is difficult to discern

but Peifer (2012: 274) suggests that honestly engaging with the principle is the step in the right direction.

This study will utilise social responsibility theory to gain an understanding of the extent to which LNN fulfils the functions of the media as set out in this theory. It is expected that the social responsibility theory will provide a way of understanding how LNN sets the agenda for viewers to learn about South African politics in a humorous way that is true to the style and format of the show. It is hoped that the guiding ethical principles of global social responsibility will enable an assessment of the extent to which LNN meets ethical requirements in its treatment of various subjects.

3.2.4 Deliberative democratic theory

Deliberative democratic theory is concerned with enhancing democracy and criticising institutions that do not live up to the normative standard (Chambers 2003:308). Deliberative democracy focuses on the communication processes of opinion and will formation that precedes voting (Chambers: ibid). Accountability is a key tenet of this theory. The role of the press in this theory is to publicly articulate, explain, and justify public policy. Deliberative democratic theory critically investigates the rationality of arguments brought to defend public policy and law in order to shape preferences, moderate self-interest, empower the marginalised, and produce a reasonable opinion – among other things (Chambers 2003:309).

In section 2.6.1 above, the concept of deliberation was briefly discussed in relation to how citizens participate in the process of making public decisions (such as voting). Deliberation can simply be defined as a process where people carefully examine a problem and arrive at a well-reasoned solution after a period of inclusive, respectful consideration of diverse points of view (Gastil 2008: 8). According to Habermas (2006:416), deliberation is expected to fulfil three functions which are: to mobilise and pool relevant issues and required information; to process arguments for and against the issues at hand; and finally to generate rationally motivated positive and negative attitudes towards the issues. The importance of deliberation in enhancing democracy cannot be understated. Gastil (2008: 4) mention the three criteria for the democratic

process as inclusion, participation and enlightened understanding. Enlightened understanding can only be gained through deliberation as it is the 'standard by which one can judge the wider array of political communication practices' (Gastil 2008: 8).

Deliberation as it functions in the public sphere is relevant for political communication research because it ensures the formation of a plurality of public opinions (Habermas 2006: 416). Key players in the public sphere such as politicians, journalists, lobbyists, experts and intellectuals are constantly competing for attention in the public space and contribute to the formation of the public opinion. For citizens, considered public opinion as represented in everyday political talk, newspapers, television and other media, presents 'plausible alternatives for what counts as a reasonable position on public issues', enabling them to form reasonable opinion on any public issue (Habermas 2006: 418).

In order to create a more deliberative democracy, Coleman and Blumer (cited in Semetko & Scammell 2012: 148) argue that there needs to be more mutual interaction [between representatives and represented], more authentic conversation that creates room for substantive public deliberation, and a trusted public space. Although Coleman and Blumer were advocating more for an online civic commons that establishes ongoing feedback between citizens and various levels of government as one such trusted public space (as cited in Semetko & Scammell 2012: ibid), Baym's (2006) research indicates that even in traditional media such as television, a model of deliberative democracy can be created. Baym (2006: 272) finds the interview segment on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* to be the ideal representation of the theory of deliberative democracy, whereby individuals are engaged in reasoned discussion with the goal to reach 'a consensual notion of the common good'. Baym (2006: ibid) further argues that *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* advocates for a deliberative theory of democracy operating from the belief that 'open conversation can provide the legitimate foundation for governance' (Bohman & Rehg cited in Baym 2006:272).

As indicated above, the public sphere consists of politicians, journalists, lobbyists, experts and intellectuals contributing to public opinion. Baym (2006:271) found for example, that over a period of six months during which seventy-eight guests were

invited for the interview segment on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, fifty of those guests were from the domain of government, news and politics. Baym (2006: 272) argues that the interviews function as 'an opening to or an extension of a public sphere in the Habermasian […] sense - a forum for the rational –critical discussion of issues of national importance'. Kendell (2013:106) argues that hosting interviews on news parody shows helps satirists to frame the actions of individual leaders within a larger political, economic, and social framework'. This allows viewers to make connections between the actions of the institutions that govern them and the world they also personally experience' (Kendell 2013).

It could be argued that news parody shows such as *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* lend themselves more to the deliberative democratic framework than traditional broadcast news because they 'ask […] viewers to engage with the topic at hand, encouraging them to think more critically about the consequences of government action and the relationship that every individual has to their governing institutions' (Kendell 2013: 105). For example, Baym (2006: 266) provides a transcript from *The Daily Show* which provides a humorous twist to a speech given by US President George W. Bush in which the president used the phrase 'The American people are safer' eight times in a space of less than fifteen minutes. Baym (2006) was able to show through analysis of *The Daily Show*'s response to the president's speech that the speech was merely propaganda, lacked legitimacy, and was just theatrical spectacle. By acting as interlocutor, host Jon Stewart laid bare the shortcomings of the president's speech, allowing viewers to think more critically of the speech.

For the purposes of this study, the deliberative democratic theory will be used to evaluate to what extent LNN engages in dialogue that is interactive, promotes authentic conversation, and creates room for substantive public deliberation that can help shape and evaluate policy. It is hoped that this study will provide an understanding of how LNN frames individual leaders within a larger political, economic, and social framework. Finally, it is expected that the study will provide a picture of how LNN asks viewers to engage and critically think about the consequences of government action.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework for the study. Four theories were selected for the study. The theories are: agenda setting and priming; framing; social responsibility; and deliberative democratic theory. These theories are discussed in terms of their assumptions, relevance for the study of political communication, the key studies that utilised the theories and how those studies utilised the framework, weaknesses where applicable and applicability to this research study. In the following chapter, the research methodology will be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter a theoretical framework for the study was provided. This chapter discusses the methodology that was used for the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the research design that was used which is the qualitative research approach using a case study design (section 4.2). Motivation is provided for the use of this design for the study, as well as reliability issues. Section 4.3 discusses the criteria for evaluating trustworthiness of qualitative studies. The elements of trustworthiness are then discussed in relation to the sampling, data collection and data analysis phase of the study.

4.2 Research design

The approach that was used for this study is the qualitative research approach using a case study design. Qualitative approaches are used to penetrate the deeper layers of a message (Fourie 2009: 4) and are suitable for analysing mass media messages within their ideological contexts (Du Plooy 2001:10). This study lends itself to a qualitative approach because the deeper messages portrayed by the show were analysed in order to ascertain how political events are framed within the show.

In order to do this, thematic categories were developed to analyse the content of messages. Earlier in this thesis it was stated that watching political parody creates a 'common pop culture experience' for the viewers. The study therefore explored how viewers attach meaning to people or events portrayed in the show. This also fits well with the qualitative approach as one of the views or assumptions of the qualitative approach is that research into meanings shared in particular sociocultural contexts requires in-depth analysis (Du Plooy 2001: ibid). By analysing the meanings that viewers attach to people or events portrayed in the show the researcher was able to describe how people interact with the show. This research design is also applicable to this study because it is intended to describe the role of the show in representing democracy and interpret how viewers interact with political processes through the

show. The description and interpretation thereof is one of the purposes of the qualitative approach (Leedy & Ormrod 2013: 140).

Media content analysis, a specialised subset of content analysis (Macnamara 2005: 1) was used as a method to examine the representation of democracy on LNN. According to Macnamara (2005: ibid), media content analysis was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media by Harold Lasswell (1927), initially to study propaganda. Since then, media content analysis has proliferated as a research methodology in mass communication. Lasswell's (1948) popular communication model best illustrates what media content analysis is about as it is concerned with the questions who says what, through what channel, to whom and with what effect (Macnamara 2005: 2). Berelson (cited in Macnamara 2005: 3) says that the main purpose of content analysis is to describe characteristics of message content, to make inferences to producers and audiences of message content, and to predict the effects of content on audiences.

4.2.1 Reliability of media content analysis

Researchers have debated on the use of quantitative or qualitative content analysis to ensure the reliability of the study. Macnamara (2005: 5) states that quantitative content analysis can conform to the scientific method and produce reliable findings. Other researchers such as Newbold, Gauntlett and Curran (cited in Macanamara 2005: ibid) view the two approaches as complimentary and can be used together to analyse meaning and impact of texts on audiences. In this study qualitative content analysis was used. Macnamara (2005: ibid) states that qualitative content analysis pays attention to the audience, media and contextual factors, and recognises that texts are open to multiple meanings by different readers. Despite the limitations of the qualitative approach which include the reliance on researcher's interpretation, and the intensive and time consuming nature of the process, the method was chosen for its suitability to meet the objective of this study which was to uncover how democracy is represented in LNN. To mitigate these limiting factors, a small sample of television samples was utilised.

4.2.2 Case study design

The research design used a case study as indicated in the title of the study. A case study optimises the understanding of a particular research setting. Yin (2012:4) says that a case study produces an invaluable and insightful appreciation of the case. Yin (2012: 6) suggests three steps for designing a case study. The first step is to define the case. In this study, the television show LNN is the case. This show is suitable for the objective of examining how political parody represents democracy because it is a news parody show. It is also a South African show and will offer a South African perspective of how democracy is represented in a news parody show, which in itself is unique as the majority of the literature on news parody reviewed in this study focuses on representation of parody in American television shows. The second step is to select the case study design. The case study is a holistic single case study; it includes data about how democracy is represented on the show. The third step is to decide whether or not to use theory to help complete the essential methodological steps. Although starting with a theoretical perspective could limit the ability to make (new) discoveries (Yin 2012: 9), this study used available literature to validate or invalidate perspectives on how news parody contributes to democracy.

Using LNN as a case study enabled the researcher to address the research problem which is to explain and describe how parody represents democracy. A case study is suitable for addressing descriptive and explanatory questions (Yin 2012: 4). Because the data collection method used are focus group interviews and content analysis, the case study was appropriate as it enabled the generation of first-hand data which enabled deeper understanding of the research phenomenon.

4.3 Trustworthiness of sampling, data collection and data analysis

Trustworthiness is the most widely used term for evaluating qualitative content analysis. This term was developed by Lincoln and Guba (cited in Elo, Kaariainen, Kanste, Polkki, Utriainen and Kyngas 2014: 2). Elo et al (2014: 2) further state that Lincoln and Guba five alternatives for assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative research, which are credibility, dependability, conformability, transferability, and

authenticity. Elo et al (2014: ibid) offer the following description of the five alternatives: Credibility is concerned with the accurate identification and description of those participating in the research. Dependability refers to the stability of data over time and under different conditions. Conformability refers to congruence between two or more independent people about the data's accuracy, relevance or meaning. Transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation. Authenticity refers to the extent to which researchers, fairly and faithfully, show a range of realities.

The discussion below focuses on how trustworthiness will be ensured during the sampling, data collection and data analysis phase of the study.

4.3.1 Population and sampling techniques

The most important questions regarding the sampling strategy are to do with the sampling method, the participants, the criteria for choosing the participants, the appropriateness of the sample and whether the data is well saturated (Elo et al 2014: 4). To ensure the dependability of the data, the principles and criteria used to select participants should be stated. The main characteristics of the participants are detailed to ensure transferability of the results to other contexts. Elo (2014: ibid) say that as there is no accepted sample size for qualitative studies, homogeneity of study participants is evaluated.

The target population for this study consists of television episodes of LNN broadcast between January 2015 and April 2015. The population that was used for the study also contained YouTube videos published from January 2015 and April 2015. Viewers of LNN at the University of South Africa also formed the population for the study. A purposive sample of both television episodes and YouTube videos that met pre-determined criteria were utilised. As mentioned in section 1.4 above, LNN consists of skits (parodies), monologues by the host, a political interview by Chester Missing, an international report by David Kibbuka, and the moral index by Deep Fried Man. The researcher decided that the chosen sample should fit into one or more of the categories in order to ensure homogeneity and ensure dependability of the data. Because the moral index is normally a song, the researcher decided to select only

spoken segments not songs. The final sample consisted of three parodies, one monologue, one political interview and one international report. For the university students volunteer sampling was utilised. The participants needed to be regular viewers of LNN. The motivation for use of volunteer sampling was easy access to a population due to proximity.

According to Macnamara (2005: 17), sampling for qualitative content analysis is not required to meet the statistically valid formulae for quantitative analysis. Macnamara (2005: ibid) cites Miles and Huberman who state that sampling strategies for qualitative research should be driven more by a conceptual question rather than a concern for 'representativeness'. Miles and Huberman (cited in Macnamara 2005: ibid) suggest three techniques which can be used together to yield rich results in qualitative analysis. The first technique is to select apparently typical or representative examples. The second technique is to select negative or disconfirming examples. The third step is to select exceptional or discrepant examples. This combination of typical, discordant and exceptional examples allows for a wide range data to be explored as well as the identification of a range of views.

As mentioned above, a purposive selection of six segments from various episodes were analysed. The six segments selected for analysis are as follows:

Date	Episode	Segment title	Type	Duration	Show director
17/01/2015	1	Matric results	Parody	2 minutes 48 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
11/02/2015	5	Service delivery protests	Parody	I minute 42 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
04/02/2015	4	President Mugabe made chairman of the AU	International news report by David Kibuuka	2 minutes 27 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
17/01/2015	1	Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*	Loyiso Gola monologue	4 minutes 4 seconds	Kagiso Lediga

11/02/2015	5	Interview with Godrich Gardee	Political interview by Chester Missing	4 minutes 20 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
04/02/2015	4	Racism in schools	Parody	1 minute 48 seconds	Kagiso Lediga

Table 4.1 List of segments for analysis

Of these, 'Matric results', 'President Mugabe made chairperson of the AU' and 'Interview with Godrich Gardee' were used for discussion in the focus group interviews. An additional segment listed below was also used in the focus group discussions:

15/03/2015	10	Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town	Parody	1 minute 48 seconds	Kagiso Lediga

Table 4.2 Segment for analysis for focus group interviews

Overviews of the episodes

Matric results

The parody opens with comedian Loyiso Madinga as a television based educator offering matric students extra lessons on day time television (specifically on SABC) during which time matric students will be out of school and able to watch the educational channel. The lesson is 'How to get a job in South Africa'.

Service delivery protests

The parody begins with a voice over introducing a man called Jabulani dancing with his two friends and seemingly having a good time outside a burning supermarket typically like the spaza shops found in the townships. He then realises that he needs certain conveniences to continue his merry lifestyle but receives a rude awakening from the voiceover telling him of all the conveniences he has lost because of service delivery protests.

President Mugabe made chairman of the Africa Union

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has recently been made chairperson of the African Union (AU) and foreign correspondent David Kibuuka brings viewers up to speed with this development.

Attack on **Charlie Hebdo** *newspaper*

The murder of journalists at French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* by Islam extremists has sent shockwaves around the world and an outpouring of support for the journalists on social media. The hashtag #IamCharlie is trending and is the support hashtag used by social media users.

Interview with Godrich Gardee

Chester Missing the resident puppet interviews Godrich Gardee and asks him questions on a wide range of issues.

Racism in schools

Comedian and LNN director Kagiso Lediga plays the role of a parent driving his daughter Palesa to her new school in the suburbs, so that she can have a new and hopefully better education experience.

Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town

Guest comedian Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town after student protests at the University of Cape Town for the removal of the Rhodes statue results in the throwing of poo at the statue.

4.3.2 Data collection method

According to Graneheim and Lundman (cited in Elo et al 2014: 3), the selection of the most appropriate data collection method is essential for ensuring the credibility of content analysis. The key question, according to Elo et al (2014: ibid) is whether the researcher should use descriptive or semi-structured questions. This has implications

for the diversity of responses obtained and whether they answer the questions the research intends to answer.

In order to address each of the research objectives, two focus groups were conducted. Although three or four focus groups with each type or category of individual is the accepted rule of thumb (Krueger & Casey 2009: 21), this research does not have as much variation on the research objectives that address audiences' views to warrant that number of groups. In addition, it was anticipated that accessibility to the participants may prove to be a challenge as the researcher expected to get participants from the population of University of South Africa students, which institution is a distance learning university.

According to Fourie (2009: 498), the focus group is becoming an increasingly popular tool in the study of media audiences, for example when a researcher wants to determine media audience members' attitudes, perceptions, frames of reference and media usage (viewing, reading, listening) patterns. Fourie (2009: 498) further provides some useful guidelines on how to design a focus group study. The first step that this researcher followed was to determine the number and composition of the focus group interview while keeping in mind that a focus group is characterised by homogeneity but with sufficient variation among the members of the group to elicit contrasting opinions (Fourie 2009: ibid). The first focus group consisted of 8 participants and the second consisted of 6 participants. All the participants were black. The first group had only one male participant and the second had two male participants. According to the literature, studies of political comedy shows mainly in the United States show that young adults in the main consume these shows. The participants were not asked to state their ages but they did range in age from twenty to thirty years of age. Three participants are lecturers and the other eleven are all students.

The second step to consider in designing a focus group is to recruit the participants. As mentioned in the section on population and sampling techniques above, the sampling method that was used is volunteer sampling. The researcher recruited participants by liaising with Communication Students Association (COMSA) and student volunteers at the campus radio station Unisa Radio.

The third step to consider in designing the focus group study is the location of the focus group. The researcher was offered the use of an empty studio at Unisa Radio which proved a convenient location for the participants. The fourth step entailed preparation of the study mechanisms and focus group material. The researcher used both tape recorders and pen and paper as recording devices. Information sheets and consent forms were sent to the participants beforehand. The participants were also sent four YouTube links to view via email and WhatsApp and were asked to view the links in preparation of the interview. Participants were asked to fill in the consent form before the start of the focus group. Finally, in the actual focus group session, the researcher endeavoured to create a warm and friendly atmosphere for the participants by arriving early and welcoming each participant. As the interview started the researcher explained the ground rules, and the discussion was moderated in a professional manner. Semi-structured interview questions were used as a guide. The interview schedule is provided in Appendix A of this study.

In addition to this, the study utilised content analysis of television episodes of LNN. A content analysis is a detailed and systematic examination of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases (Leedy and Ormrod 2013: 148). Leedy and Ormrod (2013: ibid) further provide useful steps to follow when using this method of collecting data. The first step is the identification of a specific body of material to be studied. Because the target population was quite large (a total of twelve episodes of season twelve were recorded), a sample of the television episodes was chosen. The characteristics of the sample have been described above in section 4.3. These were analysed in accordance with the research objectives.

The second step entails the definition of characteristics to be studied or examined in concrete terms. Here it was crucial to specify which aspects of the case study address the research aim which is to explain and describe democracy. The study utilised social semiotic analysis as a specific qualitative content analysis method. Selected episodes were analysed in order to ascertain how semiotic aspects represent democracy.

The third step involved breaking down each item into small, manageable segments that were analysed separately. A detailed explanation of the methodology of the data analysis is explained in the section 4.5.

The fourth step in conducting content analysis following the categorisation described in step three is to scrutinise the material for instances of each characteristic or quality described in step two. Selected segments of the show were scrutinised according to the two main strands of qualitative content analysis which are narratology and semiotics (Macnamara 2005: 15). With narratology, the focus was on the narrative and structure within the text and the meaning that may be produced. With semiotics, the focus was on the signs within the texts and what meaning these produce.

4.3.3 Data analysis

According to Elo et al (2014: 6), from the perspective of trustworthiness, the most important question is how the reader can evaluate the transferability of results. To ensure high quality results, the analysis process should be thoroughly discussed. A clear description of the culture, context, selection and characteristics of participants should be provided. Representative quotations from the participants as well as sample verbatim transcripts of the television show will be used to ensure conformability. To ensure the dependability of the study, the results should be described in as vivid a manner as possible that shows the themes within the data.

The population for the qualitative content analysis has been described above. Selected segments were analysed separately using social semiotics.

In the literature review in chapter 2, social semiotics was discussed under visual semiotics in the context of how it enables viewers to question the ways in which television presents social reality. Further to that discussion, Iedema (2004:191) then provided a methodological approach to analysing television texts using a social semiotic approach. This methodological approach is based on the assumption that meaning making always performs three overarching functions which are representation, orientation and organisation. Representation considers meaning in so far as it tells about the world in some way. Representation addresses meanings

represented visually, verbally, musically or soundwise. Orientation has to do with how meanings position characters and viewers or readers. Organisation concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text. These three metafunctions are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

For the focus group interviews, the researcher decided to use thematic analysis as a method to analyse the transcripts. Thematic analysis is a widely used qualitative analytic method. It can be defined as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun and Clarke 2008: 79). It is useful for this study for the purposes of identifying patterns of thought among viewers of LNN. Braun and Clarke (2008: 87) provide a useful six step guide for conducting a thematic analysis which the researcher used for this study. Braun and Clarke (2008: ibid) further state that the analysis is not a linear process but it is more of a recursive process where movement is back and forth throughout the phases. Below is a summary of each phase (Braun & Clarke, 2008):

The first step is for the researcher to familiarise themselves with the data. This was done by transcribing the recorded interviews word for word. The transcription was done manually. Once transcribing was complete the data was read over with the audio playback to check for accuracy. The second step is the generation of initial codes. Here the researcher underlined interesting aspects from the data and made some notes on the side. The third step is to search for themes. This step involves collating codes into potential themes. The fourth step is to review the themes. This step involves checking if each theme works in relation to the coded extracts. The researcher checked if there were enough data extracts to support each theme, and whether it answered in some way the research question. The fifth step is defining and naming the themes, which involves refining the specifics of each theme. The last step involves producing the report. This step involves selection of vivid, compelling extract examples to describe and interpret each theme, and then analysing how it relates to the research questions. The outcome of this process is discussed in chapter 6 of this study.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the research methodology was discussed. The chapter began with a discussion of the research design that was used for this study. The population and sampling techniques, as well as the data collection methods were discussed. The chapter concluded with a description of social semiotics and thematic analysis which are the methods of data analysis used for the study. The next chapter is chapter 5, data analysis. More detail on the social semiotic approach will be provided, before the approach is applied to the selected segments of LNN for analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4 the research methodology was discussed. In this chapter, the methodology discussed will be applied to selected segments of LNN. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the functions performed by social semiotics, followed by an application of those functions to the selected segments.

According to Iedema (2004:191), social semiotics works on the assumption that meaning making always performs three overarching functions which are representation, orientation and organisation. Representation considers meaning in so far as it tells about the world in some way. Representation addresses meanings represented visually, verbally, musically or soundwise.

Iedema (2004:192), states that orientation has to do with how meanings position characters and viewers or readers. Specific issues that are important are to do with different types of camera angle and camera shot. The position of the camera as high angle, low angle, side on or oblique angle; as well as the use of long or close up shots has implications for the reading of the text.

Lastly, Iedema (2004:192) addresses the methodological approach to organisation as a third meta function of social semiotics. Organisation concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text. The visual editing of the programme, such as the structure (chronological order of the programme) and paradigmatic structure (the central opposition in the text, and the binary oppositions) have significant impressions for how a text is read.

Using these three metafunctions to analyse visual texts provides a systematic way to deconstruct them and reveal their patterns (Aiello 2006: 92).

Table 4.1 on page 62 above shows the six segments selected for analysis.

5.2 Visual Representation

Representation considers meaning in so far as it tells about the world in some way. Section 5.2 will focus on visual representation, section 5.3 on verbal representation and section 5.4 on musical/sound representation in all six texts selected for analysis.

5.2.1 'Matric results'

5.2.1.1 Overview

The parody opens with comedian Loyiso Madinga as a television based educator offering matric students extra lessons on day time television (specifically on SABC) during which time matric students will be out of school and able to watch the educational channel. The lesson is 'How to get a job in South Africa'.

5.2.1.2 The representation

The parody opens with an image of the earth rolling among a galaxy of stars, with pencils flying and the words 'Education Channel' at the top of the screen. After this the next image is of a black male educator sitting in front of the camera in a studio resembling the typical studio for an afternoon educational programme. In the background is a map of the world. The educator is wearing a blue shirt and black and white stripe tie. His sleeves are rolled up. He has different colour pens in his pocket. He has another pen behind his left ear, and a black marker in his hand. He begins to write on a white board with the black marker, on which board another red marker lies. While he talks, he makes gestures with his hands and also his facial expressions.

5.2.1.3 The underlying meaning

The parody represents a number of visual cues from which one can infer about education in general and the state of South Africa's education in particular. The first thing one can infer from the image of the earth rolling is that education opens doors to the world, based on conventional wisdom that having an education helps us to understand the world in some way. The pencils indicate one tool that is used to aid education. The image of the black male educator could be inferred to mean that, firstly,

the education system in South Africa at least at high school level has been transformed and is dominated by black educators. The choice of a male educator could be inferred to represent the patriarchal nature of South African society, where male voices are considered as the authority, the kind of authority that a school teacher has. The formal dress of the black male educator indicates that teaching is a very formal profession, but the rolled up sleeves and pen behind the ear indicate that this is not a normal classroom setting therefore a bit of informality is permitted. The educator's gestures and facial expressions invite the viewer to read more than what he is saying with his lips.

5.2.2 'Service delivery protests'

5.2.2.1 Overview

The parody begins with a voice over introducing a man called Jabulani dancing with his two friends and seemingly having a good time outside a burning supermarket typically like the spaza shops found in the townships. He then realises that he needs certain conveniences to continue his merry lifestyle but receives a rude awakening from the voiceover telling him of all the conveniences he has lost because of service delivery protests.

5.2.2.2 The representation

The parody opens with an image of three black men greeting each other and smiling together outside a burning building which looks like a small supermarket typically found in the townships. The men are informally dressed in pants and T-shirts, one is wearing a shirt but with no tie. The other man is dreadlocked and the main character Jabu is wearing a cap. Behind them is a supermarket burning. One knows it is a supermarket because the word 'supermarket' is partially visible from two places at the top of the screen: on the far left side and in the top centre of the screen. There are also other indicators that it is a supermarket, such as the advertisement for Coca-Cola, Black Cat peanut butter, Airtime, Lunchbar chocolate, Pilchards tinned fish and some

other minor groceries. The young men are dancing together. As the parody progresses one sees Jabu's family of ten and Jabu's green Citi Golf. Jabu gestures with his hands and the young men stop dancing. They are shown rubbing their throats when Jabu speaks about getting cold drinks. However, the looks on their faces shifts from jovial to anxious when they realise that Jabu is not moving in the direction of getting drinks. The look on Jabu's face is that of bewilderment as he listens to the voiceover. Jabu's two friends seem oblivious to the voiceover and they look questioningly at Jabu and seem to gesture to each other about his state of mind.

5.2.2.3 The underlying meaning

The parody represents a number of visual cues from which one can infer about service delivery protests in South Africa. The image of the black men dancing outside of a burning supermarket feeds into a stereotype about protests in South Africa which are characterised by dancing, 'toy-toying', and burning tyres and other amenities. These protests are normally planned and organised by black people. One can infer from the men's informal dress that these men are middle or working class therefore fitting the demographic of people that participate in such protests. The supermarket burning in the background is an informal supermarket and one would assume service delivery protests normally occur in the townships where most of the informal supermarkets are located. The image of Jabu's family of ten and his Citi Golf may indicate that black people who participate in service delivery protests often have modest means but have large families to support.

5.2.3 'President Mugabe made chairman of the African Union (AU)'

5.2.3.1 Overview

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has recently been made chairperson of the African Union (AU) and foreign correspondent David Kibuuka brings viewers up to speed with this development.

5.2.3.2 The representation

The interview opens with an image of the host Loyiso Gola in the Johannesburg studio. After stating that there will be a crossover to David Kibuuka in Zimbabwe, two screens appear. The left screen shows David Kibuuka with the image of an aeroplane with the Zimbabwean national flag colours in the background. David looks well-groomed with a neatly cut beard and hair. He is dressed in a red short-sleeved shirt, black tie and pants. Above his screen is the name Harare. The right screen shows an image of Loyiso Gola. Loyiso is also well trimmed and dressed formally in a grey suit, light blue shirt and red tie. In the background is the night time skyline of a city, which can be assumed to be Johannesburg as the name 'Johannesburg' appears above Loyiso's screen.

5.2.3.3 The underlying meaning

The report represents a number of visual cues from which one can infer about the nature of live news reporting. First of all, live news reporting requires certain tools and technologies to enable it to function seamlessly. These tools include unobtrusive microphones such as the ones that are clipped to both men's ties. Live reporting also involves technologies such as satellite link ups. Although the nature of the linkup was not mentioned, one can assume from broadcasting conventions that this is a satellite link up. The fact that a male correspondent is giving a live report from a foreign destination could indicate that coveted reporting beats such as international correspondent are still largely the preserve of men. The aeroplane in the left screen with the colours of the Zimbabwean flag *stands for* Zimbabwe; it indicates to the viewer

that the reporter is in Zimbabwe. The skyline of Johannesburg in the right screen *stands for* Johannesburg; it indicates to the viewer that the host is in Johannesburg.

5.2.4 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'

5.2.4.1 Overview

The murder of journalists at French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo by Islam extremists has sent shockwaves around the world and an outpouring of support for the journalists on social media. The hashtag #IamCharlie is trending and is the support hashtag used by social media users.

5.2.4.2 The representation

The segment opens with an image of the host Loyiso Gola. Loyiso is dressed in his signature dark suit, coupled in this episode with light blue shirt and blue tie. In the background is the night time skyline of a city, which can be assumed to be Johannesburg as the show is based in Johannesburg. The majority of the segment is dominated by the same visuals of Loyiso talking, although other images are shown such as an image of people eating grass, another image of people in a church service, an image of black children in a classroom, an image with a pie chart showing the percentage of Muslim people (7%) against the population of France (93%), an image of the logo of *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper, and another image of President Jacob Zuma singing and dancing.

5.2.4.3 The underlying meaning

The meanings underlying this report are better represented in the verbal analysis than in the visual analysis. However, of note is the fact that Loyiso looks and speaks directly to the camera in order to let the viewers know that he is addressing us directly. The other visuals serve to support what is represented verbally, as a reference to what Loyiso is saying.

5.2.5 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

5.2.5.1 Overview

Chester Missing the resident puppet interviews Godrich Gardee and asks him questions on a wide range of issues.

5.2.5.2 The representation

The interview opens with the puppet Chester Missing with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee in what appears to be Gardee's office. Gardee is dressed in the EFF's signature colour red. He is wearing a red party T-shirt with an EFF logo on his left chest. He also spots a red beret with his party's logo. Chester is a small human like puppet but quite short. He is dressed in his trademark suit, and he is wearing a dark suit, white shirt and stripped tie. He also spots a red EFF beret. The wall in the background is painted red with a huge EFF logo and the name of the party 'Economic Freedom Fighters' partially visible. Godrich has a microphone clipped to his T-shirt and Chester holds his microphone in his hand. On the left bottom side of the screen there is a logo of LNN which is an image of the globe rotating. The other image that is seen is of a white T-shirt with the words 'Pay Back The Money Boss' and an image of President Jacob Zuma with a shower head on top of his head.

5.2.5.3 The underlying meaning

The parody represents a number of visual cues from which one can infer about interviews with political leaders in South Africa. The EFF secretary general is a black man, which may be seen as an indication that although political power has shifted to the black majority, it is still patriarchal in nature as power is still in the hands of men. Chester, although a puppet, is also a man and may be a reflection of gender representation in South Africa's newsrooms especially on the political desks, where it may be that stories of a political nature are covered mainly by men. The fact that a puppet is interviewing Godrich Gardee may indicate that politicians are inaccessible

to 'real' journalists which may indicate their general contempt for their own constituencies. It may also show however their willingness to use avenues popular to the general populace to reach out to a wider audience. The white T-shirt that Godrich presents as a gift to Chester is very symbolic. The T-shirt contains words which form part of the EFF slogan 'Pay Back The Money' (Ndlozi, 2014). The slogan is written in what may be considered street lingo. 'Pay Back The Money Boss' is language a common man (likely black) may be able to relate to. The image of President Zuma with a shower head above his head is an image common to many South Africans who read the newspapers as it has become popular cartoonist Zapiro's signature style of representing Jacob Zuma ever since the infamous rape trial in which he said he took a shower to reduce the risk of contracting HIV (Zuma 'took shower' to reduce risk HIV risk…2006). Godrich presenting this T-shirt on television to Chester is a way of showing the president that the EFF party have no respect for him as he has also disrespected the people that voted him into power.

5.2.6 'Racism in schools'

5.2.6.1 Overview

Comedian and LNN director Kagiso Lediga plays the role of a parent driving his daughter Palesa to her new school in the suburbs, so that she can have a new, and hopefully better education experience.

5.2.6.2 The representation

The parody opens with Kagiso, a black man sitting behind the steering wheel of what appears to be a sport utility vehicle, driving his daughter Palesa, also black, to school. Kagiso is dressed in a blue shirt, grey blazer and green hat. His daughter Palesa is sitting in the back seat. Palesa is wearing a blue school uniform and spots an afro hairdo. When two years have passed, the scene is still the inside of the SUV. Kagiso is wearing the same kind of attire with a slightly different grey blazer. Palesa is also still wearing the same school uniform but now spots a black weave. She's fiddling with

her cell phone while her father speaks to her. She takes 'selfies' (pictures of herself) with her cell phone. Kagiso also takes out his cell phone to phone the head of Palesa's school. When another year passes, the scene is still the inside of the SUV as Palesa and her father drive to school. Kagiso is wearing a blue shirt, red tie, grey blazer and green hat. Palesa is sitting in the back seat wearing her blue uniform and still spotting the black weave, but there is a major change in Palesa's appearance. She has changed from being a black child to a white child.

5.2.6.3 The underlying meaning

The parody represents a number of visual cues from which one can infer about the dilemmas experienced by middle-class black parents in South Africa regarding education for their children. Kagiso represents the middle-class black parent who lives in the townships and wishes for a better education for their child different from the Bantu education experienced in the apartheid era. One assumes that the parent is middle class because the car he is driving appears to be the inside of an SUV as it is a 7-seater car. The parody is divided into three time periods. The first period is when Palesa is going to her new school in the suburbs. In this period Palesa spots a natural afro hairdo which signifies a period when she was innocent, unspoilt and proudly African. This seems to indicate a period when everything is ideal, good, and pure. In the second time period, when Palesa has spent two years at her new school, a change can be seen in Palesa's appearance and mannerisms. Palesa spots a black weave and constantly fiddles with her phone. This period seems to indicate the beginning of the loss of purity and assimilation into whiteness. The third time period is when Palesa has spent three years at her new school. By this time Palesa has fully acclimatised to her new environment, so acclimatised in fact that she is now literally a white person. This period indicates a total loss of what is good, ideal and pure.

5.3 Verbal Representation

5.3.1 'Matric results'

5.3.1.1 The verbatim transcript

The educator is the only person who speaks throughout and he says the following:

'*Since a lot of you have finished a matrics or are going to be finishing a matrics again next year, today I want to tell you about how to get a jobs in South Africa. But before you can get a jobs you need a qualification, yes a qualification or as Hlaudi calls it 'a piece of paper'. Get it? Got it? Good.*

Now, there are two methods to get this qualification, or "piece of paper". First, let's deal with the traditional or long method. Let's, er, call our person Sipho - if you are a Sipho -, or Siphokazi and er, we'll call you 'X'. You want a matrics? And let's say he wants to get a matrics certificate, or a "piece of paper", let's call it 'Y'.

Now, X plus Y is equals to Z. Here's the thing: Z is a job opportunity, but it's just an opportunity. If you want to increase your chances of getting an actual job it helps to also have a university qualification or "university piece of paper". Let's call this piece of paper 'J'. So therefore, if you have J, times Z, it equals to JZ. Get it? Got it? Good.

But for some of you, this may be very difficult or take a long time, in which case I suggest you try the Hlaudi method. Alright. Now, this method can help you get the same results without all the stress, and the hullabaloo of the traditional method. With a Hlaudi method, everything begins with a Number 1. Ok, now, if your name is Sipho, or Simon, or Ellen, or Atul, let's call this number 'X'. Ok. All you have to do is, to get a job, is to dial directly the contact number to Number 1. Ok. Now, what's the surest road between two points? A straight line. (Laughs) So, what you want to do, is to get a straight line between you, and Number 1. If however you don't have access to the contact number, you can call an aunty, or an uncle, or a relative with some benefits that does have that number, they can take you on a tangent from here to Number 1,

that will be congruent to your desire to have a big job, and Bingo! You too can be the CEO of SABC, or Minister of Energy, mmm? Or architect of Nkandla.'

5.3.1.2 The underlying meaning

A number of verbal cues are used from which one can draw a deeper meaning from what is actually said. When the educator speaks about the Hlaudi method, one has to have some knowledge of what is happening in South Africa to know who Hlaudi is. However, for the interest of clarity, prior to the parody LNN showed a news report where Hlaudi Motsoeneng, the Chief Operating Officer (COO) of the state broadcaster South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), was giving a speech at the invitation of the Department of Education on the occasion of the release of the matric results. The irony of having Hlaudi Motsoeneng speaking at a ceremony for the Department of Education is that Hlaudi Motsoeneng has been embroiled in a qualifications scandal for a long time and has not been able to prove that he has a matric certificate (Sithole & Dawjee, 2015). Despite this, Hlaudi Motsoeneng has been able to attain the top managerial, highly political position of COO of the state broadcaster SABC. The Hlaudi method for the knowledgeable is the (corrupt) way of getting a top notch job without a basic qualification.

The educator also talks about a piece of paper, and the deeper meaning is provided visually by air quotes around the words piece of paper. In defending himself in the ongoing qualifications scandal, Hlaudi Motsoeneng is on record as saying that one does not need 'a piece of paper' to be able to do their job.

The reference to X representing a job seeker, Y representing a matric qualification, and Z representing a job opportunity, is a play on a mathematical formula and seems to imply that getting a job can be broken down into a mathematical formula with set results.

The educator then says that to improve chances of getting Z, one needs J, which represents a university qualification. The mathematical formula for getting a job then comes down to J times Z which equals to JZ. JZ is a pun on the initials of the president of South Africa Jacob Zuma, who is informally referred to as JZ in some media circles.

The inferred meaning is that, one does not even need 'J' a university qualification to get 'Z' the job opportunity, one needs to know the actual JZ (Jacob Zuma) to get a job.

Continuing with the inferred meaning that all one really needs is JZ (Jacob Zuma) to get a job, the educator now explains that with the Hlaudi method, everything begins with Number 1. Number 1 sounds like another mathematical formula but infact it is a hidden reference to the Number 1 citizen of the country, who is the president Jacob Zuma. The implied message is that Hlaudi Motsoeneng does not need a qualification to get a job because he had access to Number 1- President Jacob Zuma.

The straight line between two points is yet another mathematical reference to what is really a direct communication between the person who requires a job and the president. The educator says that if one does not have the contact details to Number 1 they can call an aunty, or an uncle, or someone that has that number that will be able to connect them with Number 1. The aunty or uncle or 'someone' is a euphemism for a network of corrupt individuals who connect people with a need and enable them to get the ear of the president on any matter, such as a job opportunity.

The educator then says once connected to the president one can then have a job such as CEO of SABC, Minister of Energy, and Architect of Nkandla. In current affairs these positions appear among the most controversial government appointments. The position of the CEO of the SABC has already been discussed above in relation to the controversial appointment of Hlaudi Motsoeneng. The Minister of Energy has also raised eyebrows in relation to a nuclear deal between the government of South Africa and Russia, which deal has been shrouded in secrecy (Faull, 2015). The architect of Nkandla is also very controversial, as it is because of the cost of the development of the president's private home that Nkandla remains a matter of national interest (see Underhill, 2015 for Makhanya's legal woes).

5.3.2 'Service delivery protests'

5.3.2.1 The verbatim transcript

The main exchange is between Jabu and the man doing the voice over who is not in the picture.

Voiceover: *This is Jabulani Masamu, or Jaba for short. Jaba is usually a nice guy, doing usual nice guy things, like working for his family, washing his Citi Golf, and dancing to 'Bobbish Murder' with his friends. But there's one serious problem: Jaba and his buddies get angry, very angry when they don't get services delivered to them. So angry that they burn down other services that have been already delivered to them.*

Jabu (to his friends): *Wait gents, wait gents! I'm thirsty, very thirsty from all this great dancing. Yeah let's get some cold drinks.*

Voiceover: *But Jabu! You burnt down the store yesterday remember? When you were angry about water shortages?*

Jabu: *Wait! Wait! Wait! No water? No store? Unacceptable! I'm calling the municipal office right now!* Bazokwazi *(They'll hear from me)*

Voiceover: *Jabu! Jabu-we! You burnt down the municipal office when you were angry about the burnt down school.*

Jabu: *Oh my goodness! I remember. We burnt down the school too.* Ayi *no man.*

Voiceover: *Yes, when you were angry about the tavern being closed for the weekend.*

Jabu: *This is too much to take; I must sit down.*

Voiceover: *There are no more chairs Jabu! You burnt them all when you were angry at your wife. You also burnt down your Citi Golf, when Wesbank wanted you to pay your instalment.*

Jabu: *No, no! But that was my car! I like that car!*

Voiceover: *Exactly, Jabu! The only person you ever really hurt with your violent protest, is yourself.*

(Something inaudible in vernacular).

5.3.2.2. The underlying meaning

A number of verbal cues are used from which one can draw a deeper meaning from what is actually said. In the first paragraph the person speaking in the voice over introduces and describes Jabu. This is significant because it puts a face and a name to the people that participate in service delivery protests who are often depicted in the news as one homogeneous group of people with the same concerns. Jabu and his friends are described as 'nice guys, doing usual nice guy things'. From this one can infer that service delivery protests are not characterised by criminal elements within society who deliberately curtail government's development initiatives as some media and even the government would have us believe. One can assume from this that service delivery protests are orchestrated by responsible citizens who have reached the end of their patience with the government over service delivery. It is also clear that anger about a lack of service delivery tends to have a spiral effect, whereby the anger leads to protests which lead to burning the available amenities which leads to more anger and further protests. This can be seen from the dialogue between Jabu and the person speaking in the voice over. The anger seemingly starts from a domestic problem which spirals into a societal problem. This is illustrated in the parody as follows:

Inability to pay car instalment and domestic dispute with wife (assumed first problem) leads to burning of car and chairs. At the same time the tavern gets closed for the weekend which angers the community and leads to protests wherein the school is burned down. Anger about the unavailability of a watering hole and the closed school leads to burning of the municipal office. The municipal office is thus unable to provide water because it is closed down (assumed), which in turn leads to the store closing down (impact of one on another is assumed here), which leads to even more anger and burning down of the store. This has a debilitating effect on the community as it

results not only in personal loss (loss of car and assumed breakdown in marital relations), but also in societal loss as the society loses a school for the children, a watering hole for socialising, a municipal office and a store from which to buy groceries. Overall, this speaks to the damaging or 'looting' of services that follow service protests.

5.3.3 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

5.3.3.1 The verbatim transcript

Host Loyiso Gola interviews foreign correspondent David Kibuuka via a satellite link. David is reporting from 'Harare' while Loyiso asks questions from the Johannesburg studio. The following conversation ensues:

Loyiso: *We now cross over to our international correspondent David Kibuuka who's in Zimbabwe. Dave, what's happening there?*

Dave: *Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has been made chairman of the African Union. At this point I think it's up to the viewers to decide for themselves whether that's a good idea, because clearly they are not looking at presidential track record as a criteria. Apparently, the new criteria is: best Hitler moustache.*

Loyiso: *Sooo, you are not going to comment?*

Dave: *All I did was to call my great-grandfather and I said: What are you doing granddad? Your age-mates are becoming chairmen of the AU, while you great-granddad are talking about rubbing Vicks in your ankles.*

Loyiso: *So Dave you're STILL not gonna comment on this thing?*

Dave: *What's there to comment on? 'Cause at some point you're just going to become a hater. At least Robert Mugabe is educated. And no, I'm not about to comment on President Jacob Zuma. Lack of education is linked to everything, especially crime.*

'Cause I saw that mall shootout in Bedfordview last week. Where do you think those criminals came from? Basically by lowering the pass rate our Minister of Education is breeding criminals.

Loyiso: *Dave that's a bit harsh, that's a harsh thing to say.*

Dave: *'Cause these matrics will get 13%. They look at the* Job Mail *and they go: Doctor? No. Teacher? Pay too low. Ah! Cash in transit! No matric results required. Flexible hours, and, transport will be provided to and from work, yey!*

Loyiso: *(Chuckles) Dave, are you saying that only students with bad marks commit crimes? Is that what you are saying?*

Dave: *I can tell you that students from private schools are not committing crimes, and if they are, they are committing white collar crimes. With our poor public education system students can't even be white collar criminals. Why? Because you have to pass maths to commit fraud! Government learners will be like: So, I must carry a 4 plus…is it credit them or credit- Ah ah long division I would rather stick to the fruits. Let's steal the fruits.*

Loyiso: *Dave, come on man. Government pupils know their fruits, Dave. Come on don't be like that.*

Dave: *And speaking of fruits Loy, when it comes to fruit design, I feel like the inside of a mango is designed very well, but then the skin and the shape leaves a lot to be desired. It's almost as if mangoes were designed to be eaten in the shower Loy.*

Loyiso: *Dave, I thought we were talking about the chairperson of the AU, why are you talking about mangoes?!*

Dave: *Thank you Loy.*

Loysio: *Ladies and gentlemen, that was David Kibuuka in Zimbabwe, we'll see him next week.*

5.3.3.2 The underlying meaning

A number of verbal cues are used from which one can draw a deeper meaning from what is actually said.

Regarding President Mugabe's appointment to the AU Chairmanship

In opening his report, David Kibuuka says that it is up to the viewers to decide for themselves whether President Robert Mugabe's appointment as AU chairperson is a good idea. However, it is clear that David himself does *not* think it is a good idea and a number of negative associations he makes make one to infer this. The first is that he associates President Mugabe with an unclean leadership track record[1] (implied). The second is that he associates President Mugabe with a Nazi dictator who was responsible for the Jewish holocaust by comparing their moustaches. The third is that he implies President Mugabe is too old to be chairman of the AU, by putting him in a league of old senile men, such as his great-grandfather, whose only concern is with rubbing Vicks in his ankles. As a way of exaggerating President Mugabe's age but without actually putting a number to it, David compares him to his *great*-grandfather. One can safely assume that, at an adult age, the possibility of having a great-grandparent still living is nearly impossible, thereby propelling the age of the said grandparent to a great old age indeed. David then contends that at least President Mugabe is educated, and then uses this point to make a comment on the state of education in South Africa.

Regarding the state of education in South Africa

David saves his harshest criticism yet *not* for the President of South Africa, whose lack of formal education is widely known, but for the Minister of Education, whose policies regarding the pass rates have not been without controversy. One can infer from David's reference to matriculants looking for jobs in the newspaper and not finding any

---

[1] President Mugabe has been at the helm of Zimbabwe since 1980. Since the 1999 formation of the biggest opposition party the MDC, the country has had election related violence and disputed elections starting with parliamentary elections 2000 right up to the last presidential elections in 2013.

they are competent for, that the current public education system is not producing matriculants who are well equipped to compete in the job market. David then creates a cause and effect relationship between the poor matric results and the levels of crime in South Africa. The situation of high levels of crime is rather simplified in this cause-effect relationship, without any regard to a multitude of factors which contribute to crime, such as poverty and exploitation by those who own the means of production, to mention a few. David states rather controversially that students in private schools are not committing crime, and if they are, they are committing white collar crime. This is a rather bizarre assertion, considering no evidence has been offered to support that assertion. In fact, white collar crime is made to seem like a better or 'clever' kind of crime as compared to, say, a shootout at a mall in Bedfordview. However, judging from media reports about white collar crime in South Africa such as the one involving investor J Arthur Brown who was convicted of mismanaging pensioners' funds (Du Plessis 2015), such crimes often involve the embezzlement of millions of rands.

5.3.4 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'

5.3.4.1 The verbatim transcript

Host Loyiso Gola gives LNN's view on the tragedy that has befallen Paris. The following is what he says in his monologue:

So back to the tragedy that has befallen Paris, if you don't know three gunmen stormed the offices of a Parisian satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo *and murdered twelve people. Now why would anyone do such a thing? The alleged reason was a retaliation for blasphemy.* Charlie Hebdo*, the French satirical newspaper published cartoons mocking the Prophet Mohammed. A big no no according to Islamic faith. Now obviously this attack has nothing to do with Islam and Muslims in general, because it was just a work of a bunch of touchy fanatics. Fanatics are crazy, like you see these people, they eat grass, drink petrol, in the name of Jesus. (Crossover to the church service where people were drinking petrol as pineapple juice. Some words are said in vernacular during the service).*

On Late Nite News we poke fun at a lot of people, especially Limpopo. Mmmm. Especially. And Limpopo people, we wouldn't like you guys there in Limpopo to send tokoloshis to strike us with lightning and make our penises small for no reason. Please don't do that, mmm? We respect every power that you have and whatever weather you would like to give us this weekend we will accept. Textbook delivery for who, for what? Hawu wa *those kids in Limpopo, forget about those children, man.*

Before last week Charlie Hebdo *had gotten themselves into a lot of trouble many times. They have been forced to close their doors, change their name, they have even had to fire employees over accusations of racism. Their slogan said it all: Dumb and nasty. The fact that they have spent the last 35 odd years championing social issues is both impressive and inspiring. But it doesn't exempt them from dodgy behaviour. It doesn't mean we can't question them. For instance, Bill Cosby tore down stereotypes of black people by espousing family values, but that does not excuse his alleged heinous extra-curricular activity. Right? We still have to question that. Right? Now I'm talking about their vilifying of the Muslim people, an already stigmatised minority in France.*

Satire, right South Africa, is about speaking truth to power, and not demonising a mere 7% of the population who are already treated like second class citizens. Of course it must be noted that they also vilified other groups, they were also under fire for anti-Semitism, and for portraying a black minister as a monkey.

Now with all that considered there's absolutely no reason to shoot anyone for expressing an opinion no matter how (inaudible) you find it. Right? If shooting people was an acceptable response to being offended, then the world would have no Leon Schuster movies. Now look look look, my president (then he breaks into song) 'My president, my president' Msholozi- cartoonists have been messing with Msholozi for years. Did he ever do a drive-by at Zapiro's house? No! Did he ever ask Blade Nzimande to throw an empty wine bottle at a newspaper office? No! He took them to court. Mmmm. (In a conspiratorial voice he says the following statement:) Because he was trying to make money ofcourse, for more renovations, more renovations. (Back to normal voice from here.) Now that's the thing with fundamentalists, heh? You guys

need a good legal team; we'll send you Barry Roux, someone to help you guys. Stop killing people whose views you don't agree with. That is America's job.

Now guys, when push comes to shove, you don't actually have to pick up the machine gun. (In a conspiratorial voice, with image of President Jacob Zuma dancing, Loyiso says) You can sing about it. (Breaks into song) 'Mshini wami, mshini wami'. Simple. The bottom line is being offended doesn't justify murder. Personally in terms of satire I think that Charlie Hebdo was at the bottom of the barrel. Mmmm. They were repeatedly offensive. But, they had every right to be offensive without losing their right to life. But now the publications, movie stars, soccer players around the world are calling themselves Charlie. I mean come on! At LNN, I would like to say, we believe in a world where everyone has a right to freedom of speech, that's what we believe in. But are we Charlie? No, we're not Charlie. LNN? We are not Charlie.

5.3.4.2 The underlying meaning

A number of verbal cues are used from which one can draw a deeper meaning from what is actually said.

In the opening sentences Loyiso gives a brief update on what happened in Paris. He labels the people that committed these murders a 'group of fanatics'. The labelling is significant because it allows for easy association with other unconventional religious people, such as the Christian pastor in South Africa who had recently been in the news for feeding his parishioners grass and making them drink petrol (Ngqola, 2015). By labelling them fanatics, it justifies them being dismissed as crazy people not worth anyone's attention.

In the second paragraph, Loyiso alludes to the fact that they at LNN, as at *Charlie Hebdo*, also poke fun at people. Loyiso tries to show that they do not hold the moral high ground as far as poking fun at groups of people is concerned; he mentions that at LNN they routinely poke fun at people from Limpopo province. As if to say that their kind of poking is harmless, he, in a self-deprecating way, asks the people from Limpopo not to send them lightning as retaliation or make their genitals small for no

reason. This feeds into the usual (negative) stereotypes about people from Limpopo having supernatural powers.

In the third paragraph, Loyiso again turns his attentions to *Charlie Hebdo*. In a reverse sandwich critique method, Loyiso begins by mentioning all the troubles that *Charlie Hebdo* has found themselves in over the years. Then he compliments the newspaper for their more than 35 years championing social causes. Finally, he delivers another criticism by stating that this does not exempt them from dodgy behaviour such as vilifying Muslim people.

In the fourth paragraph, Loyiso explains to the viewers what satire is and is not. He says that satire is about speaking truth to power, but it is not about vilifying a mere 7% of the population that is already stigmatised. However, it would appear there is a thin line between what does constitute satire and what constitutes an insult to one individual or group's dignity.

In the fifth papragraph, Loyiso offers a challenge to fundamentalists. He challenges them to use the legal route to voice their displeasure with a publication or the media in general.

In the last paragraph, Loyiso summarises again the problem with fundamentalists, and humorously challenges them to sing about their problems, as President Zuma tends to do. In this case Loyiso is mocking the president but highlighting the importance of non-violence. However, his most important message is for his viewers, to whom he states categorically that the show does *not* identify with Charlie. All in all, the monologue is an argument to say that, although both LNN and *Charlie Hebdo* are bonded by the bonds of satire such as routinely poking fun at various groups and speaking truth to power, LNN totally distances itself from fundamentalists that seek to vilify vulnerable groups, and for that reason, do *not* support the hashtag #IamCharlie.

5.3.5 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

5.3.5.1 The verbatim transcript

The interview is a dialogue between Chester Missing and Godrich Gardee and the following conversation ensues:

Chester: Halala*! I am now talking to the secretary general of the EFF, he's the Gwede Mantashe of Freedom Fighters, he's Godrich Gardee! What's going on man? Linjani?*

Godrich: *I am Ban Ki Moon of the United Nations…*

Chester: *Yes, but not Gwede Mantashe, no?*

Godrich: *not Gwede Mantashe.*

Chester: *You do not have enough facial hair for that.*

Did you really elect a guy who's in jail to run the EFF in the North West?

Godrich: *EFF is a democratic organisation…*

Chester: *Yes, that's true.*

Godrich: *The people who elected him are delegates of the province where he belongs…*

Chester: *Ok. This whole 'pay back the money situation', hasn't it turned into an ego battle between Juju and Msholozi?*

Godrich: *Not at all. It's about the people of South Africa and corruption by the executive.*

Chester: *What if the president just says 'I have reached a settlement with treasury to pay back the money'. What would you do then?*

Godrich: *Of course that's what we want him to say: how much he's paying and when he's paying…*

Chester: *Ok but what if he offers to take back…*

Godrich: *I am giving you a T-shirt Chester, here…*

Chester: *Let's see. Oh my God, yoh! That is the whitest thing in the EFF.*

Godrich: *So have it, Chester.*

Chester: *Yes …(inaudible) There we go it's the EFF 'Pay Back The Money' T- …you even selling merchandise. You are making money out of 'Paying Back The Money'. You said you'd make the president's speech ungovernable. I mean, what are you going to do? Will it involve tequila?*

Godrich: *We have never said that we will make his speech ungovernable…*

Chester: *What? I heard that you did!*

Godrich: *…we have said that we will ask him the question.*

Chester: *What will you ask him? How do you shine your head so shiny?*

Godrich: *We will ask him the question.*

Chester: *…How do you swim in a fire pool?*

Godrich: *No no no no no. We're taking it from the 21st of August 2014. When is he going to pay back the money as the public protector have (sic) said.*

Chester: *Well I mean…ok. Let's…Why are you going to court for your right to wear fancy dress in parliament?*

Godrich: *Well we have not reached that point but if need be, it's the best we can do because it's very peaceful, it's not violent, and there's no disruption.*

Chester: *Why do you wear overalls?*

Godrich: *It's symbolic of the constituency that we represent: the workers.*

Chester: *But if you start representing sex workers, will you have to wear G-strings and stiletto…(inaudible) …and be like, 'Whoa hoo! Who's daddy'?*

Godrich: *(Laughs) Well we can only represent the worse of the worst of the workers, the most exploited. The artisans, the mine workers, and the domestic workers.*

Chester: Amandla*. And we love that you do this. But you guys are earning, whatever it is…R80,000 a month or whatever. I mean, you're not poor. So you guys are actually doing …(inaudible)… it's like Helen Zille's doek for poor people.*

Godrich: *It can't be! It can't be!*

Chester: *Oh lies!*

Godrich: *We went to parliament some of us were very senior executives of government before we went to parliament…*

Chester: *Exactly! You…*

Godrich: *…so we've always been earning some of that money we are currently earning.*

Chester: *What are you guys going to be doing in 2015 in parliament apart from screaming about paying back money?*

Godrich: *We will introduce motions for debate on bettering the lives of the people of South Africa.*

Chester: *But listen man, you guys are basically winning parliament by bragging. You scream and shout, you are doing to parliament what pit bull does to music.*

Godrich: *No no no. It is the nature of parliaments throughout the world to talk, to shout…*

Chester: *But you're (inaudible)…Pay Back The Money, and then I even saw Commissar Floyd pulling a zap sign with his middle finger…going 'F*** you man!'*

Godrich: *No no no no no. It's about a culture of the society. In other cultures, the flipping of the bird is not necessarily …*

Chester: *I saw zap signs, it's not about your culture.*

> *Is Julius Malema going back to the ANC?*

Godrich: *He has said it many times that that is a laughable story. It's neither here nor there. It's not even part of anything that he thinks of in this world.*

Chester: *But if he goes aren't you worried that he will take that swank Golf GTI for himself?*

Godrich: *Ask* City Press. *They have apologised for that story. They have misled the …*

Chester: *The lying bastards. You lying bastards!*

Godrich: *Well it's you who's saying that, it's not me.*

Chester: *Thank you, thank you, commissar. I really appreciate you talking to us. I'm also going to go get rich. Godrich.*

Godrich: *(Laughs). It was nice being with you Chester.*

Chester: *Viva! Are you going to make him pay back the money?*

Godrich: *Who must pay back the money?*

Chester: *Julius! Just kidding, just kidding. I'm out!*

5.3.5.2 The underlying meaning

Although parts of the interview were not audible due to frequent interjections by both Chester Missing and Godrich Gardee, what was captured is sufficient enough to draw meaning from the various verbal cues in the interview.

The opening sentence by Chester Missing clearly sets the tone of the interview. The way he informally introduces his guest by saying '*Halala*!' and '*Linjani*' shows that the interviewer Chester intends to create a relaxed atmosphere for Godrich Gardee, an atmosphere different from other political interviews on television news or current affairs shows wherein the interviewer fires a salvo within the first few minutes of the interview.

The first question that Chester asks his guest is on the election of a member in jail to run the EFF in the North West province. The tone expressed is one of bewilderment, which prompts the viewer to question the decision-making within the EFF party. Godrich quickly asserts that the EFF is a democratic party to counter the implied argument that democratic processes were not followed in the election of the said commissar. At the time of the interview the EFF was going through internal battles which had seen the likes of the vociferous Andile Mnxgitama facing the prospect of being thrown into political wilderness (see press statement by Ndlozi, 2015) (he has since been expelled from the EFF) after a series of press leaks were attributed to him.

The second question that Chester asks is with regard to the well-known EFF slogan 'Pay Back The Money' which the party has routinely used to pressure President Jacob Zuma to pay back a portion of the money used for upgrades to his Nkandla home. Godrich uses this as an opportunity to emphasise that it is more than about the slogan but about corruption by the executive. Godrich giving Chester a white T-Shirt with the words 'Pay Back The Money' can be seen as a way of making the slogan appeal to, and remain the focus of ordinary people in South Africa. It can be seen as a way to remind South Africans that the conversation about Nkandla is not finished and will be pursued once President Zuma returns to parliament.

Chester then asks Godrich how the EFF plans to make the president's speech ungovernable and whether it will involve tequila. At the time of the interview there was

much anticipation for the state of the nation address (SONA) which was to be presented by President Zuma to parliament on the 12ᵗʰ of February 2015. The EFF had heightened anticipation of the SONA because they had given various media interviews during which they promised to continue to ask the question of when President Zuma would pay back the money. By asking if it will involve tequila, Chester reduces the question of Nkandla to a wild raucous party by the EFF who seem to be enjoying unprecedented attention due to their parliamentary antics. Despite this Godrich stands firm on his party's position that they will continue with the question they had asked in 2014 regarding payment of Nkandla upgrades.

On the question of the EFF's dress to parliament, which includes wearing miner overalls for men and domestic servants' uniforms for women, Chester challenges the party to do a self-introspection on whether it is really necessary to wear these overalls to parliament. Chester challenges the party's dress code on two fronts: first, he shows the party that it is disingenuous to wear overalls because if they represented sex-workers they would not necessarily adhere to sex workers' dress code. Secondly, he challenges them on the grounds that they are already earning more than a fair salary as parliamentarians, so that wearing overalls is tantamount to insulting the constituency which they claim to represent.

On the question of the EFF's plans for parliament in 2015, Chester tries to show that the EFF is just a bunch of rowdy parliamentarians by asking Godrich what the EFF plans to do *besides screaming* (own emphasis) about paying back the money. To this, Godrich insists that it is within their democratic rights to do so. Godrich shows that, contrary to popular belief, parliaments are not for rational discourse only.

On the question of the leadership of the party, Chester asks whether Julius Malema will return to the ANC. The question is part of the broader narrative concerning the questionable leadership of Julius Malema as raised by Andile Mnxgitama among other people. Godrich re-asserts that his leader is committed to the EFF and not going anywhere. He puts paid rumours that Julius Malema benefited unduly from the purchase of a car by his party and says the *City Press* newspaper issued a statement apologising for the misleading story. It is unclear whether Chester is satisfied with this

explanation as he ends the interview by throwing back the EFF slogan in their face by asking when Julius Malema will pay back the money (for the purchase of the Golf).

5.3.6 'Racism in schools'

5.3.6.1 The verbatim transcript

The interview is a dialogue between Kagiso Lediga as a parent driving his daughter Palesa to her new school. The following conversation ensues:

Dad: *Er, Palesa my child, as you can see your mother and I have gone to great lengths to make sure that you get to attend this good school. Heh? So please, you must go forth and make us proud my child. Don't embarrass us.*

Palesa: *But Papa, I like my old school, everybody there looks like me.*

Dad: *That's exactly why I pulled you out of there, heh? Here you'll get to attend with good white people, and learn to use big words like luxurious and legendary, exquisite, er, extravaganza.*

TWO YEARS LATER

Dad: *So is there anything interesting, er, happening, er, at the good white school today?*

Palesa: *Well, we had like six new students, and they are all black. And our new science teacher, his name is Mr Radebe, and…*

Dad: *Heh? Heh? I'm calling that school. I'm really… (On the phone now). Er, hello, Schoeman, what is this I hear about a black teacher? Transformation? Er er, no. I am paying for white teachers, not transformation. And this business of new black kids in her class? Huh? Listen here my friend, listen here. If I wanted that I would have taken her to Thembisa high. It's much cheaper and it's closer to my house? Mmmm? It's nonsense man!*

ONE YEAR LATER

Dad: *My child, you have blossomed into a beautiful young woman, I mean, wow, it's like globalisation.*

Palesa: *Thanks for bringing me here, dad. The school has been luxurious, legendary, exquisite and extravagant.*

Dad: *Legendary. Exactly. (Grins widely)*

5.3.6.2 The underlying meaning

A number of verbal cues are used from which one can draw a deeper meaning from what is actually said.

Time period one: Palesa goes to a new school

This period is significant because of three things. Firstly, it indicates the sacrifices that black middle-class parents make to put their children through good schools. Secondly, it indicates the sense of community that black children experience when they attend school with their own kith and kin, and implies a loss of community that may be felt when they are taken away from their kith and kin. Thirdly, it shows a rather distorted view that black middle class parents have, that interacting with white people will lead to upward social mobility (indicated by the fancy new words that the black parent hopes his child will learn).

Time period two: Palesa's period of adjustment

In the second time period, Palesa's accent has changed, and she speaks with an exaggerated white accent. Palesa's culture is diluting and she is becoming the person she hopes her father wanted her to be when he sent her to the new school. An important question is raised about transformation in schools. The black middle class parent is shown to be confused about what he really wants, as he moved his child from the townships school in order to seek a more modern education, only to be angered when the suburban school he moved his daughter to decide to move with the

times and employ more black staff and enrol more black students to reflect the demographics in the country.

Time period three: Palesa acclimatises to new school

Palesa's father is impressed that Palesa has become a 'global citizen'. This can be inferred to mean that black middle class parents' desire in taking their children to suburban schools is to prepare them to be worldly citizens. This seems to be achieved when Palesa rattles off her tongue the big words 'luxurious, legendary, exquisite and extravagant' which her father had hoped she would learn*.* The black middle class parent has totally succeeded in alienating his child from his own culture as indicated by the new phrases which she would not have known or used before in her life.

5.4 Musical/ sound representation

According to Fourie (2009: 186), there are three auditory codes: the human voice, music, and sound effects. These audio codes do not work in isolation but in combination with the visual codes in order to convey the communicator's intended message. The auditory codes also work to fulfil certain communicative functions. The focus of the analysis below is on **one** auditory code: the human voice. The human voice can be used according to different types of address, such as direct address and indirect address. In the discussion below the communicative functions of the human voice are discussed. The audiovisual Gestalt and the contextual variables that affect meaning are also discussed.

5.4.1 'Matric results'

5.4.1.1 Type of address

In the parody the educator uses the direct mode of address because he communicates with the viewer directly by using words such as 'You' and 'Your'. The educator clearly uses this mode of address because at the beginning of the parody he says, 'Since a

lot of *you* have finished their matrics…Today I am going to teach *you* about how to get a jobs (sic) in South Africa' (own italics).

According to Fourie (2009: 187), direct address is conventionally used in advertisements, political speeches, game shows and educational texts, with the purpose of involving the viewing audience by speaking to them directly. This parody follows the format of an educational text.

5.4.1.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the parody, the direct address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer information about an action, which action is how to get a job in South Africa. This is supported visually by an image of a black male educator sitting in a makeshift classroom in a television studio with a white writing board and markers for use in teaching.

The pacing function: In the parody the human voice using the form of direct address has been used to move the story forward at a pace similar to a teacher lecturing his or her students. The educator even asks rhetorical questions such as 'Get it? Got it? Good', so as to ensure that the viewers are keeping up with his pace.

The bridging function: The human voice is used in the parody to bridge what is being said to what is shown on the television screen. Because the lesson is presented as if it were a mathematical formula, frequent shot changes showing the various elements of the mathematical formula help to create a link between what is said and what is represented visually.

The mood created: In the parody the form of direct address is used effectively to engage the viewer and create a kind of rapport between the educator and the viewer. The chuckles and the 'Get it? Got it? Good' rhetorical question helps to create a relaxed atmosphere that is conducive for effecting learning to take place.

5.4.1.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the parody is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey the message of the story, while the visuals support through the medium close up shot of the educator.

5.4.1.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie 2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is one of a classroom, and in real life classrooms are environments in which learning take place. The setting reflects on the social position of the educator, who in real life is a person who is a fountain of knowledge for his learners.

5.4.2 'Service delivery protests'

5.4.2.1 Type of address

In the parody the indirect mode of address is used in the form of a dialogue between two people. However, one of the people in the conversation speaks off screen in the form of a voice-over. This dialogue therefore addresses the viewers indirectly.

5.4.2.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the parody, the indirect address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer information about the self-defeating nature of service delivery protests in South Africa. This is supported verbally by the dialogue, whereby for each service Jabu desires to have, he is reminded of the action that he and his friends took which resulted in the lack of delivery of that service.

The pacing function: In the parody the human voice has been used quite economically to communicate in words what would have taken longer to communicate

visually. Instead of seeing a burnt down school, burnt down municipality, burnt down tavern and burnt down chairs, this is communicated verbally in order to move the story forward.

The bridging function: In the parody the human voice has been used to link what is said into a cohesive whole. Statements such as 'You burnt down the…when you were…'helps to bridge different individual actions/events into one story.

The mood created: The indirect mode of address helps to create a buffer between the person speaking in the voice-over and the viewer so that the viewer does not feel the sting of the reprimanding that Jabu gets. The viewer is spared the verbal onslaught exemplified in the 'You burnt down the…when you were…' statements as well as the final reprimanding contained in the statement 'The only person you ever really hurt with your violent protest, is yourself!'

5.4.2.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the parody is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey the message of the story, while the visuals support through the medium long shot of Jabu and his friends.

5.4.2.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie (2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is one of a service delivery protest in action, and in real life service delivery protests are characterised by burning buildings or cars. The setting reflects on the social position of Jabu and his friends, who are middle/working class citizens who live in the townships where they bear the brunt of poor service delivery.

5.4.3 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

5.4.3.1 Type of address

In the report the indirect mode of address is used in the form of a dialogue between the host Loyiso Gola and his foreign correspondent David Kibuuka. This dialogue therefore addresses the viewers indirectly.

5.4.3.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the report, the indirect address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer opinion about the AU chairmanship of President Robert Mugabe and the state of education in South Africa. This is supported verbally by the dialogue, whereby for each question that the host Loyiso asks (and he clearly asks for opinion, not fact, as indicated by questions like, 'So you are not going to comment?'), David offers his opinion on the matter.

The pacing function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used quite economically to communicate in words what would have taken longer to communicate visually. Instead of seeing the election of President Mugabe, or David's great-grandfather, or President Jacob Zuma, or the various other individuals and events referred to in the dialogue, this is communicated verbally in order to move the story forward.

The bridging function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used to link what is said into a cohesive whole. The questions and statements made by Loyiso such as 'You're not going to comment on this...Are you saying…? But that's a harsh thing to say…' helps to bridge different individual actions/events into one story.

The mood created: The indirect mode of address helps to conscientise the viewer to the communicator's viewpoint. By questioning all of President Robert Mugabe's credentials except his education, the communicator makes the viewer question the suitability of President Mugabe for such an important position. The indirect mode of address is also directed at the AU, to make them question themselves over this

decision. Furthermore, this mode of address is directed at the Minister of Education, to state in a way that lowering matric pass rates creates more problems (crime) that it does solutions.

5.4.3.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the dialogue is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey the message of the story, while the visuals support through the medium long shot of David in Harare and medium close-up shot of Loyiso in Johannesburg.

5.4.3.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie 2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is one of a live news report in progress; complete with the satellite linkup, microphones and location shown on screen as per normal broadcasting conventions. The setting reflects on the social position of Loyiso and David, who are journalists with knowledge about a situation that a viewer would benefit from.

5.4.4 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'

5.4.4.1 Type of address

In the monologue direct mode of address is used throughout. The communicator clearly uses this mode of address as he says '…*if you don't know three gunmen stormed the offices of a Parisian satirical newspaper…*' and '…*we wouldn't like you guys there in Limpopo…*'

5.4.4.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the report, the direct address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer LNN's position and view about the attacks on *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper.

This is supported verbally by the monolgue, such as when Loyiso says statements like: '…*On Late Nite News we…'* and *'At LNN, I would like to say, we believe…'* which indicate LNN's position on the matter.

The pacing function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used quite economically to communicate in words what would have taken longer to communicate visually. A minimum number of images (discussed above under visual representation) are used to support what is said verbally, in order to move the story forward.

The bridging function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used to link what is said into a cohesive whole. Loyiso sometimes breaks into song, or a conspiratorial voice, in order to bridge different individual actions/events into one story.

The mood created: The direct mode of address helps to establish a rapport between the communicator and the viewer. The breaking into song and conspiratorial voice helps to create a relaxed atmosphere to deliver an important lesson in a way that is not too forceful but still effective.

5.4.4.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the dialogue is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey the message of the story, while the visuals support through the medium close-up shot of Loyiso.

5.4.4.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie 2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is a television studio.

The setting reflects on the social position of Loyiso as a journalist with enhanced knowledge about a situation that a viewer would benefit from.

5.4.5 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

5.4.5.1 Type of address

In the report the indirect mode of address is used in the form of a dialogue between puppet Chester Missing and his guest EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee. This dialogue therefore addresses the viewers indirectly.

5.4.5.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the report, the indirect address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer information and opinion about the EFF party. This is supported verbally by the dialogue, whereby the interviewee Godrich Gardee offers information about the party such as 'EFF is a democratic organisation…We will introduce motions for debate on bettering the lives of people in South Africa…' Chester offers opinion in the form of rhetorical questions such as 'Did you *really* elect a guy who's in jail to run the EFF in the North West?' and 'This whole "pay back the money situation", hasn't it turned into an ego battle between Juju and Msholozi?' These questions are not really questions but show what Chester and LNN really think of the situation. The first question shows that Chester thinks it is shocking to elect a member in jail for a party position. The second shows that Chester thinks the 'pay back the money' slogan has become trite.

The pacing function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used quite economically to communicate in words what would have taken longer to communicate visually. Instead of seeing the EFF election in the North West, or images of the EFF in parliament dressed in their party regalia and chanting 'pay back the money', this is communicated verbally in order to move the story forward.

The bridging function*:* In the dialogue the human voice has been used to link what is said into a cohesive whole. Despite interjections here and there Chester gives Godrich a chance to answer all the questions and the question-and-feedback style helps to bridge different individual actions/events into one story.

The mood created*:* Chester occasionally breaks into vernacular by saying '*Halala*!' (an expression of joy) '*Linjani*?' (how are you?) '*Viva*' and '*Amandla*' (power to you) this creates a congenial atmosphere for the interview.

5.4.5.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the dialogue is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey the message of the story, while the visuals support through a close-up shot of Chester and Godrich.

5.4.5.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie 2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is of an office space for a politician. The setting reflects on the social position of Gardrich Gardee as an influential member of the EFF party with authority to speak to the media about matters to do with his party.

5.4.6 'Racism in schools'

5.4.6.1 Type of address

In the report the indirect mode of address is used in the form of a dialogue between Kagiso Lediga playing the role of a father speaking to his daughter Palesa as he drives her to her new school. This dialogue therefore addresses the viewers indirectly.

5.4.6.2 The communicative functions

The informative function: In the report, the indirect address mode has been used to communicate to the viewer information about the decisions made by middle class black parents supposedly for the betterment of their children and the influence of racial factors in those decisions. This is supported verbally by the dialogue, whereby Kagiso tells his daughter about the huge sacrifices he and Palesa's mother have made to take her to the big white school. In the dialogue the viewer is informed of the big fancy words that Kagiso hopes his daughter will learn, and how angry he gets when the white school that he has taken his daughter to gradually becomes 'more black' because of transformation.

The pacing function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used quite economically to communicate in words what would have taken longer to communicate visually. Instead of seeing Palesa's old school, or Palesa's new school this is communicated verbally in order to move the story forward.

The bridging function: In the dialogue the human voice has been used to link what is said into a cohesive whole. In time period one Kagiso informs the viewer indirectly of the sacrifices he has made to take his daughter to a suburban school. In time period two Kagiso expresses his dismay about transformation at his daughter's school. In time period three Kagiso expresses his satisfaction at his daughter having become a 'global citizen'. This helps to bridge different individual actions/events into one story.

The mood created: The indirect mode of address helps to conscientise the viewer to the communicator's viewpoint. The communicator challenges the viewer to think about the decisions that are made that seem initially to be in the best interests of children but only serve to rob children of the freedom fought for in the country and subject them to modern day apartheid.

5.4.6.3 The audiovisual Gestalt

The overall audiovisual effect created by the dialogue is (A/v), meaning the audio dominates and the visuals fulfil a supporting function. The audio dominates to convey

the message of the story, while the visuals support through a medium close-up shot of Kagiso and Palesa.

5.4.6.4 The influence of contextual variables

According to Fourie 2009: 194), the visualised setting and the social space are two of the most important contextual variables. The setting provided is of the inside of a car as a father drives his daughter to school. The setting reflects on the social position as a caring father who 'knows' what is best for his child's education.

5.5 Summary of findings on representation

The selected texts satirise a range of issues such as education, service delivery, leadership, the profession of journalism, politics and transformation. Using the type of address as a point of departure, one can see that the direct mode of address was used in the parody 'Matric results' to comment in general on the issue of qualifications scandals and crony deployment which has been in the news especially with the appointment of two individuals to the SABC board: Ellen Tshabalala (who has since stepped down) and Hlaudi Motsoeneng, both of whom could not produce qualifications that made them suitable for appointment as board members at the SABC (Ngqola, 2014). In 'Service delivery protests' the indirect mode of address was used because the communicator (LNN) was protecting the viewer from the brunt of the harsh reprimanding that was indirectly intended for them. The communicator was urging viewers to be responsible citizens even when protesting for lack of service delivery. In 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' the indirect form of address was used to allow the viewer room to think about the issues being commented on which are leadership and education. It could be considered to be a way of not forcing an opinion on the viewer but dissecting the issues for the viewers and allowing them to come to their own conclusion. In 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*' the viewer is engaged more actively using the direct mode of address. Because of the intensity of the news coverage on *Charlie Hebdo* (see opinion by Alter 2015) and the fact that LNN is a satirical programme in the same way *Charlie Hebdo* is a satirical newspaper, it is possible that

LNN felt a huge responsibility to let their viewers know what their position was. In 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' the indirect mode of address was used as a way to give the viewer access to the EFF and allow them to formulate their opinions on what others may consider to be the shenanigans (see opinion by Dlanga, 2015) of the EFF party. Finally, in 'Racism in schools' the indirect mode of address is again used because, as in 'Service delivery protest', the viewers are being slightly chastised for decisions that are retrogressive as far as the education of their children is concerned.

5.6 Orientation

Iedema (2004:192), states that orientation has to do with how meanings position characters and viewers or readers. Specific issues that are important are to do with different types of camera angle and camera shot. The position of the camera as high angle, low angle, side on or oblique angle; as well as the use of long or close up shots has implications for the reading of the text.

5.6.1 Camera angle

Various viewpoints can be created by the field view and the amount of visual information that is in/excluded in the shot and the positioning of the camera in relation to objects, or persons, or scene being filmed (Fourie 2009: 170).

All the six selected parodies used the objective camera throughout. Objective camera is defined as camera's viewpoint that looks at a scene with neutrality and detachment (Fourie 2009: 170).

The underlying meaning

The objective of the communicator may be to make a truth claim. By using the objective camera, the communicator wants the recipient to believe that no bias or manipulation was used to distort the message and that reality is as it is portrayed in

the selected parody. The viewer may also believe that they are drawing an objective, considered opinion about the reality presented and not a representation of it.

5.6.2 Camera shot

Different types of camera shots are used for framing in film and television productions (Fourie 2009: 169). The further the shot the more it reveals about the setting and location, and the closer the shot the more intimate details it provides.

5.6.2.1 The medium close-up shot (MCU)

The parodies entitled 'Matric results', 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*' and 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' all utilise the medium close up shot. According to Fourie (2009: 169), this type of shot frames a person from about the chest level with room above the head. When used to frame a person on television, it is frequently referred to as a 'talking head shot'.

The underlying meaning

The talking head shot is used most commonly by television presenters in news, sports and documentary programmes to speak directly to the audience. It captivates the viewer's attention as the viewer may feel that the message is personalised for them. This emphasises the influence that presenter may have on the viewing public.

5.6.2.2 The medium long shot (MLS)

The parodies entitled 'Service delivery protests', 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' and 'Racism in schools' utilise the medium long shot. The MLS shows more background information and room for movement.

The underlying meaning

The MLS helps to contextualise the scene and help viewers to understand the setting. For example, in 'Service delivery protests' the MLS helps the viewer to see that the

subject Jabu is standing outside a burning supermarket which helps the viewer to infer several meanings behind the parody which would not have been possible in a tighter shot. In 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' the MLS used on David's screen helps to contextualise the location of the report which is Zimbabwe. In 'Racism in schools' the use of the MLS also helps to contextualise the scene as it shows more about the environment (car) that the subjects are in, but more especially it allows the viewer to see the changes in Palesa which may not have been easily discernible in a tighter shot.

5.7 Summary of findings on orientation

All six texts used the objective camera angle. As has already been discussed, the objective camera looks at the scene with neutrality and detachment. As LNN is a news parody programme, this fits well with general news conventions of objectivity in the reporting of news.

In terms of the camera shot, the most popular shots used were the medium close-up shot (MCU) and the medium long short (MLS). These shots are in line with broadcast news conventions.

5.8 Organisation

Iedema (2004:192) says organisation concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text. The visual editing of the programme, such as the structure (chronological order of the programme) and paradigmatic structure (the central opposition in the text, and the binary oppositions) have significant impressions for how a text is read. The methodological analysis by Iedema (2004:192) is used in conjunction with the structure developed by Berger (2012:37) on the semiotic analysis of television texts.

5.8.1 Paradigmatic structure

5.8.1.1 'Matric results'

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath.

Morality	Immorality
Qualification	Piece of paper
Traditional or long method	The Hlaudi method
Matric plus university qualification equals job opportunity	Does not need 'piece of paper', everything begins with 'Number 1'
Very difficult, takes a long time	Easy
Stressful, a lot of hullabaloo	No stress, no hullabaloo
Eventually get a job (implied)	Job opportunity comes from dialling 'Number 1' directly, or calling a relative with 'Number 1's contact details
	You can become CEO of SABC or Minister of Energy, or architect of Nkandla

Table 5.1 Central and sub-oppositions in 'Matric results'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social imports of the oppositions refer to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in this text is that, to get a 'coveted' job such as being a chief executive of a parastatal, or a cabinet minister, or the architect of the president's homestead, one needs only to know the 'right people' and that a matric certificate and university qualification do not matter that much. The story being told is that, in South Africa, having a matric certificate or university qualification is treated with much disdain, because people like the chief executive of SABC (who is known not to have a matric certificate), or the architect of the presidential home (who seemingly inflated the cost of the project), can just get a top notch job just by being aligned to the right people.

5.8.1.2 'Service delivery protests'

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath.

Rationality	Madness
Doing usual nice guy things like taking care of family, washing car, dancing to music with friends.	Getting irrationally angry when services have not been delivered that you burn the services that have already been delivered.
Getting cold drinks when thirsty.	Burning the store because of water shortages.

Calling the municipal office to voice concern over lack of services.	Burning down the municipal office when angry about a lack of other service (school).
	Burning down school when angry about the tavern being closed for the weekend.
	Burning chairs when angry with spouse.
Valuing the things you like, such as your car.	Burning down car when trying to avoid paying instalments.
	Hurting yourself with violent protest that you think is directed at someone else.

Table 5.2 Central and sub-oppositions in 'Service delivery protests'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social import of the oppositions refers to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in this text is that, service delivery protests do not work (in terms of pressuring local or national government to take action), but that they in fact hurt the people who are protesting against the government. This is because the nature of service delivery protests is that people burn amenities such as schools, taverns, supermarkets and even their personal property which has the effect of worsening the poor service delivery in the area.

5.8.1.3 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath. The foreign report indicates two stories so two tables indicating the binary oppositions are shown below.

Proper electoral process	Flawed electoral process
Electing president of an African country chairperson of the African Union	Electing a chairperson with a dubious presidential track record
Electing a chairperson who has much experience in governing a country (implied)	Electing a chairperson who is too old to be in leadership (implied)
Electing a chairperson who is educated	Electing a person with dictatorial tendencies like Adolf Hitler

Government school	Private School
Negatively affected by the lowering of the pass rate	
Produces matriculants who do not qualify for jobs advertised in the *Job Mail*	Produces matriculants qualified for white collar jobs
Produces matriculants who cannot do basics like long division	Produces matriculants who are competent in mathematics (implied)
Produces matriculants destined for thug criminal behaviour (such as	Produces matriculants who are good citizens, but if they do engage in

robbing malls and cash in transit vehicles)	criminal behaviour, they commit white collar crime such as fraud

Table 5.3 Central and sub-oppositions in 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social import of the oppositions refers to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in the first text is that President Robert Mugabe is not a suitable candidate for the chairmanship of the AU because he is old, has dictatorial tendencies, and has a bad track record as president. The text criticises the AU for making such a decision. The myth peddled by the second text is that the Ministry of Education is as incompetent as the matric students it produces, as the decision to lower the pass rate is tantamount to, and in fact does, produce criminals. The text tries to attack the moral conscience of the ministry.

5.8.1.4 'Attack on **Charlie Hebdo***'*

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath.

Fundamentalists	**Liberals**
Mock other people's religion	Pock fun at people while respecting their differences (implied)
Vilify minority groups	Champion social causes
Demonise minority groups, practise anti-Semitism and racism	Speak truth to power

Need an understanding of the legal process (implied)	Use the legal route (to fight defamation cases)
Kill people	Engage with people (implied)
Picks up a machine gun when faced with a difficult situation	Uses humour to deal with a difficult situation

Table 5.4 Central and sub-oppositions in 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social import of the oppositions refers to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in the text is that satirical news media are removed from the society in which they operate. The supposed vilifying and demonising of Muslim people by *Charlie Hebdo* is made to appear as if it was a creation only of the staffers at *Charlie Hebdo*, instead of, perhaps, a reflection of a general anti-Islam attitude in the French population. The other myth is that differences of opinion can be resolved through legal processes, when in fact the wheels of justice turn very slowly and may prove inadequate to deal with anger pent up over long periods of time.

5.8.1.5 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath.

Democratic parties	**Corrupt parties**
Let the people vote who they want to lead them	Elect criminals for party positions
Hold the executive to account	Engage in ego battles

Ask the questions that matter (such as paying back undue benefits)	Make parliament ungovernable by chanting slogans
Represent their constituencies genuinely by, for example, wearing attire which identifies with that constituency	Go to court over frivolous matters such as dress code
Introduce motions aimed at bettering the lives of South Africans	Scream about paying back the money
Exercise their democratic right in terms of the nature of parliaments to talk and shout	Shout obscenities in parliament
Do not think about their leader flip-flopping between parties	Have questionable leaders who make dubious car purchases

Table 5.5 Central and sub-oppositions in 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social import of the oppositions refers to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in the text is that the EFF is a single mandate party, concerned only with an ego battle between Julius Malema and President Jacob Zuma about when the latter will pay back a portion of the money spent on upgrades to his home. The EFF party is made to seem as if they are disingenuous to the plight of the poor when in fact the party is concerned about introducing motions for debate in parliament about bettering the lives of the poor (as said in the interview). The other myth peddled by the text is by the EFF party itself, which seems to overestimate its influence on matters of national interest. When it comes down to voting on motions in parliament, the party is largely outnumbered by the governing party and may not be able to change things as they hope.

5.8.1.6 'Racism in schools'

The central and sub-oppositions

The central oppositions are in bold, and the sub-oppositions under the central oppositions are listed underneath.

Suburban schools	Township schools
Multi-cultural (implied)	All pupils look alike
Use big words like luxurious, legendary, exquisite, and extravaganza	
More expensive (implied)	Cheaper
Many white children	Many black children
	Closer to the community where the children live
Produces global citizens	

Table 5.6 Central and sub-oppositions in 'Racism in schools'

The psychological or social import of the oppositions

The psychological or social import of the oppositions refers to myths that are peddled by the text. The main myth that is peddled in the text is that middle class black parents are misinformed or ill-advised about the effects of a supposedly more modern education on their children. The text seems to imply that education at a suburban school for black children has negative consequences as it causes children to lose touch with their own culture. The text also peddles the myth that transformation is unpopular among black people as upward social mobility (within the white community) seems to appeal more to the black parents.

5.8.2 Syntagmatic structure

Vladimir Propp was a Russian folklorist who wrote a pioneering book in 1928 title Morphology of the Folktale, Berger (2012: 22). After studying a number of folktales Propp broke down the narrative of the folktale into component parts (called functions), enabling the comparison of a number of folktales according to their component parts. Propp's work can be adapted to all kinds of narratives such as films, television stories and comics, Berger (2012: 22). Propp gave a description of each of the functions as indicated in the table below. Not all of the functions can be applied to each parody. The tables have been compressed to indicate only the functions that do apply.

5.8.2.1 'Matric results'

Propp's functions

Initial situation Members of the family or hero introduced.	The hero is the matric student or viewer watching the show.
Interdiction An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	The hero does not have a job, and wants to get a top notch job but does not know how to go about it.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is not a person but a situation. The situation of unemployment is the villain that is wearing down the hero (matric student/viewer).
Delivery The villain receives information about his victim.	The unemployment situation is putting a lot of pressure on the matric student/viewer.
Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	The viewer/matric student learns that there are essentially two methods to get a job: the traditional long method, or the

	'Hlaudi' method, but in actual fact there is no such thing as the 'Hlaudi' method.
Complicity The villain submits to deception, unwittingly helps his enemy.	The hero believes that the 'Hlaudi' method exists and that it can actually help him/her to get a job.
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	The desperate unemployment situation causes the hero to lose their integrity and desire the 'stress free' Hlaudi method.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	The viewer/matric student lacks the know-how of implementing the 'Hlaudi' method.
Counteraction Seekers agree to decide on counteraction.	The hero who is searching for a job now considers whether they can call 'Number 1' directly or seek a relative with 'Number1's' contact who will enable them to fulfil their desire of having a job.
1st function of donor Hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.	The hero does not have the contact details to 'Number 1' which will enable direct access to 'Number 1'.
Receipt of magic agent Hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	The hero is told (by the donor, who is the educator) that to get the contact details to 'Number 1', they need to call an aunty, or uncle, or other relative.
Spatial transference Hero is led to object of search.	The hero calling 'Number 1' directly will help to secure a job opportunity.
Branding Hero is branded.	The hero receives a top notch job opportunity such as CEO of SABC,

	architect of Nkandla, or Minister of Energy.
Victory Villain is defeated.	The joblessness situation is resolved; the hero overcomes unemployment.
Transfiguration The hero is given a new appearance.	No longer is the hero counted among the unemployed, he or she can now be counted among the employed (this is implied).
Wedding The hero is married and ascends to the throne.	The hero gains status and prestige with the top notch job.

Table 5.7 Propp's functions in 'Matric results'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. The story is that the hero (who is addressed in the story as the matric student) is facing a big challenge of unemployment (villain) and faces two options to get out of this situation: using a traditional method or the Hlaudi method. However, the arrangement of the elements is such that, despite the hero being deceived into believing the 'Hlaudi' method actually exists, the method yields a surprisingly positive outcome as the hero is given the tools (magical agent in the form of a specific 'scientific method') to enable them to implement the 'Hlaudi' method, thereby being guaranteed a job opportunity and the label of a top notch job.

5.8.2.2 'Service delivery protests'

Propp's functions

Initial situation Members of the family or hero introduced.	The hero is Jabu because he is a family man, he has a few possessions such as a car and he socialises with his friends. He is generally a good citizen.
Interdiction An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	The hero, Jabu, is frustrated because he is not getting services delivered to his municipal area.
Violation An interdiction is violated.	Jabu lets his anger and frustration get the better of him.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is the not a person but a situation. The situation of lack of service delivery is wearing down Jabu.
Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	The situation of lack of service delivery is so frustrating that it forces the hero Jabu to protest.
Complicity The villain submits to deception, unwittingly helps his enemy.	Jabu begins to protest against the lack of service delivery.
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	The desperate lack of service delivery causes the hero Jabu to stop being a good citizen and burn amenities in frustration.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	Jabu and his friends lack basic services in their area.

Mediation Misfortunate is made known, hero is dispatched.	Jabu discovers that burning amenities such as the tavern is leading to a worse situation regarding service delivery as he does not have a tavern at which to have a drink to quench his thirst.
Counteraction Seekers agree to decide on counteraction.	Jabu decides to call the municipality to voice his frustration about the lack of a tavern and water in his area.
1st function of donor Hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.	Jabu does not realise the consequences of his actions, so he receives help in the form of 'sound advice' from the person who does the voice over (donor).
Hero's reaction Hero reacts to actions of the future donor.	Jabu initially states quite adamantly that he will call the municipality about the lack of service delivery but he begins to realise that his actions are not yielding any positive results.
Receipt of magic agent Hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	Jabu receives the sound advice from the donor.
Spatial transference Hero is led to object of search.	Jabu is told that the only person he is hurting with these protests is himself.
Branding Hero is branded.	Jabu becomes a good citizen again after realising the protests are harming him rather than benefitting him (implied).
Victory Villain is defeated.	The villain is defeated through Jabu thinking differently about fighting the injustice of lack of service delivery.

Transfiguration	Jabu regains his status as a good citizen who makes wise decisions (implied).
The hero is given a new appearance.	

Table 5.8 Propp's functions in 'Service delivery protests'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. The story is that the hero (Jabu) is a good citizen who takes care of his family, his car, and his friends. However, he faces a big challenge of lack of service delivery (villain) which causes him and his friends to get so angry that they burn amenities in protest. The arrangements of the elements reveal that, for every service that Jabu and his friends desire, they are reminded of the lack of it due to irrational anger which made them burn the service in the first place. The donor (voice over artist) gives Jabu sound advice regarding the real impact of the service delivery protests on the community and makes Jabu wiser.

5.8.2.3 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

Propp's functions

	The AU chairmanship of President Robert Mugabe.	The state of education in South Africa.
Initial situation Members of the family or hero introduced.	The hero is the viewer watching the show.	The hero is the viewer watching the show.
Interdiction	The hero does not understand how the AU elected President Robert	The hero does not understand the potential impact of

An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	Mugabe to the chairmanship.	the lowering of the matric pass rate.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is the African Union. They elected a president who is old, is a dictator, and has a bad track record as chairman.	The villain is the Ministry of Education. They have compromised the education system in South Africa.
Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	The AU would like the viewer to believe that President Mugabe was a fair choice for the chairmanship position (implied).	The Ministry of Education would like the viewer to believe that the lowering of the pass rate is in the country's interest (implied).
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	The decision of the AU to elect President Mugabe causes the viewer to lose faith in democratic processes.	The decision of the Ministry of Education to lower the matric pass rate causes the viewer to lose faith in the public education system.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	The viewer lacks knowledge of how the AU came to this decision and would like to understand it better.	The viewer lacks knowledge of the negative impact the lowering of the pass rates has on South Africa.
Counteraction Seekers agree to decide on counteraction.	The hero who is the viewer then listens to the criteria offered by the donor (the foreign correspondent) of	The viewer is then informed of the cause-effect relationship between

	who qualifies to be AU chairperson.	poor matric results and crime in the country.
1st function of donor Hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.	The hero receives information that will help him/her decide whether the election of President Mugabe was a good idea.	The viewer then receives information about the real impact that poor matric results have on the country.
Receipt of magic agent Hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	The hero is told (by the donor, who is the foreign correspondent) that sometimes it is better not to comment on the issue as it may obfuscate rather than clarify the issue.	The viewer receives information that will make him think critically about the state of education in public schools.
Branding Hero is branded.	The hero receives a lesson in 'quiet diplomacy', wherein the best weapon is silence.	
Victory Villain is defeated.	The African Union suffers a diplomatic defeat at the hands of the viewer who shows them that, even though they do not always vocally complain, they are playing a watchdog role (implied).	The Ministry of Education suffers reputational damage as a result of the assertion that it is breeding criminals.
Transfiguration The hero is given a new appearance.	The viewer is now more politically conscious.	The viewer is now more politically conscious.

Table 5.9 Propp's functions in 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. Both stories address the viewer as the hero. In both stories the viewer lacks knowledge of how the AU came to elect President Mugabe as chairman of the AU, as well as knowledge of the impact that the lowered pass rates have on South Africa. The arrangement of the elements reveals, first, the characteristics of President Mugabe which make him unsuitable for the chairmanship of the AU, and secondly, the crimes committed in South Africa presumably by failed matric students. The donor (foreign correspondent David Kibuuka) conscientises the viewer on these two issues.

5.8.2.4 'Attack on Charlie Hebdo'

Propp's functions

Initial situation Members of the family or hero introduced.	The hero is the viewer watching the show.
Interdiction An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	The hero does understand the fuss around the hashtag #IamCharlie or what satire really is about.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper because they were mocking Prophet Mohammed.

Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	*Charlie Hebdo* newspaper would like the world to believe that they were only speaking truth to power (implied).
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	*Charlie Hebdo* mocked Prophet Mohammed, engaged in anti-Semitism and portrayed a black minister as a monkey.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	The viewer does not understand why satire should lead to murder of satirists.
1ˢᵗ function of donor Hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.	The viewer is told what satire is by the donor (Loyiso), the viewer is informed that satire is about speaking truth to power and not demonising a minority of the population.
Spatial transference Hero is led to object of search.	The viewer is informed that LNN engages in satire and believes in freedom of speech, LNN is against satire that is repeatedly offensive and generally in bad taste.
Branding Hero is branded.	The viewer is better informed about what constitutes good and bad satire.
Victory Villain is defeated.	*Charlie Hebdo* as the villain is defeated because while it tried to pass of its work as speaking truth to power, the viewer now knows what bad satire entails and will not side with hashtag #IamCharlie.

Table 5.10 Propp's functions in 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. In this story the viewer is the hero who is seeking information about why satire has led to the murder of satirists at a French newspaper and whether they should support hashtag #IamCharlie. The arrangement of the elements reveals, firstly, the kind of 'bottom of the barrel' kind of satire they were involved in. Secondly, the elements show what constitutes good and bad satire. Finally, the elements show LNN's position on hashtag #IamCharlie. *Charlie Hebdo* is revealed as the real villain despite outpouring of support with the hashtag #IamCharlie, while the donor is LNN conscientising viewers on what fundamentalists are capable of doing and why they do not condone such behaviour.

5.8.2.5 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

Propp's functions

Initial situation Members of the family or hero introduced.	The hero is the viewer watching the show.
Interdiction An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	The viewer has heard that the EFF party plans to cause some drama at the upcoming SONA address by the president and wants to understand more of these intentions.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is the EFF party.

Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	The EFF party wants their electorate and future donors to believe that they have their interests at heart.
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	The EFF continuously causes chaos by chanting slogans in parliament, wearing dress which does not respect parliament decorum, and making alleged car purchases for its leadership with public funds.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	The viewer does not understand why the most important address by the president, the SONA, should be held hostage by a question that the EFF is determined to get an answer to from the president.
1st function of donor Hero is tested, receives magical agent or helper.	The viewer is informed of some questionable choices by the EFF which are: 1. Electing a member in jail for party leadership; 2. Diluting its own manifesto so that the slogan 'Pay Back The Money' becomes the major way by which the party is identified; and 3. Wearing regalia which does not form part of parliament decorum.
Spatial transference Hero is led to object of search.	The viewer is given the point of view of the EFF which defends these questionable choices by stating that: 1. That the party is a democratic party and that the jailed member was duly elected for leadership by the people in his province; 2. That the slogan is about corruption in the executive; and 3. That

	wearing uniforms is symbolic of the constituency they represent.
Branding Hero is branded.	The viewer gets a new perspective about the questionable choices of the EFF as well as the EFF point of view.
Victory Villain is defeated.	The villain is not exactly defeated as the EFF manage to successfully defend their point of view. So in a way the hero and the villain are evenly matched.

Table 5.11 Propp's functions in 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. In this story the viewer is the hero who is seeking information about who the EFF really are and why they plan to hold the president's speech 'hostage' at the State of the Nation Address. The arrangement of the elements reveals the questionable choices of the EFF. However, for each questionable choice the EFF successfully defends itself and provides the party's position on the matter. Although the donor (Chester) raises the consciousness of the hero in terms of the questionable choices, the elements show that the hero is not the outright winner in this battle as the villain has provided plausible reasons for their villainy actions.

5.8.2.6 'Racism in schools'

Propp's functions

Initial situation	The hero is Kagiso the black middle class dad.

Members of the family or hero introduced.	
Interdiction An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	Kagiso makes sacrifices with his daughter's mother to take his daughter to a better school.
Reconnaissance The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	The villain is racism which continues to rear its ugly head more than 21 years into democracy.
Trickery The villain attempts to deceive the victim.	The effects of racism such as lack of transformation at the township schools (in terms of providing a modern education) leave Kagiso in a dilemma about what to do about his child's education.
Villainy The villain causes harm or injury to a member of the family.	The effects of racism such as poor infrastructure at the township schools wear the hero down.
Lack One member of a family lacks something or wants something.	Kagiso wants to get a better education for his child.
Departure The hero leaves home.	Kagiso decides to transfer his child to the 'big white school'.
Spatial transference Hero is led to object of search.	Kagiso begins to see 'positive' changes in his daughter who now speaks with a white accent bringing her one step closer to upward social mobility (implied).
Struggle Hero and villain join in direct combat.	Kagiso phones Schoeman who is the head of Palesa's school to complain

	about the black children and black staff infiltrating the school.
Victory Villain is defeated.	Kagiso's daughter becomes a 'global citizen'.

Table 5.12 Propp's functions in 'Racism in schools'

How the sequential arrangements of the elements affect meaning

The arrangement of Propp's functions helps to create understanding of the story. In this story Kagiso the father is the hero trying to get a better education for his child. The arrangement of the elements reveals the sacrifices that Kagiso makes for his daughter to attend a better school. At first Palesa is uncertain about transferring to the new school but in the end Kagiso 'defeats' the villain (racism) as his daughter transforms into a global citizen, albeit white, seemingly able to conquer the world with her new worldly status.

5.9 Summary of findings on organisation

In terms of the main myths peddled by the parodies, 'Matric results' peddles the myth of government appointments, 'Service delivery protests' peddles the myth of the underlying causes of the protests, 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' peddles the myth of viable leaders and the myth of the causal relationship between crime and education. The myth of religious zealots is peddled in 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*', the myth of opposition politics in 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee and in 'Racism in schools' the main myth peddled is that of better education creating global citizens.

In four of the six parodies the viewer is the hero in terms of Propp's narrative structure. In 'Service delivery protests' the hero is the subject Jabu and in 'Racism in schools' the hero is the subject Kagiso. The villain is not necessarily an individual in terms of

Propp's structure but it is an untenable situation that challenges the hero or the subject. For example, in 'Matric results' that situation is unemployment, in 'Service delivery protests' the situation is lack of service delivery, and in 'Racism in schools' the situation is racism. The donor in the texts is the communicator LNN represented by comedian Loyiso Madinga in 'Matric results', the voice over artist in 'Service delivery protest', David Kibuuka in 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU', host Loyiso Gola in 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*', Chester Missing in 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee and in 'Racism in schools' Kagiso is both a hero and a donor.

6.0 Conclusion

In this chapter, representation, orientation and organisation as the three metafunctions of social semiotics were methodologically applied to a sample of six texts from LNN. Each text was analysed in terms of the visual and verbal representation. This was followed by a summary of findings for representation. Under organisation each text was analysed in terms of the camera angle and camera shots used and the meanings generated. This was followed by a summary of findings for organisation. Finally, under organisation, the focus was on the paradigmatic structure and the myths perpetuated by this structure as well as the syntagmatic structure and the meanings generated by the sequential arrangement of each text. A summary of findings rounded off the section on organisation. The next chapter, chapter 6, will discuss the main findings of this study in relation to the research objectives set out.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 4, the data collection methods for the study were discussed. These are social semiotic analysis of selected segments of *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* as well as focus group interviews with viewers of the show. It was also explained in that chapter that the selected method for analysing the focus group interviews is thematic analysis.

In chapter 5, a methodological framework for analysing social semiotics was applied to the six selected parodies. This framework is based on the assumption that meaning-making comprises three over-arching functions which are representation, orientation and organisation, and these functions have been described in detail.

The purpose of this chapter is to link the data gathered from the social semiotic analysis of the television texts and the thematic analysis of the focus group interviews to the research purpose and objectives.

The purpose of the research was to examine how democracy is represented through the programme LNN. Democracy was defined in the literature as the 'collective participation of citizens in the process of making public decisions and guaranteeing implementation of those decisions' (Almond in White 2008:273). Furthermore, a model based on White (2008) identified the following component parts of this collective participation: 1. political socialisation, 2. civic socialisation, 3. building a sense of national identity, and 4. enabling citizens' decision making. This model was the basis of the first research objective of this study which was formulated as follows:

- To investigate how LNN represents democracy through
  - ➢ Political socialisation
  - ➢ Civic socialisation
  - ➢ Building a sense of national identity
  - ➢ Enabling citizens' decision making.

Furthermore, a theoretical framework for the study was formulated. Four theories were selected and these are agenda setting and priming; framing; social responsibility; and deliberative democratic theory. Their relevance to political communication and applicability to this study has already been discussed in chapter three. These theories are the basis for research objectives two and three which are formulated as follows:

- To determine in what ways LNN uses agenda-setting and framing to influence viewers' perception of a political issue.
- To explore in what way LNN fulfils the functions of the media as outlined in the social responsibility and democratic deliberative theories.

This chapter will begin by providing findings from the semiotic analysis followed by findings from the thematic analysis.

6.2 The representation of democracy through political socialisation

In the literature, political socialisation was defined as 'the process of induction into the political culture, the end product of which is a set of attitudes – cognitions, values and feelings – toward the various parts of the political system' (Almond and Easton cited in Adoni, 1979: 84). Political socialisation is also defined as 'a process by which people acquire political knowledge, norms, values, attitudes and learn about political behaviours…which behaviour provides a stimulus for change and the underpinning of stability' (Kononova et al 2011:302).

Participants in the focus group interviews were specifically asked to provide an example of an instance where they felt they had gained something through watching LNN. Some of the responses were the following:

'In my experience I will say there was an episode about voting in Zimbabwe…so because of LNN I had a chance to know how voting is done in Zimbabwe.'

'Okay to me the one that comes to mind was the budget speech…I do not listen to budget speeches, it is boring…So what LNN did was show us the people they

interviewed, ordinary people, [not] experts, your economists…So you know…I got to hear the other side because I do not listen to budget speech.'

When the participants were asked if they engage in face to face or social media discussions about the show and whether they feel that these discussions help them to understand the show better, these were some of their responses:

'…when I'm chilling with [my friends] when we talk about everything we do discuss okay how did you view certain things that the person said, what do you think about this?'

'…what happens is you watch it, you laugh about it, you do research…to find out the actual story of what happened…in some way it helps you understand what is happening…So now you start following politics and understanding what is happening in the political sphere…'

'…sharing on social media gives you a better understanding of what is going on around you and in the country that you live in.'

These findings show that the participants are being politically socialised through watching LNN as they are gaining political knowledge, values and attitudes.

The following key issues were identified with regard to political television:

- It gives people an opportunity to maintain the equilibrium between participation and passivity by presenting an image of an issue and showing how each issue is being handled by the main political forces
- It plays a role in broadening the sense of group identity
- It maintains the power of elites and their responsiveness to influence from non-elites
- It plays a part as an instrument of hegemony propaganda

6.2.1 Maintenance of the equilibrium between participation and passivity

Television achieves this equilibrium by presenting an image of an issue and showing how each issue is being handled by the main political forces. One such issue is public accountability. In 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee', the communicator LNN presents the issue of public accountability by and for the opposition party the EFF. The interview presents a fair balance between holding the EFF party to account for its own policies and decisions, and allowing the party space to hold the ruling party and the executive to account.

For example, in the first question about a member who was apparently elected to be an office bearer even though he was in jail, the EFF party needed to account to the public on why such a decision was taken. The EFF party also needed to account to the public why the public should continue to care about the slogan #PayBackTheMoney (second question), about their parliamentary dress code (fourth question) and about their use of public funds to make irregular car purchases for their leader (sixth question).

The EFF was also given space to hold the executive to account by explaining their position on the slogan #PayBackTheMoney as in this extract of the interview:

Chester: *Ok. This whole 'pay back the money situation', hasn't it turned into an ego battle between Juju and Msholozi?*

Godrich: *Not at all. It's about the people of South Africa and corruption by the executive.*

The presenting of the T-shirt to Chester with the image of the president with a shower head over his head was also an underhand tactic to belittle the president and force him to account for the money spend on Nkandla in a way that would not have been possible in parliament. This interview is an example of how the issue of accountability was handled by the EFF party to defend themselves and to hold the executive to account.

6.2.2 Broadening a sense of group identity

This aspect is related to maintenance of balance between participation and passivity. The literature states that by considering the ways in which they can participate, (young) people establish some kind of political orientation. The segment 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' may incline viewers towards the EFF party, it may disincline them, or it may reinforce an already existing attitude toward the party. For example, the data from the semiotic analysis revealed that one of the myths peddled by the text is that the EFF party is made to seem as if they are disingenuous to the plight of the poor as illustrated in this extract:

Chester: Amandla. *And we love that you do this. But you guys are earning, whatever it is…R80,000 a month or whatever. I mean, you're not poor. So you guys are actually doing …(inaudible)… it's like Helen Zille's doek for poor people.*

Godrich: *It can't be! It can't be!*

Chester: *Oh lies!*

Godrich: *We went to parliament some of us were very senior executives of government before we went to parliament…*

Chester: *Exactly! You…*

Godrich: *…so we've always been earning some of that money we are currently earning.*

This line of questioning may disincline viewers towards the EFF as they may think that because the EFF parliamentarians earn a good salary, they are not concerned about the poor people they claim to represent. Data from the thematic analysis confirmed this disinclination. One of the themes that was identified is that the participants regard the EFF as a liability in the South African political space. This is discussed in greater detail in section 6.8.5 below.

On the other hand, viewers may be inclined towards the EFF party when they hear the secretary general stating that they will be 'introducing motions for debate in parliament about bettering the lives of the poor'. This finding was not confirmed by the thematic analysis. The responses showed a largely negative attitude toward the EFF party.

It can be argued therefore that LNN does broaden a sense of group identity among its viewers but it is not one kind of identity but multiple identities that can be reinforced in one parody.

6.2.3 Maintenance of the power of elites over non-elites

Within the political public sphere two main groups of people form the elite group that mediate political communication and these are journalists and politicians. Also constituting this group of elites are lobbyists, advocates, experts, moral entrepreneurs and intellectuals (Habermas 2006: 416). The literature states that the elites provide public opinion which falls within the range of what non-elites may consider to be legitimate decisions given in any case while non-elites themselves sift through a range of public opinions for 'plausible alternatives for what counts as [a] reasonable opinion on public issues' (Habermas 2006:418).

'Service delivery protests' is one example that illustrates the power of elites over non-elites. In this case the elites are the journalists (represented by the communicator LNN) who exercise their power over non-elites who are the citizens. This power is illustrated visually and verbally. Visually, the data indicates that the citizens protesting lack of service delivery are black and like to show their dissatisfaction through dancing, 'toy-toying', and burning amenities. The data showed that this fits in with a stereotype of how service delivery protests are reported in South Africa. Verbally, the data analysed showed that there is an assumed spiral effect with regards to service delivery protests which starts from a domestic problem which is illustrated in the parody in this extract:

Voiceover: *There are no more chairs Jabu! You burnt them all when you were angry at your wife. You also burnt down your Citi Golf, when Wesbank wanted you to pay your instalment.*

Jabu: *No, no! But that was my car! I like that car!*

Although this extract is actually at the end of the conversation, the conversation shows the bigger problem at the start of the conversation (the burning of the store) and progressively shows the spiral effect caused by other problems (the burning of the municipal office, the burning of the school, the burning of the tavern) all seemingly starting from the inability to pay car instalment and domestic dispute with wife.

This shows the power of elites over non-elites as the communicator (LNN) seems to attribute responsibility for the lack of service delivery to citizens who 'hurt themselves with their violent protest' instead of to local governments who are failing to fulfil their mandate.

From the evidence provided it can be assumed that LNN considers the problem of lack of service delivery to be a problem of irresponsible or irrational black citizens.

From the thematic analysis the focus group participants recognised the power of elites over non-elites for example in the video 'Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town'. One participant commented that LNN 'mocked the protestors instead of mocking those in power who need to see poo before they take action.' The video of 'Service delivery protests' and 'Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town' both belittle the ordinary citizen while protecting those in power.

On the other side of the spectrum, the non-elites also consider public opinion in search for plausible alternatives for what counts as reasonable opinion on a public issue. This is best illustrated in 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' especially the part of the interview where foreign correspondent David Kibuuka talks about the state of education in South Africa. David links a recent event (a mall shootout in Bedfordview in Johannesburg) to the issue of the lowering of the matric pass rate. The semiotic analysis showed that David made a direct causal link between the levels of crime in the country to the lack of education. This is illustrated in the following interview extract:

Dave: *…Lack of education is linked to everything, especially crime. 'Cause I saw that mall shootout in Bedfordview last week. Where do you think those criminals came*

from? Basically by lowering the pass rate our Minister of Education is breeding criminals.

David then provides an argument that an ordinary citizen (non-elite) may consider to be reasonable cause for the high crime rate in the country. David says that private schools provide such a superior education that students from those schools do not commit crimes, and if they do, they commit white collar crimes. This serves to perpetuate the power of elites over non-elites as the problem of crime cannot be attributed only to lack of education but also to other socio-economic factors that lead to an unequal society. The findings from the thematic analysis show that young people believe that a compromised government education system as a result of overcrowding and poor facilities is reasonable cause for the poor quality of education at government schools. However, they do not believe that government school educated students are 'criminals' and attribute criminal behaviour to individual weaknesses:

'…at the end of the day I am an individual before I am someone who belongs to a government school and the way I…conduct myself has nothing to do with whether I went to a private school or government school.'

'Because when you commit crime you are not written private [school] *or public* [school].*'*

6.2.4 The propagation of propaganda

As an instrument of propaganda, political television maintains its power through the selection and processing of politically relevant content, thus intervening in the formation of public opinions and the distribution of influential interests (Habermas 20008: 419). 'Matric results' illustrates this concept to some extent. In this parody, the communicator contributes to the conversation around the qualifications scandal and cadre deployment by focusing on the controversy surrounding the appointment of SABC COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng. This issue was politically relevant because the SABC is the public broadcaster, is favourable to the state in its coverage of issues, and the appointment of a COO is vetted by the Minister of Communications. By presenting the issue as a lesson on 'How to get a job in South Africa', the communicator provides a

tongue in cheek lesson on the 'stress free' way of getting a top notch job which is illustrated in the following extract:

But for some of you, this may be very difficult or take a long time, in which case I suggest you try the Hlaudi method. Alright. Now, this method can help you get the same results without all the stress, and the hullabaloo of the traditional method. With a Hlaudi method, everything begins with a Number 1. Ok, now, if your name is Sipho, or Simon, or Ellen, or Atul, let's call this number 'X'. Ok. All you have to do is, to get a job, is to dial directly the contact number to Number 1. Ok. Now, what's the surest road between two points? A straight line. (Laughs) So, what you want to do, is to get a straight line between you, and Number 1. If however you don't have access to the contact number, you can call an aunty, or an uncle, or a relative with some benefits that does have that number, they can take you on a tangent from here to Number 1, that will be congruent to your desire to have a big job, and Bingo! You too can be the CEO of SABC, or Minister of Energy, mmm? Or architect of Nkandla.

This leads one to question whose interests are being propagated in this text. The first interested party can be conceived to be the consumers of media content. By insinuating that the SABC does not follow due process in the appointment of a COO, this may lead to consumers being more critical of the SABC. Another interested party would be the opposition parties. As the SABC provides more favourable coverage to the ruling party, it would benefit the opposition parties if the SABC management is painted in a bad light as it would bring accountability issues to the fore. Another interested party would be advertisers. If the SABC is painted in a negative light, this may result in advertisers reducing or withdrawing their association with the SABC, thereby improving revenue prospects for the independent channels.

Thus it can be seen that political television selects politically relevant material for the purposes of distributing certain interests, thereby propagating propaganda.

From the thematic analysis some participants displayed some strong views about the representation of President Mugabe in the video 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU':

165

'We are never fair on President Mugabe, none of us ever…because all of us are busy, you know, bowing to white supremacy and the fact that they hate him now and here we are hating him as well…'

'Mugabe's representation is never fair because some people over praise others over criticise without trying to find middle ground…he is not an angel neither is he an evil person…'

From the above excerpts it can be seen that young people are aware of the propaganda that is displayed in the media and they do resist or criticise the ideologies being enforced.

6.3 The representation of democracy through civil socialisation

The literature states that news bulletins and other public affairs programmes – subject to the social and cultural backgrounds of the audience - have an important effect on Africans' awareness of public affairs and expression of public opinion (Bratton et al 2005:209). The following key issues were identified with regard to the civic socialising role of the media:

- making people aware of the issues confronting government
- helping to set an agenda for national development by raising the salience of particular policy issues
- priming the general public to lean one way or another on these issues; increasing or reducing the perception of risks (Bratton et al 2005:209).

6.3.1 Raising awareness of issues facing government

The data shows that LNN does contribute to civic socialisation by raising awareness of issues facing government such as corruption in the appointment of unsuitably qualified executives to positions in government and parastatals.

The parody 'Matric results' showed how corruption and cronyism enables one to get a 'top notch' job by following the 'stress-free Hlaudi method'. The extract from the parody

'Matric results' which shows the 'Hlaudi method' is shown in section 6.2.4. The underlying meaning that was drawn from the verbal representation in this parody was that a network of corrupt individuals enables one to get the ear of the president to ensure a top notch job. This influences the way that viewers may perceive corruption in government thereby influencing public opinion. The thematic analysis of the focus group interviews confirmed this view of government as a corrupt entity. One of the main themes in the findings is that young people view the government as a corrupt and morally decadent entity. The discussion in 6.8.1 below shows young people's damning assessment of the government.

6.3.2 Setting an agenda for national development

In terms of setting the agenda for national development by raising the salience of particular policy issues, the parody 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' raised the policy issue of the lowering of the matric pass rate (see John 2014). LNN indicated that lowering the matric pass rate has an impact on crime levels in the country. The following extract represents that view:

Dave: *…Lack of education is linked to everything, especially crime. 'Cause I saw that mall shootout in Bedfordview last week. Where do you think those criminals came from? Basically by lowering the pass rate our Minister of Education is breeding criminals.*

The underlying meaning drawn from the data was that the current public education system is not producing matriculants who are well equipped to compete in the job market. This raises awareness among the viewers of the impact of lowered pass rates.

6.3.3 Priming the public on policy issues

Priming the audience builds on the agenda-setting function. A discussion on the theories of agenda-setting and priming covered in the theoretical framework showed that priming - (and agenda-setting, the latter will be discussed in greater detail under the discussion of research objective two of this study) - work through the increased importance gained on a topic based on new knowledge based on the topic. Because

167

viewers of news parody are known to consume multiple news sources, audiences will likely have heard that the government, through the minister of education, implemented a policy whereby they lowered the minimal pass rate in three of the six subjects required to pass matric. Through LNN audiences then gain knowledge that the lowered pass rate leads to crime (new knowledge on the matric policy of lowered pass rates). Once audiences gain this new knowledge, they then ascribe increased importance to the policy of lowering matric pass rates. The literature shows that priming leads to a positive or negative evaluation of the politician or issue. By linking the policy to levels of crime in the country, LNN primes its viewers to evaluate the policy negatively.

With regard a specific priming question in the interview, participants were first asked what they consider to be the main political issue being discussed (to establish what they believed to be the agenda) in the video 'Matric Results'. When the responses indicated 'connection', 'corruption', 'nepotism' and 'incompetence', the participants were then asked whether they think LNN wants them to view this agenda issue positively or negatively. One respondent answered:

'So they just want to show the bad side, that is how I saw it, I saw that they are showing the negative of it as to this is what happened regardless of how hard you work…then someone out of nowhere just comes in and gets the job…ahead of you.'

Another responded:

'It was sort of like are you aware of what is happening? This is what is happening, if you did not know just be aware.'

The above shows that young people are fully aware that they are being primed to view issues in a certain way.

6.4 Building a sense of national identity

According to the literature, the media create a sense of national identity by:

- creating common experiences
- offering shared symbols
- giving the public a sense of contact with their leaders (Dennis and Synder 1998: 11).

6.4.1 Creating common experiences

The literature states that the entertaining aspect of news parody generally enables viewers to 'identify and create their own emotional connections to the substantive political issues of the day', (Young 2013: 32). The key issue is how LNN engages viewers on a cognitive and emotional level. The parody 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' engages to some extent with viewers on a cognitive level with regard to the first part of the interview which dealt with the appointment of President Mugabe as AU chairman. The underlying meaning of the verbal transcript revealed the covert meaning of message: that President Mugabe has a dubious leadership record; that he is a dictator and that he is too old to be chairman of the AU. Because this message is not at the overt level, the viewer would have to engage mentally with the text in order for them to identify the political issue that the communicator (LNN) is commenting on.

The parody 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*' engages with the viewer at an emotional level. Through the use of labelling (…*it was just a work of a bunch of touchy fanatics*…); humour *(…And Limpopo people, we wouldn't like you guys there in Limpopo to send tokoloshis to strike us with lightning and make our penises small for no reason. Please don't do that, mmm? We respect every power that you have and whatever weather you would like to give us this weekend we will accept*…); breaking into song and speaking in a conspiratorial voice, the communicator LNN engages their viewers emotionally on the issue of fundamentalists and liberals.

169

6.4.2 Offering shared symbols

The data from the semiotic analysis shows that various symbolic meanings are conveyed by LNN through the use of parody. For example, in the parody 'Matric results' Hlaudi Motsoeneng becomes a symbol for corruption and cronyism. In 'Service delivery protests', 'toy-toying' black men and burning amenities becomes a symbol for service delivery protests. In 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' President Mugabe is himself portrayed as a symbol of bad leadership. In 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*' *Charlie Hebdo* is a symbol for extremism. In 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' the EFF is a symbol for unruly parliament and in 'Racism in schools' black people who speak with a white accent and wear weaves is a symbol of the effects of racism. These symbols enable LNN to create a sense of nationhood among viewers that are easily identifiable.

6.4.3 Contact with leaders

The interview by Chester Missing in 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' shows how LNN builds a sense of national identity through enabling the viewers to connect with their leaders. The data showed that Chester Missing employed an informal style of interviewing by using vernacular words such as '*Halala*', '*Amandla*!', and '*Viva*!' which created a relaxed atmosphere for the interview. Chester Missing interjected the secretary general with seemingly mundane questions such as '*What will you ask him? How do you shine your head so shiny? … How do you swim in a fire pool?*' - which add humour to the interview and arguably establishes a connection between the politician being interviewed and viewers.

6.5 Enabling citizens' decision-making

The main aspect identified in the literature concerning the enabling of citizens' decision-making is that the media to needs to 'act as a trustee of the public to continually monitor and evaluate whether the government is implementing the legislation and providing the services that this legislation implies', Carey et al (cited in

White 2008:309). The text 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' best illustrates the trustee role played by LNN. The interview provided a dual function: it allowed the communicator to hold the EFF party to account and also provided space for the opposition party to call for accountability of the executive. The questions asked by Chester Missing about the EFF electing a jailed member into office; about their slogan #PayBackTheMoney; and about the purchase of a vehicle for their party leader with public funds all serve to hold the EFF to account on those issues. At the same time the EFF had an opportunity to show that the slogan #PayBackTheMoney is about corruption in the executive and the secretary general emphasised that the party will continue asking the question about the public funds spent on Nkandla. This interview is an example of monitoring of the political sphere which enables viewers to formulate an opinion on the substantive political issues of the day.

From the thematic analysis the findings reveal that the participants do feel that some of the questions that Chester Missing asked were relevant, confirming that LNN can be trusted to ask the questions that people actually want answers to. The answers re-affirmed the negative attitude that the participants already had towards the EFF (see section 6.8.5 below).

6.6 The use of agenda-setting and framing to influence perception

6.6.1 Agenda-setting

The media in general influences individuals' political agenda by setting the agenda of what they should be thinking about. This agenda is driven by the social norms of the moral foundations theory which were discussed in the literature review. The social norm 'Fairness/Cheating' applies to the parody 'Matric results'. It can be argued that LNN was influencing viewers' perception of what constitutes 'fair' and 'corrupt' (substitute for cheating) processes of getting a job in South Africa. The norm 'Authority/Subversion' can arguably be applied to the parody 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'. The communicator (LNN) accepts the authority of the African

Union to rightfully choose a chairman of their choice among member states, but leaves it to the viewers to subvert this authority as indicated in the following extract:

Dave: *At this point I think it's up to the viewers to decide for themselves whether that's a good idea, because clearly they are not looking at presidential track record as a criteria. Apparently, the new criteria is: best Hitler moustache.*

One more example of the social norms seems in order. The parody 'Racism in schools' seems to show the 'Sanctity/Degradation' norm. Sanctity is represented by Palesa being a simple African child at the beginning of the parody with an afro hairdo. Degradation is represented by Palesa having a hairstyle change (weave) and white accented English (or what may be regarded as 'twang') and final degradation is represented by her physically transforming into a white person.

With regard to what the focus group participants regard to be the main agenda issues on LNN, this topic has been discussed in part with regard to priming in section 6.3.3 above.

6.6.2 Framing

The theoretical framework of this study provides an approach to content analysing frames in news. The researcher decided to utilise two frames to investigate their occurrence, and these are conflict frame and the morality frame. The conflict frames utilised in LNN are easy to identify because of the paradigmatic structure of the texts which show the binary oppositions within each text. The parody 'Matric results' for example shows the values of morality and immorality in conflict. 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*' indicates conflict between fundamentalism and liberalism and 'Racism in schools' indicates a conflict between suburban schools and township schools.

Morality frame is indicated in the parody 'Service delivery protests' and 'Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*'. In both texts LNN exercises moral authority on the issue at hand. The data showed that in 'Service delivery protests' LNN used the indirect mode of address in order to spare the viewer the harsh reprimanding indirectly intended for them for destroying their own amenities in the name of service delivery protests. In 'Attack on

Charlie Hebdo' the data showed that LNN showed its viewers what satire is and is not as indicated in the following extract:

Satire, right South Africa, is about speaking truth to power, and not demonising a mere 7% of the population who are already treated like second class citizens.

LNN then distanced itself from the hashtag #IAmCharlie as indicated in this extract:

At LNN, I would like to say, we believe in a world where everyone has a right to freedom of speech, that's what we believe in. But are we Charlie? No, we're not Charlie. LNN? We are not Charlie.

These two examples indicate some of the news frames used in LNN to influence viewers' perception of conflict and instil moral outrage on the issues of the day.

According to the literature, framing is based on the assumption that 'how an issue is characterised in news reports can have an influence in how it is understood by audiences' (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007:11). Participants in the focus group were specifically asked how they think the use of humour in the video 'Matric Results' influences their perception of getting a job in South Africa. These were some of the responses:

'In some way or another it pushes you not to really want a government job. It pushes you to be individualistic…'

'…it makes you not to take something to heart too much…you know…there should be room for disappointment because of such situations…'

'…not to face reality'.

Because of the way the video was framed participants understood it to mean that they must not take the issue of joblessness to heart and to rather not try to get a government job.

6.7 Fulfilment of the social responsibility and democratic deliberative theories

6.7.1 Social responsibility theory

The main tenets of the theory as indicated by the literature include safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; servicing the economic system primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising; providing entertainment; and maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of social interests (Siebert 1956:75).

These responsibilities apply to the media in general; however, two of these responsibilities require further attention with regard to LNN in particular: the entertaining function and the watchdog function. It is worth mentioning that the entertaining function of news parody in general and LNN in particular relies on its ability to engage with its viewers on both an emotional and a cognitive level. This aspect has already been discussed in section 6.4.1 in terms of how LNN creates common experiences among its viewers. The watchdog function of LNN will now be discussed in detail.

The watchdog function of LNN

The parody 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' is one example of the watchdog function of LNN. In the first part of the parody LNN was acting as a watchdog of the African Union, while in the second part this was extended to the South African government specifically the Ministry of Education. For example, a syntagmatic analysis of the parody 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' using Propp's functions revealed the AU to be the villain who would like the viewer to believe that President Mugabe was a fair choice for the chairmanship position despite his advanced age, dictatorial tendencies and bad leadership track record (researcher's implied reading). The communicator LNN then gives the viewer a lesson in quiet diplomacy as shown in the following extract:

Loyiso: *So Dave you're STILL not gonna comment on this thing?*

Dave: *What's there to comment on? 'Cause at some point you're just going to become a hater.*

The Proppian analysis revealed the implied reading of the text which is that the African Union suffers a diplomatic defeat at the hands of the viewer who shows them that, even though they do not always vocally complain, they are playing a watchdog role.

In the second part of this interview, the implied reading is that the Ministry of Education is the villain who would like the viewer to believe that the lowering of the pass rate is in the country's interest. However, the viewer becomes more politically conscious after receiving information that will make them think critically about the state of education in public schools.

These examples show that through playing a watchdog function LNN raises the critical awareness of viewers of their political space. The fact that LNN raises the critical awareness of viewers is confirmed by the focus group interviews. In the focus groups the participants were asked to what extent they believe LNN to be a watchdog for the government. The following were some of the responses:

'…if you look at… South African politics, we do not really have that knowing of how politics is run…so programmes like LNN they are the instruments in showing us how…politics is done in South Africa. So if there could be more programmes like that then they will be pressure for the guys running the country to do right by their people.'

'I feel like LNN does not just speak or watch out for the people, I think they also criticise and analyse on how things are and then just let people create whatever view they want to create for themselves.'

6.7.2 Democratic deliberative theory

The key issue with regard this theory is to what extent LNN engages in dialogue that is interactive, promotes authentic conversation, and creates room for substantive public deliberation that can help shape and evaluate policy.

175

The parody 'Racism in schools' fulfils to some extent the democratic deliberative theory. The semiotic analysis showed that the communicative function of the parody was to provide the viewer information about the decisions made by middle class black parents supposedly for the betterment of their children and the influence of racial factors in those decisions. This is indicated in the following extract:

Dad: *Er, Palesa my child, as you can see your mother and I have gone to great lengths to make sure that you get to attend this good school… Here you'll get to attend with good white people, and learn to use big words like luxurious and legendary, exquisite, er, extravaganza.*

In the semiotic analysis it was revealed that Palesa begins to gradually transform from being an African child with simple ways to being a white child with white mannerisms after spending a few years at the white school. Here the communicator challenges the viewer to think about the decisions that are made that seem initially to be in the best interests of children but only serve to rob children of the freedom fought for in the country and subject them to modern day apartheid.

The self-reflexive nature of this parody can be argued to be deliberative in the sense that it enables the viewers to carefully examine the rationality of taking their children out of township schools, taking them to white schools in the suburbs, only for their children to be alienated from their kith and kin and develop white mannerisms.

Although the parody seems to fulfil the deliberative aspect of examining rationality of arguments and enabling viewers to deliberate on the issues, the influencing of public policy is not fulfilled in this parody. This is because the parody does not engage with any public officials in the form of a dialogue that may influence public policy with regard to transformation in schools.

In order to establish the deliberative democratic aspects of LNN participants were asked whether the interview with EFF Secretary General Godrich Gardee left them with a reasonable opinion about the EFF, the ANC, and parliamentary politics in general. The participants provided more information on what they thought of the EFF, which is discussed in the theme 'EFF as a liability' in section 6.8.5 below. The interview

did well in asking the questions that people wanted answers to but it did not provide substantive public deliberation because the participants felt Chester Missing did not conduct the interview well (see theme 'The effective ineffective tool that is LNN' in section 6.8.6 below).

6.8 Identified themes

Viewers were sent four YouTube videos links to view prior to the interview so that they could re-familiarise themselves with the content and style of the show as the show has been off air since April 2015. The videos were also directly related to the questions that were in the interview schedule. The videos that were sent were the following:

Date	Episode	Segment title	Type	Duration	Show director
17/01/2015	1	Matric results	Parody	2 minutes 48 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
04/02/2015	4	President Mugabe made chairman of the AU	International news report by David Kibuuka	2 minutes 27 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
11/02/2015	5	Interview with Godrich Gardee	Political interview by Chester Missing	4 minutes 20 seconds	Kagiso Lediga
15/03/2015	10	Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town	Parody	1 minute 48 seconds	Kagiso Lediga

6.8.1 The government as a corrupt and morally decadent entity

Findings from the thematic analysis showed that viewers of LNN regard the government as a corrupt and morally decadent entity. The viewers regard nepotism

177

especially with regard to government appointments as a mirror into how government operates. They believe that having a 'connection' is important in getting a government job and that if you do not know important people you might as well forget about getting a government job. Viewers interviewed believe that the more ANC friendly you are the better your chances. The participants indicated that they are not free to tweet anything that is anti-ANC as potential employers, especially in government, review timelines on social media. They believe that you cannot criticise the ANC if you work there because there is a culture of silence.

For example, with regard to the video 'Matric Results', respondents were asked what impression they get about the long process and the Hlaudi process of getting a job in South Africa and these were some of the responses:

'…it symbolises on how South Africa is run as we know South Africa has a high rate of nepotism…you just got a job…without…going through the proper structures of attending varsity so it shows how our government is run by the people of this country'

'It is corrupt. It is very corrupt.'

'…if you do not know, you do not have any friends in politics, forget.'

Viewers' understanding of the process of getting a job in South Africa is that you need a connection and need to be ANC friendly, as indicated in the following excerpts:

'The more ANC-friendly you are the better your chances. If you retweet something, you write a status on Facebook whatever then it is a problem, because they actually look at that stuff…I mean at some point I have even been asked to buy a sheep…at some point you are being invited to the bedroom. At some point you have to be politically connected with some form or the other, so that is the three ways to get a job in this country, especially in government.'

Young people believe that there *are* growth opportunities in government but to get a promotion comes with strings attached: you cannot criticise the government and you have to pretend to like Zuma.

178

This theme shows that young people are disengaged and disillusioned with the process of getting a job in South Africa. In spite of working hard to attain a university qualification, young people are resigned to the fact that getting a job in South Africa will require a 'connection', bribery, and sexual favours. However young people are not hopeless about the process of getting a job. They believe that the use of humour in the video makes one not to take the situation of joblessness to heart as they realise that it is not necessarily in their control. They also believe that volunteering can also open up other avenues of employment as in this excerpt:

'…when you are qualified, even if you are a doctor or something, instead of staying at home, you can just go and volunteer. When you…volunteer obviously you will network…then maybe you will have a luck…maybe you will have chances…'

The excerpt above shows that young people want to control their fate and will continually seek opportunities despite the prevalent corrupt system.

6.8.2 Blacks as second class citizens and whites as privileged

Race relations among South Africans was a dominant theme in the discussions. The participants are of the belief that blacks are treated as second class citizens while their white counterparts enjoy a privileged position here in South Africa. The participants believe that white people do not really make an effort to pronounce black people's names the way they are supposed to be pronounced. They believe that white people own the media and other means of production and their influence is ubiquitous in South African society. For example, because white people own the media, the coverage of crimes committed by black people and crimes committed by white people is covered differently, as in the following excerpt:

'…you see the contrast when they reported on Thandi Maqubela [2] and Oscar Pistorius [3] then there was a huge difference'.

'…it whitewashes how bad white collar crime is…should something happen with a white company it is always brushed over…'

'It is not focused on like look at what happened when that bridge fell, imagine if it was Ratshinanga and Seti…'[4]

Young people believe racism needs to be engaged with seriously. One participant said he does not believe the country is going to get over racism as yet and said the following:

'…it has been 20 years' democracy, how many people are actually speaking African languages, right now we are having this interview in English which is generally not our dominant language, but how many of them try? How many of them actually say your traditional name the way it is supposed to be said…?'

One respondent felt that whites in South Africa are a very small minority and [blacks] must not be trying too hard to accommodate them:

'…whites in South Africa are a very small minority, so we should not be out there trying to please them every single day…if you here as a white person you must be willing to make Africa work, not just for you to benefit all the time.'

Young people are disappointed with the slow pace of transformation in South Africa. Despite twenty years since the attainment of democracy they recognise and are

---

[2] Thandi Maqubela is a black businesswoman who was convicted of the murder of her husband, acting judge Patrick Maqubela.

[3] Oscar Pistorius is a white male athlete who was convicted of the murder of his girlfriend, model Reeva Steenkamp.

[4] The bridge being referred to is the Graystone walkway bridge which was being constructed by Murray and Roberts. The bridge collapsed in Sandton in October 2015, killing two pedestrians.

angered by continued white privilege in South Africa. They believe that black people need to change their mind sets and start believing that they are not different from white people. When asked what they would want to do to influence public opinion through LNN for a day, the participants said the following:

'…I will make sort of a documentary to show the good side of black people…I would showcase the good part of African people.'

'…I think in a way you need to have an open discussion of what blackness is…we need to be open to all views…because I think in South Africa we are a bit intolerant of other people's view because people have this mentality that my view is their view and you never learn with such a mentality.'

The above shows that young people want to engage with processes that will improve race relations in South Africa.

6.8.3 Quality versus Quantity: Private school and government school education juxtaposed

Although the young people interviewed are aware of the perception that private school education is better than government school education, they do not believe that private schools necessarily produce 'clever kids'. They believe that it makes sense for black parents to send their children to government school because it is free and they do not have to buy books. The participants rationalised that private schools are able to provide quality education because they have very small classes and teachers can give the students individual attention. Government schools on the other hand are overcrowded and teachers are not able to give individual attention to students. This view is summarised in the following excerpt:

'…in a private school we are in a class of 15, right? You go to a public school where you are in a class of 40, 35. Fifteen people as a teacher I can give each and every one individual attention…and things are going to go smooth. Now you tell me in a class of 40 to 50 people, you cannot give individual attention.'

The participants believe that government school educated students are smart but that the system sets them up for failure. One issue that was mentioned that compromises the quality of students from government schools is the minimum pass mark. One participant believes the government school and private school system is different as mentioned in the following excerpt:

'You go to a private school, they set them higher standards, they tell you from a young age that you have to achieve this. Now you go to a public school they tell you 30% is a pass, it's cool, you are going to the next level. So the belief of saying I am going to pass using 30% is the results we see in people not being innovative enough and create something for themselves.'

Another participant said the following:

'It is not necessarily that they are stupid, it is more necessarily the facility and the system in which they are in…'

Young people believe the problem of poor results to be a systemic government problem but they do not believe the government school system should be compared to the private school system. They believe that language, for instance, is a barrier to gaining knowledge and if young people could be taught in their mother tongue it would greatly improve their understanding:

'…I feel as if each and every school system has home language, study in home language, things are going to be much simpler. Look at Eastern Cape they had this survey that they had were they taught the kids English and half of them failed. They took the very same questions and everything and put it in Xhosa and they had very good results, I think it was 80% pass rate…if you teach people in a language they understand…they can resonate with [it] and can understand it…'

From the above it can be seen that participants are aware of not only of the systemic problems but also solutions that can be implemented to improve the level and quality of education at government schools.

6.8.4 The paradox of social media

The findings from the interviews showed contradiction in the way young people engage with and regard social media. Social media is shown to be a source for news and a way to engage in protests, but it is also seen as an ineffective protest tool. When participants were asked how they keep abreast of the news on a day to day basis, they mentioned both traditional media (television news, radio, newspapers) and new [social] media (Facebook and Twitter). They expressed a preference for social media, stating the following:

'…social media is…where we get to engage…it is the best platform right now.'

'I am going to take Twitter…that is where you get updated on the ball right there…'

When the participants were asked whether they believe face to face or social media discussions of the show can alter the political climate, participants said they believed that social media *does* have an impact as was the case with two of South Africa's social media campaigns of 2015: #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. This participant believes that #RhodesMustFall inspired a similar campaign at Oxford University in the United Kingdom:

'…I think in Oxford University there is a Rhodes statue and last month there were removing, they were fighting to [inaudible] #RhodesMustFall campaign, then I tweeted about it, it was like "oh so Africa now is affirming the right thing to do to the world?" and I said "development country!!!"'

Another participant said:

'They do, for instance take #FeesMustFall it is a movement which started on social media…up until the whole country got caught up on the idea of #FeesMustFall so I think they influence this sphere that we live in politically, economically…'

However, as much as the participants use social media and believe it was instrumental in popularising #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall, they are sceptical of its effectiveness in dealing with complex issues such as race. For example, in response

to a question about whether they thought residents of Cape Town were represented fairly in the video 'Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town', one participant did not seem to think so:

'Social media protests don't really work here in Africa, especially in South Africa. You can have a petition where you post about something, it will go on and on and on…the Penny Sparrow thing, it was all over social media, everyone was complaining where did it end up? Nowhere. If it happened on social media it just ends on social media.'

Another participant said:

'…I do not think that if they had just created a [Facebook] *page, they want proper toilets and …50 000 'liked' it all of a sudden Helen* [Zille, premier of the Western Cape] *would have been like "50 000, crap!" She wouldn't give a crap…'*

These findings show that young people consider social media as part of the modern era in which they live, as in the following excerpt:

'…It is a digital age, so if I share something on let us say Facebook and I have 500 followers, someone will come with…[a] perspective that I do not know, so sharing on social media gives you a better understanding of what is going on around you…'

The scepticism shown by young people regarding the effectiveness of using social media for some protests indicate that they are still trying to navigate ways to understand and use this new media effectively.

6.8.5 The EFF as a liability

The participants regard the EFF party as a liability on the South African political space. They regard them as a one goal party, as disorderly, their dress code as unbecoming and find their brand of politics to be highly personalised. The following excerpts echo this view:

'…all they do here is disrupting the president, but they are not bringing solutions to what they are going to do. So going forward I do not see them serving us as people of South Africa.'

'Do they have any ideas because no one has mentioned anything about making our country any better but it is just attack, attack, attack, attack.'

'They are fighting their own battles, personal battles…because someone who said I would kill for Zuma why all of a sudden does he want to kill Zuma?'

'I did support the EFF when they came…there was a vibrant, there was a vibe…of course I am no longer supporting them…Malema…was Zuma's close friend and now their relationship went sour, now he is pulling all of us into it.'

'Parliament is a formal sitting; I do not get why they have to wear overalls…it is a formal event.'

The participants also doubt the sincerity of the EFF with regard their slogan #PayBackTheMoney and whether their dress code means they really represent the interests of the poor:

'I think [LNN] *did well…in raising the issue of making money out of #PayBackTheMoney because I mean the EFF members…they are all politicians and earning lots of money and…like their dress code you know, like you dress poor and you are not poor, if you were supporting prostitutes would you dress [in] g-strings?'*

The above excerpts show that young people are not disengaged with the political process but that they do think about the issues and can make informed opinions about them.

6.8.6 The effective ineffective tool that is LNN

This theme, as with the social media theme, showed some contradiction in the way the participants view the usefulness of LNN as a political commentator. The participants recognise when LNN is showing bias with regard to particular issues. For

example, they were able to recognise bias against government school education as well as an ageism bias in 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU'. The following excerpts support this view:

'I think they feed into the dominant view of private school as better than public school and also I mean saying the government is breeding criminals as if all students from public schools are criminals…'

'…I think with the age thing there is a lot of ageism going around where people think older people are you know, just useless…So I think in a way when he says my graddad rubbing Vicks is an unfair representation on older people generally, you know.'

Participants were also able to determine when an interview lacked substance. In response to a question on whether the interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee had left them with a reasonable view on the EFF, the ANC and parliamentary politics in general, the participants had this to say:

'No, it was very vague…even the answers were very vague…there was a time where they asked…did you guys really vote for a guy in prison to [represent the party in the North West] *…he does not give straight answers and the way Chester was asking he never comes up with a follow up question to see that he is actually interested in the topic…'*

'That interview made me question whether humour can be brought to politics, because there was humour to it and there was nothing, no delivery...'

'…it did not carry that much depth, as to you would say I have learnt about the EFF, ANC or parliamentary politics at large, there is nothing.'

However, the participants also enjoy the show and the adjectives 'fun', 'relatable' 'easy to understand' 'entertaining' and 'amusing' were used to explain what they like about the show. They also like the fact that LNN both entertains and educates people, and can get good guests as in the following excerpts:

'…they serve a dual role when they are educating and entertaining…even layman now on the street can understand politics based on the entertainment part…'

'…you should look at the people they interview, it is not just your normal small people within the parties, it is your chief whips…your official spokespersons…'

From the above excerpts it can be seen that although the participants recognise that LNN is a watchdog for the government and are quite happy with the 'additional voice outside parliament'- as one participant called it- they are aware of the possibility of propaganda and bias even from an independent station. The critical and analytical mind they have developed as a result of watching the show applies not only to the content of the show but also makes them question the influences that affect production of the show.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a link between the research objectives and the literature to the data gathered. The chapter began with a summary of the research objectives in the introduction. The key issues identified by the literature under each research objectives were then specified. Evidence was then provided from the data gathered to motivate the extent to which each objective had been realised by the study. Chapter 7 concludes the study and provides the limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the main findings of the study. The chapter begins with a discussion on whether democracy is represented in LNN. This is followed by a discussion of how LNN uses agenda-setting and framing to influence viewers' perception of political issues. The extent to which LNN fulfils the functions of the media as set out in the social responsibility and democratic deliberative theories is also discussed. A summary of the themes that emerged from the focus group interviews is provided. A conclusion then follows to summarise the whole study, and the chapter ends with limitations and recommendations for future research.

7.2 The representation of democracy

The study revealed that to a large extent LNN does represent democracy through parody. The findings showed that the show consciously socializes its viewers politically and civically. The findings also show that the show helps to create a sense of national identity and it furthermore encourages decision-making.

In terms of political socialization, the findings show that viewers of LNN are gaining political knowledge through watching the show. Not only did participants gain specific knowledge about issues they would otherwise not have known about, but they are gaining an interest and new perspectives on political issues.

A study of a sample of parodies showed how LNN engages in political socialization by bringing issues of public accountability to the fore and showing how each (political) issue is handled by the main political forces. LNN was also shown to enable a sense of group identity among its viewers, but it is not one identity that is broadened, rather it is multiple identities depending on the political inclination of the viewers. Based on a verbal analysis of the parody 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee', viewers may be inclined towards the political party being interviewed if they feel the party is fulfilling its mandate and they may also be disinclined towards the party if they

feel the party is not fulfilling their mandate. The findings from the thematic analysis showed a strong disinclination towards the EFF whom the participants regard as a liability in the South African political space.

A reading of sample LNN texts showed it to be an instrument that maintains the power of elites over non-elites. As part of part of an elite group of individuals which Habermas (2006) constituted as politicians and journalists, LNN (as a representative of the latter) exercises power over non-elites (citizens) through attributing responsibility for societal problems on individuals and not the state. A thematic analysis of the focus group interviews showed that viewers of LNN also recognise the power of the show as they stated that the show belittles or mocks the ordinary citizen while protecting those in power. This was revealed in their condemnation of the assessment of private school and government educated students in 'President Mugabe made chairperson of the AU' and in the representation of residents of Cape Town in 'Loyiso Madinga reports from Cape Town' where they said the LNN 'mocked the protestors instead of mocking those in power'.

LNN was also shown to be an instrument of propaganda through the selection and processing of content which indirectly benefits the opposition parties and its host station E-tv which is an independent channel. The findings reveal that viewers of the show do recognise the propaganda being displayed on the show due to the representation of certain individuals or issues such as the representation of President Mugabe in 'President Mugabe made chairperson of the AU'. The participants felt that LNN did not provide a balanced representation of President Mugabe and showed the negative side that is mainly circulated in the media.

In terms of civic socialization, LNN does contribute to raising awareness of the issues facing government, such as corruption and cronyism in the appointment of unsuitably qualified executives to positions in government and parastatals. This was revealed in the parody 'Matric results'. Findings from the thematic analysis showed that young people do regard the government as a corrupt and morally decadent entity.

LNN engages citizens civically through setting an agenda for national development. In 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' the second part of this text highlighted the issue of lowering the matric pass rate and raised awareness among viewers of the impact of this policy. The findings from the semiotic analysis showed that LNN primed its viewers to evaluate the policy negatively. From the thematic analysis findings showed that LNN raised awareness of, and primed them to evaluate negatively, the process of getting a job in the South African government.

With regard to the enabling of citizen decision-making, LNN was shown to enable citizens to form their own emotional connections to the political issues of the day through engaging with them on both a cognitive and emotional level; creating identifiable symbols to represent the issues at hand; and using humour and an informal style of interview to establish citizens' contact with their leaders. The interview segment on 'Interview with EFF secretary general Godrich Gardee' fulfills a dual function in terms of political socialization as well as enabling citizens' decision-making. The interview enables citizens to formulate their own opinion on the substantive political issues of the day. The findings from the focus group interviews show that LNN does ask the questions that viewers want answers to, but the findings also revealed that participants are not happy with the inherent biases in how some issues are represented or the depth with which they are dealt with.

7.3 The use of agenda-setting and framing to influence perception of political issues

The study revealed that LNN does set the agenda for what people should be thinking about. Using the social norms of the moral foundations theory as a standard approach to examine a set of issues represented by LNN, the study found that the 'Fairness/Cheating', 'Authority/Subversion' and the 'Sanctity/Degradation' norms could be applied to the parodies 'Matric results', 'President Mugabe made chairman of the AU' and 'Racism in schools' respectively.

The framing theory revealed that the conflict frame was present in all six texts used for analysis, as revealed by the paradigmatic analysis of the texts which made use of the binary oppositions. The framing theory also showed that LNN takes the moral upper hand on certain political issues, thereby influencing how those issues are perceived. Framing also creates a 'defence' mechanism for viewers as it protects them from confronting difficult issues. In response to questions about the use of humour in the video 'Matric results', findings showed that participants understood the use of humour to mean that they must not take the issue of joblessness to heart.

7.4 The fulfilment of the social responsibility and democratic deliberative theories

The study confirmed the watchdog function of LNN. A Proppian analysis of the texts showed that LNN raises critical awareness for the viewers especially by positioning the viewer as the 'hero', itself as the 'dispatcher' and the subject under analysis as the 'villain' thereby enabling the viewer to gain a 'magic agent' (wisdom) and defeating the villain in fulfillment of Propp's narrative structure. A thematic analysis of the focus group interviews showed that participants regard LNN as an 'instrument in showing how politics is done in South Africa'. Viewers also felt that LNN criticises and analyses issues and then gives viewers freedom to create their own perspectives.

A study of the selected samples revealed that LNN fulfills certain aspects of the democratic deliberative theories, such as examining rationality of arguments and enabling viewers to deliberate on the issues, but it appears it does not influence public policy on these issues. The findings stated that the lack of engagement with public officials on issues limits its ability to influence public policy. It appears from the thematic analysis that LNN does not provide room for substantive public deliberation because the participants felt that sometimes LNN falls short on delivery. For example, in the interview in which Chester Missing interviewed Godrich Gardee, participants felt that LNN did ask relevant questions but that some of the questions lacked depth or were not followed up on.

7.5 Themes that emerged from the interviews

The themes that emerged from the study have already been discussed in section 6.8 above. The findings show that young people want to control their fate, they want to engage in process that will improve race relations, they have solutions to problems facing government, they are aware of the power of social media but are unsure how to harness its power, they think about issues and have informed opinions, and finally they are critical of the influence of unbridled power.

7.6 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine how political parody is represented in LNN. This examination was done by using a social semiotic approach that is based on the assumption that meaning-making is based on three meta-functions which are representation, orientation and organisation. This examination was also based on the assumption that representation in media serves to influence how viewers draw meaning from, and understand the political process and political issues in South Africa. This study was based on reviewing the literature on what constitutes parody, what representation and democracy means, as well as the (political) functions of the media in a democracy. The relevance of entertainment in politics was also reviewed in the literature. Four media theories which are agenda-setting and priming; framing theory, social responsibility theory and democratic deliberative theory formed the theoretical framework for this study. Six segments from LNN which included a parody by comedian Loyiso Madinga, another parody by guests actors on service delivery protests, an international report by David Kibuuka, a political interview by Chester Missing, a monologue by host Loyiso Gola and a parody featuring LNN director Kagiso Lediga formed the basis of the semiotic analysis. Of these six segments three of them were sent to focus group participants to view ahead of the interviews and these were: the Loyiso Madinga parody, the international report by David Kibuuka, and the political interview by Chester Missing. An additional video which was not part of the content analysis was sent to participants and it was another report by comedian Loyiso Madinga. The qualitative approach using a case study design as well as focus groups proved to be a useful tool for two reasons: it enabled the researcher to penetrate the

192

deeper layers of the messages contained in the text in order to come to an understanding of how LNN represents democracy; and it enabled the researcher to understand how viewers engage with and understand democracy through watching LNN.

7.6 Limitations and recommendations

The major limitation of this study is that the findings cannot be generalised since the samples were small. For the content analysis only six segments were chosen and for the focus groups a total of fourteen participants from the two groups were interviewed. The groups were not heterogeneous enough to enable diverse views. Although the participants were not asked to reveal their ages, they ranged from age twenty to thirty, with more than half being female. They were all black and therefore there was no other race to counter some of the arguments that emerged from the race theme that emerged. Further, the groups consisted of university students and members of staff who tend to display a more 'educated' viewpoint than the ordinary layman. A more diverse group is suggested for future research.

The study revealed that young people do consider social media a major source of news and engagement. The study could have also used analysed responses from viewers on the LNN social media pages to ascertain what viewers discussed.

The study utilises only a qualitative research method although scholars advocate for a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to strengthen the reliability of the study. A quantitative approach could be used to ascertain the prevalence and frequency of themes such as politics, corruption, racism, transformation, and leadership, among other themes.

LNN has been on screen since 2009 but the focus of this study is only on season 12 episodes from early 2015. Because of the cyclical nature of news the findings may indicate the show's particular fixation with themes such as politics, corruption, racism, transformation, and leadership because those issues were in the news at the time. A

longitudinal study may be able to reveal if other themes such as development are covered in the show.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achter, P. ,2008, 'Comedy in Unfunny Times: News Parody and Carnival After 9/11', *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 25 (3), 274-303.

Adoni, H.,1979, 'The functions of mass media in the political socialisation of adolescents', Communication Research 6 (1),84-106.

Aiello, G., 2006, 'Theoretical Advances in Critical Visual Analysis: Perception, Ideology, Mythologies, and Social Semiotics', *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 26 (2): 89-102.

Alter, C., 2015, *Why Charlie Hebdo gets more attention than Boko Haram*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://time.com/3666619/why-charlie-hebdo-gets-more-attention-than-boko-haram/

Baym, G., 2006,' The Daily Show: Discursive Integration and the Reinvention of Political Journalism', *Political Communication* 22, 259-276.

Baym, G. & Jones P.J., 2012, 'News Parody in Global Perspective: Politics, Power and Resistance', *Popular Communication* 10, 2-13.

Berger, A.A., 2012, *Media Analysis Techniques*, Sage Publications, California.

Bratton, M., Mattes, R. & Gyimah-Boadi, E., 2005, *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Brewer, P.R., Young, D.G., & Morreale, M., 2013, 'The Impact of Real News about "Fake News": Intertextual Processes and Political Satire', *International Journal of Public Opinion* 25(3), 323-343.

Burbridge, M. 2009, *The show the SABC wouldn't let you see*, viewed 12 November 2013, from http://mg.co.za/article/2009-05-27-the-show-sabc-wouldnt-let-you-see.

Chambers, S., 2003, 'Deliberative Democratic Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6: 307-326.

Chaffee, S.H., Nass, C.I., & Yang, S., 1990, 'The Bridging Role of Television in Immigrant Political Socialisation', *Human Communication Research* 17 (2), 266-288

Chivara, I., 2013, *Willowgate report shows Zim car-scandal whitewash*, viewed 20 October 2015, from

http://mg.co.za/article/2013-09-27-00-report-shows-car-scandal-whitewash

Chong, D. & Druckman, J.N., 2007, 'Framing Theory', *Annual Review of Political Science* 10:103-126.

Christians, C. & Nordenstreng K., 2004, 'Social Responsibility Worldwide', *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 19 (1) 3-28.

Curran, J. (ed.), 2010, *Media and Society*, 5th edition, Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Curran, J., 2007, 'Reinterpreting the democratic roles of the media', *Brazilian Journalism Research* (Special edition), 3 (1), 31-54.

Dahlberg, L., 2005, 'The Habermasian public sphere: Taking difference seriously?', *Theory and Society* 34, 111-136.

Davis, R., 2012. *Hayibo: End of an era,* viewed on 29 May 2012, from http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-12-17-hayibo-end-of-an-era/#.U4btMfmSySo.

Dlanga, K., 2015. *Chaos in parliament : ANC should have walked out*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://mg.co.za/article/2015-02-13-chaos-in-parliament-anc-should-have-walked-out

Delli Carpini, M.X., & Williams B.A., 2001, 'Let Us Infotain You: Politics in the New Media Age', *Mediated Politics: Communication in the future of democracy*, 160-181.

Dennis, E.E and Synder, R.W. (eds.), 1998, *Media and Democracy*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey.

Dentith, S., 2002, *Parody*, Routledge, New York.

De Vreese, CH., 2005, 'News framing: theory and typology', *Information Design Journal + Document Design* 13 (1), 51-62.

Dlutsky, K., [n.d.], *The role of television in political socialisation*, viewed 19 January 2015, from

http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/csacpub/russian/kostya.html .

Dobolyi, D., 2015, *MoralFoundations.Org*, viewed 20 October 2015 from

http://www.moralfoundations.org/

Druick, Z., 2009, 'Dialogic Absurdity: TV News Parody as a Critique of Genre', *Television and New Media* 10 (3), 294-308.

Du Plessis, H. 2015, *From a R150K fine to 15 years in jail*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/from-a-r150k-fine-to-15-years-in-jail-1.1789244#.VhnlNeyqqko

Du Plooy, T., 2001, *Communication Research. Study guide for COM306D*, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Elo, S., Kaariainen, M., Kanste, O., Polkki, T., Utriainen, K., and Kyngas, H., 2014, Qualitative Content Analysis: A Focus on Trustworthiness, *Sage Open* January to March 2014:1-10.

Esralew, S. & Young, D.G., 2012, 'The Influence of Parodies on Mental Models: Exploring the Tine Fey-Sarah Palin Phenomenon', *Communication Quarterly* 60 (3), 338-352.

Faull, L., 2015, *Exposed: Scary details of SA's secret Russian nuke deal*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://mg.co.za/article/2015-02-12-exposed-scary-details-of-secret-russian-nuke-deal

February, J. & Calland, R., 2013, *Satire must be encouraged*, viewed 12 November 2013, from http://www.iol.co.za/news/satire-must-be-encouraged-1.1557050#.UoH4MfImiSo.

Fields, E.E., 1988, 'Qualitative Content Analysis of Television News: Systematic Techniques', *Qualitative Sociology* 11 (3), 183-193.

Fourie, P. J. (ed.), 2009, *Media Studies: Media Content and Media Audiences*, Juta, Cape Town.

Fourie, P. J. (ed.), 2007, *Media Studies: Media History, Media and Society*, Juta, Cape Town.

Fourie, P. J. (ed.), 2008, Media Studies: Policy, Management and Media Representation, 2nd edition, Juta, Cape Town.

Fraser, N., 1990, 'Rethinking the public sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text* 25/26, 56-80

Gastil, J., 2008, *Political Communication and Deliberation*, Sage, Carlifornia.

Gunther, R., & Mughan, A., 2000, *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Habermas, J., 2006, 'Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy still enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research', *Communication Theory* 16, 411-426

Hall, S. (ed). 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage Publications , London.

Hariman, R., 2008, 'Political parody and public culture', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 94 (3), 247-272.

Holbert, R.L., 2005, 'A Typology for the Study of Entertainment Television and Politics', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 49 (3), 436-453.

Holbert, R.L., Tchernev, J.M., Walther, W.O., Esralew, S.E. & Benski, K., 2013, 'Young Voter Perceptions of Political Satire as Persuasion: A Focus on Perceived Influence, Persuasive Intent, and Message Strength', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 57 (2), 170-186.

Holbert, R.L.,Pillion, O., Tschida, D.A., Armfield, G.G., Kinder, K., Cherry, K.L., & Daulton, A.R., 2003, '*The West Wing* as Endorsement of the U.S. Presidency: Expanding the Bounds of Priming in Political Communication', *Journal of Communication*, 427-443.

Holbert, R.L., Tschida, D.A., Dixon, M., Cherry, K., Steuber, K., & Airne,D., 2005, '*The West Wing* and Depictions of the American Presidency: Expanding the Domains of Framing in Political Communication', *Communication Quarterly* 53,(4) 505-522.

Holbrook, R.A. & Hill, T.G., 2005, 'Agenda-Setting and Priming in Prime Time Television: Crime Dramas as Political Cues', *Political Communication*, 22 (3) 277-295.

Hutcheon, L., 1989, *The politics of postmodernism*, Routledge, New York.

Hyden, G., Leslie, M., & Ogundimu, F.F., 2002 *Media and Democracy in Africa*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey.

Iedema, R., 'Analysing Film and Television: a Social Semiotic Account of Hospital: an Unhealthy Business' in Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, C., 2004, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, Sage Publications, London.

Irvin, S. 2005, 'Appropriation and authorship in contemporary art', *British Journal of Aesthetics* 45 (2),123-137.

Jason, S., 2013, *'Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola' nominated for an Emmy*, viewed 12 November 2012, from http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-08-late-nite-news-with-loyiso-gola-nominated-for-emmys.

Jewitt, C., & Oyama, R., 'Visual Meaning: A Semiotic Approach' in Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, C., 2004, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, Sage Publications, London.

John, V., 2014, *Nzimande defends 30% matric requirement*. Accessed 17 October 2015.

http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-09-nzimande-defends-30-matric-pass-requirement

Kenny, K., 2009, ''The performative surprise': parody, documentary and critique', *Culture and Organisation* 15 (2), 221-235.

Kodish, S. & Gittelsohn, J., 2011, 'Systematic Data Analysis in Qualitative Health Research: Building Credible and Clear Findings', *Sight and Life*. 25 (2), 52-56.

Kononova, A., Alhabash, S., Cropp, F., 2011, 'The role of the media in the process of socialization to American politics among international students', *The International Communication Gazette* 73 (4), 302-321.

Krueger, R.A. & Casey, M.A., 2009, *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*, 4th edition, Sage Publications, California.

Kuhlmann, J., 2012, 'Zimbabwe diaspora politics and the power of laughter: Humour as a tool for political communication, criticism and protest', *Journal for African Media Studies* 4 (3), 295-314.

Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola, viewed 21 May 2015, from

http://www.enca.com/lnn

Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola, 2010, viewed 10 June 2014, from https://www.facebook.com/pages/Late-Nite-News-with-Loyiso-Gola/158708727482015?id=158708727482015&sk=info .

Late Night News with Loyiso Gola, 2011, viewed 10 June 2014, from http://www.channel24.co.za/TV/Series/Late-Night-News-with-Loyiso-Gola-20110907.

Ledwaba, A. n.d., *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola,* viewed 10 June 2014, from http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3248492/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl.

Leedy, P.D. & Ormroad, J. E., 2013, Practical Research*: Planning and Design*, Pearson Education, New Jersey.

Lefko-Everette, K., 2012, 'Ticking Time Bomb or Demographic Dividend? Youth and Reconciliation in South Africa', *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey: 2012 Report*, viewed 31 October 2013, from http://reconciliationbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/2012-SA-Reconciliation-Barometer-FINAL.pdf.

Littlejohn, S.W. & Foss, K.A.,2009, 'Public Opinion Theories', *Encyclopaedia of Communication Theory*, Sage Knowledge 1-12.

Malila, V., Oelofsen, M., Garman, A. & Wasserman, H., 2013, 'Making meaning of citizenship: How "born frees" use media in South Africa's democratic evolution', *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 39 (4), 415-431

Matthes, J. & Rauchfleisch, A., 2013, 'The Swiss "Tina Fey Effect" : The Content of Late-Night Political Humor and the Negative Effects of Political Parody on the Evaluation of Politicians', *Communicatio Quarterly* 61(5), 596-614.

McCombs, M.E., & Shaw, D.L., 1972, 'The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36 (2), 176-187.

Macnamara, J.,2005, 'Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and Best Practice Methodology', *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6 (1): 1-34.

Moyo, D., 2005, 'The "independent" press and the fight for democracy in Zimbabwe: A critical analysis of the banned *Daily News*', *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, Special Issue, November 2005:109-128.

Navarro, S.J., 2007, 'The Power of mimesis and the Mimesis of power, Plato's Concept of Imitation and his Judgement on the Value of Poetry and the Arts', *Revista de Humanidades*, 13: 97-108.

Ndlozi, M.Q., 2014, *EFF welcomes judgement Western High Court judgement that the suspension of EFF MPs was illegal*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://effighters.org.za/eff-welcomes-the-western-cape-high-court-judgement-that-the-suspension-of-eff-mps-was-illegal/

Ndlozi, M.Q. 2015, *The EFF statement on the recent interviews and media attacks by fighter Andile Mngxitama*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://effighters.org.za/the-eff-statement-on-the-recent-interviews-and-media-attacks-by-fighter-andile-mngxitama/

Newton, K., 1999, 'Mass Media Effects: Mobilisation or Media Malaise?', *British Journal of Political Science*, 29 (4), 577-599.

Ngqola, N. 2014, *Grass-eating pastor now has congregation drinking petrol*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

https://www.enca.com/shock-scenes-grass-pastor-giving-his-congregation-petrol-drink

Ngqola, N., 2015, *Another top dog investigated for fraudulent qualifications*. Accessd 11 October 2015.

https://www.enca.com/another-sabc-top-dog-investigated-fraudulent-qualifications

Olson, S.R., 1987, 'Meta-television: Popular Postmodernism', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987), 284-300.

Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L. & Wynaden,D., 2000, 'Ethics in Qualitative Research', *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 33 (1), 93-96.

Ott, B. & Walter, C., 'Intertextuality: Interpretive Practice and Textual Strategy', *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 17 (4), 429-446.

Peifer, J.T., 2012, 'Can We Be Funny? The Social Responsibility of Political Humor', *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 27: 263-276.

Peifer, J.T., 2013, 'Palin, Saturday Night Live, and Framing: Examining the Dynamics of Political Parody', The *Communication Review* 16 (3), 155-177.

Political Satire, 2014, viewed 26 May 2014, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_satire .

Popkin, M. E., 2012, *The Role and Impact of 'The Daily Show with Jon Stewart': Taking Satire Seriously On A "Daily Show" Basis*, viewed 1 January 2013 from http://www.studentpulse.com/articles/693/the-role-and-impact-of-the-daily-show-with-jon-stewart-taking-satire-seriously-on-a-daily-show-basis.

Reid, J., 2008, 'Representation defined' in Fourie, P.J. (ed.), 2008, Media Studies: Policy, Management and Media Representation, 2nd edition, Juta, Cape Town.

Roberts & Letsoalo,[n.d.], *The young and the restless: Political apathy and the youth,* viewed 14 November 2013 from http://www.hsrc.ac.za/uploads/pageContent/1607/The%20Young%20and%20The%20Restless.pdf.

Rose, M., 1993, *Parody: ancient, modern and postmodern*, University Press, Cambridge.

Rowe, H.A., 2011, 'Appropriation in Contemporary Art', *Student Pulse: The International Student Journal* 3(6), 1-2.

SA population is the youngest in the world, viewed on 31 October 2013, from http://www.stanlib.com/EconomicFocus/Pages/SAyoungestpopulation.aspx.

SA youth face new struggle...2013, viewed 1 November 2013, from http://theweekly.co.za/?p=17519.

Saxton K.T. & Bocchicchio, R.P.,2000, *The passionate fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on Her Life and Work*, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, viewed 9 June 2014, from http://books.google.co.za/books?id=5RVeVvgccW4C&pg=PA276&lpg=PA276&dq=parodic+quotation&source=bl&ots=L8v4-apPnq&sig=2RlUwuu2OOKOAILM6T1taTJZhEY&hl=en&sa=X&ei=yXiVU4eIE-uq7QaH0ID4Bw&ved=0CFcQ6AEwCA#v=onepage&q=parodic%20quotation&f=false.

Scheufele, D.A., & Tewksbury, D. 2007, 'Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models', *Journal of Communication*, (57) 9-20.

Semetko, H.A.,Valkenburg, P.M. 2000, 'Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News', *Journal of Communication,* 93-109

Semetko, H.A., & Scammell, M. (eds) 2012, *The Sage Handbook of Political Communication*, Sage, London.

Serino, T.K., 2010, ' ''Setting the agenda'': the production of opinion at the Sunday Times', *Social Dynamics, A journal of African Studies*, 36 (1) 99-111.

Siebert, F.S, Peterson, T. and Schramm, W., 1956, *Four theories of the press*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Sithole, S & Dawjee, H.M., 2015, *Matric-less Motsoeneng waxes lyrical about matric certificates*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://mg.co.za/article/2015-01-06-matric-less-motsoeneng-waxes-lyrical-about-matric-certificate

Tamborini, R.C., 2013, *Media and the Moral Mind*, Routledge.

Theories of Democracy, viewed 21 June 2014, from https://www.boundless.com/sociology/understanding-government/democracy/theories-of-democracy/.

Thurman, C., 2009, *Satire in South Africa*, viewed 29 May 2014, from http://christhurman.net/politics-and-commentary/item/the-tragi-comic-rise-and-fall-of-satire.html .

Toralieva, G. 2009, Role of the Media in the Democratic Society, viewed 14 November 2013 from, http://www.slideshare.net/iDebate/role-of-the-media-in-the-democratic-society.

Underhill, G., 2015. *Nkandla: Zuma's architect pins hopes on case collapsing over documents denial*. Accessed 11 October 2015.

http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-02-12-nkandla-zumas-architect-pins-hopes-on-case-collapsing-over-documents-denial/#.Vhnj7eyqqko

Van Camp, J.C., 2010, 'Originality in Postmodern Appropriation Art', *The Journal of Arts, Management, Law and Society* 36 (4), 247-258.

Van Leeuwen, T., and Jewitt, C., (eds), 2004, The Handbook of Visual Analysis, *Analysing Film and Television: A Social Semiotic Account of Hospital: an Unhealthy Business*, London: Sage

Van Zoonen, L., 2004, 'Imagining the Fan Democracy', *European Journal of Communication*, 19 (1), 39-52.

Wasserman, H.,& De Beer, A., 2007, Which public? Whose interest? The South African Media and its role during the first ten years of democracy, *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 36-51

Wasserman, H., & Garman, A. 2014, 'The meanings of citizenship: media use and democracy in South Africa', *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, 1-16.

White, R.A., 2008, 'The role of media in democratic governance', *African Communication Research* 1 (3), 269-328.

Wimmer, R.D., & Dominick, J.R., 2011, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, 9th International Edition, Wadsworth: Centre Learning.

Yin, R.K., 2012, *Applications of Case Study Research*, California: Thousand Oaks.

Young, D., 2013, '*Lighten up: How satire will make American politics relevant again',* Columbia Journalism Review, July/August, 27-33.

Young, D., Holbert, R.L. & Jamieson, K.H., 2013, 'Successful Practices for the Strategic Use of Political Parody and Satire: Lessons from the P6 Symposium and the 2012 Election Campaign', *American Behavioral Scientist* XX(X), 1-20.

ZANEWS, 2014, viewed 26 May 2014 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ZANEWS.

APPENDIX A ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 2212, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email:noko.monene@ul.ac.za

TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING:	05 May 2016
PROJECT NUMBER:	TREC/26/2016: PG
PROJECT:	
Title:	An examination of political parody in representing democracy: A case of *late nite news* with Loyiso Gola
Researcher:	Ms FSY Pfumojena
Supervisor:	Prof SO Mmusi
Co-Supervisor:	N/A
Department:	Media Studies
School:	Languages and Communication Studies
Degree:	Masters in Media Studies

PROF TAB MASHEGO
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:
i)   Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee.
ii)   The budget for the research will be considered separately from the protocol.
      PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

Finding solutions for Africa

207

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

Welcome and introduction

- *Introduction* of moderator and co-moderator – role clarification

Good day. Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this interview. My name is Tafadzwa Pfumojena and my colleague here Rofhiwa will be assisting me with moderating the discussion. This interview is being recorded by means of voice recording and note taking as it is critical in the data collection and data analysis phase of this study. I will explain very shortly about confidentiality in a moment, but before I go further let me just explain that the interview may last 45 minutes to one hour.

- *Housekeeping*:
    - ➤ If anyone may need the bathroom it would be preferable to use it now as standing up during the interview may disturb the flow of the interview. (direction of bathroom will be given)

(Allow time for those who may wish to go to the bathroom).

    - ➤ Please may you out of courtesy switch off your phones or keep them on silent.
    - ➤ We will be providing refreshments after the interview and would appreciate it if you could stay and interact with us thereafter.

- *Privacy*

You have all been sent an information sheet as well as a consent form before this interview. If you have not yet signed your consent form we will allow a few minutes now to get those signatures, as we cannot proceed without your consent. I would like to re-emphasise certain aspects:

1. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation.
2. I do not anticipate any long term negative effects as a result of your participation in this study.
3. Although this interview is being recorded, your privacy will be protected by providing you with a pseudonym so that nobody will be able to connect you to the responses you provide. The moderator has signed a confidentiality agreement and the person who will transcribe this audio material will also be requested to sign the same form so that any information that identifies you is available only to the researcher.

- *Purpose*

You were invited to the focus group because you have certain aspects in common that we are interested in. You are all viewers of the comedy show *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* and you have certain opinions about the show. We want to tap into those opinions. There are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to share your positive and negative experiences. We want to unpack your thoughts and opinions about LNN.

- *Purpose of the study is* to examine the role that the show LNN plays in representing democracy. Democracy is generally defined as form of government in which all citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws and the actions of their state together, and have an equal opportunity to express their opinion. So we want to determine to what extent LNN helps citizens to exercise these forms of democracy.
- *Purpose of the meeting is* to find out your opinions and ideas regarding the democratic aspects or lack of as represented by the show. So we are trying to analyse the positive and negative aspects as well.

Respondents will be asked if they have any questions.

As you are aware of, LNN is a political comedy show that airs on eNCA and E-TV. It is hosted by comedian Loyiso Gola and directed also by a comedian Kagiso Lediga.

The regular segments are the political interview with Chester Missing, the foreign news report by David Kibuuka and the moral index by comedian Deep Fried Man. In addition to this there are skits done by regular guest comedians on the show.

- *Introduction* of the members – tell us who you are and what you like most about *LNN.* Very briefly though, they will be times for deep reflection about some of the aspects of the show as the interview progresses. (Respondents will be asked to open up if the researcher sees that they want to communicate something).

Focused discussion to help understand the topic of discussion

Introductory questions

- What is your interpretation of democracy, what does democracy mean to you?
- On a day-to-day basis, how do you keep informed about what is happening around the world?
- What do you think is the link between LNN and politics?

Key questions

Political socialization and civic socialization questions

Would you say watching LNN has improved your political knowledge? Provide an instance in which you felt you gained something through watching LNN.

Do you engage in social media or face to face discussions about what you would have viewed on LNN? To what extent do you feel that these discussions help you to better understand South African politics?

Do you believe these discussions have altered or can alter the political climate?

Agenda-setting and priming questions

YouTube video on Matric Results by Loyiso Madinga

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vr39iw4Gh1E

Based on this video, what do you consider to be the main political issue(s) being discussed?

How do you think LNN wants you to view this issue? Would you consider that LNN wants you to consider this issue positively or negatively?

Framing theory questions

Based on that video, how well do you think you understand how to 'get a job in South Africa'?

What impression do you get about the process of getting a job in South Africa?

In what way, if any, does the use of humour influence your impression about the process of getting a job in South Africa?

What do you think was LNN's intended outcome in showing you how to get a job in South Africa?

Did you come to the same conclusion as was intended by LNN in this lesson?

Implementation of democratic decision-making questions

In your opinion, to what extent does *LNN* serve as a watchdog against the government?

Social responsibility theory questions (ethical framework)

YouTube video of Loyiso Madinga's report from Cape Town https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xg1Z28f9xlY

How do you think residents of Cape Town were represented in that video?

To what extent do you believe this was a fair representation of how Capetonians engage in protest action?

YouTube video of report by David Kibuuka on President Mugabe made chairperson of the AU / State of education in South Africa https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hwsjD7UZyc

Do you think LNN provided a fair assessment of the behavioural tendencies of government school educated students versus their private school counterparts?

Would you consider it a false or fairly truthful assessment of the state of education in South Africa?

Deliberative democracy theory questions

YouTube video of Chester Missing interview of EFF SG Godrich Gardee https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8pVIFehQQ4o

How well do you think Chester did in terms of asking the questions that people actually want answers to?

To what extent are you convinced that the interview left you with a reasonable opinion about;

- The EFF party?
- The ANC
- Parliamentary politics in general

Wrap-up question

- If you had a chance to influence public opinion through *LNN* for a day, what would you do?

Conclusion

This wraps up the interview. Thank you once again for participating. Refreshments and drinks will be served.

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

Title:

An examination of political parody in representing democracy: A case of *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola*

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Tafadzwa Pfumojena and I am a postgraduate student doing a Masters degree in Media Studies. I am inviting you to participate in a study about the role that *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* plays in representing democracy. The reporting of this research will be through a Masters dissertation to be submitted in partial fulfilment for the completion of an MA in Media Studies with the University of Limpopo.

The **aim of the study** is to generate an in-depth understanding of the role that political entertainment plays in representing democracy in order to ascertain to what extent this kind of entertainment influences young people's understanding of democratic issues in South Africa.

You **have been invited to participate in the study** because you are fit the profile of the group of people who watch the show and I believe your views will enable me to get a comprehensive picture about the role of this particular show in a democratic South Africa. The **benefit of participating** in this study is the opportunity to share in a safe environment your thoughts and views regarding *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* and to contribute to academic discussion about the role of the media in a democracy**. About 16-18 other participants, in two groups of approximately nine participants** will be involved in the study. I have obtained permission from the University of Limpopo Higher Degrees Committee to invite you to participate in this study.

You will be required to participate in a **focus group interview** that will last between **45 minutes and one hour**. The focus group interview will take place at a time and

place that are convenient for you. The interview will be audio recorded and will consist of a central research question: '**What is the role of *Late Nite News with Loyiso Gola* in representing democracy?**' Follow-up questions will be asked to ensure that a rich description of your thoughts and views is captured. I shall also request your consent to make notes during our conversation to complement the verbal information shared during our engagement.

Being in this study is **voluntary** and **you are under no obligation to consent to participation**. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving reason.

I do not anticipate that you will experience **any long-term negative effects** as a result of your participation in the study. Being challenged by other participants on your point of view may create emotional discomfort. Debriefing will be offered by the researcher at the end of the interviews or at a time of your convenience if you experience a need to clarify any uncertainties or to discuss any other issue relating from your participation in this study. You will also be required to provide the researcher with your valuable time. I shall ensure that the interview is scheduled at a time that is convenient to you in an attempt to mitigate this potential inconvenience.

Your **privacy** will be respected throughout the research process by not putting any pressure on you to participate in the study or to disclose your private information to unauthorised sources. Your **name will not be recorded anywhere** and **no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give**. Your answers will be given a fictitious code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

A person that will capture the audio recorded information will have access to the raw information shared by you during the interview. This **person (transcriber)** will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement. Otherwise, records that identify you will

be available only to the researcher, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years under lock and key for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. The information will be **destroyed** after five years by shredding paper copies and permanently deleting electronic information from the hard drive of the computer.

You will not receive any payment or reward, financial or otherwise. The study will not incur undue costs by you. An investment of time will however be required (total of 2 hours).

This study has received written approval from the **Higher Degrees Committee of the University of Limpopo**. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

A **summary of the findings of the study** will be emailed to you within six months after completion of the data collection phase of the study.

Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact Miss Tafadzwa Pfumojena, tafadzwa.pfumojena@gmail.com , 084 479 2100.

Should you have concerns about the way in which this research has been conducted, you may contact **Professor Shiela Mmusi, Head of Department, Media Studies** on onkaetse.mmusi@ul.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Miss Tafadzwa Pfumojena

APPENDIX D

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I,……………………… (participant's name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to with draw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into journal publications and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the focus group interview.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant name and surname……………………………………………… (please print)

Participant
signature…………………………………………………………Date……………………

Researcher's name and surname…………………………………………… (please print)

Researcher's
signature…………………………………………………………Date……………………

Witness name and surname……………………………………………… (please print)

Witness'
signature…………………………………………………………Date……………………