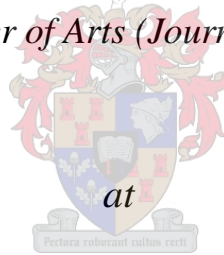


**The commercial mainstream news media's portrayal
of the South African farmer in the 21st century:
An exploratory study**

by

Isabeau Botha

*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Journalism)*



Stellenbosch University

Department of Journalism

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Supervisor: Dr Gabriël Botma

Date: December 2021

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

Isabeau Botha

December 2021

Copyright © 2021 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor, Dr Gabriël Botma, for his helpful advice and encouragement. Studying part-time is challenging and I am grateful for the support of my colleagues, family and friends: I thank them all for their encouragement and patience, especially my co-students – my children Philip and Susanne Botha.

Abstract

The image of the South African farmer in the 21st century is arguably still rooted in a colonial construct. The portrayal of the farmer is especially relevant in relation to current media coverage surrounding fear and uncertainty about land expropriation in South Africa. The land reform crisis foregrounds issues pertaining to marginalised black farmers and stigmatised white farmers in response to the racialised hegemony of a superior colonial farmer identity. However, in a nascent democratic society still characterised by inequality and polarisation, it is inspiring that certain people's perceptions about Others, namely farmers who do not fit the colonial farmer norm, might slowly be changing. The question is whether such transformative discourses about farmer identity are visible in South Africa's commercial mainstream news media, who has the power to influence public perception. Academic research about the portrayal of the farmer in the mainstream media is still limited, especially in the South African context. This exploratory study aims to discover how farmers are represented in certain South African commercial mainstream news media, namely *The Citizen*, *News24*, *Netwerk24*, *TimesLIVE*, *SowetanLIVE*, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Independent Online* (IOL). The theoretical point of departure is the conflict between stereotypical and nuanced representation, especially relating to the use of language in news selection and presentation. This study's chosen theoretical framework is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), with the Foucaultian concept of representation as discourse as the basis for an exploration of how the combination of power/knowledge might influence the portrayal of farmers. This exploratory study used CDA to analyse the relationship between these publications' portrayal of farmers on the one hand, and their own ideological preferences and their perceived audiences on the other. The concept of the critical discourse moment is employed to direct the sampling of this study, with land expropriation without compensation as the chosen moment. A CDA of news media coverage of farmers in the mentioned publications during 2018 found that the discourse of fear visible in land expropriation debates is countered by a discourse of collaboration, which challenges the colonial farmer construct as well as the Othering of farmers. Although examples were found of representations of certain groups that allude to continued power struggles based on divisions and presuppositions created through colonialism and apartheid, evidence was also found of stereotypes about both white and black farmers being contested. Farmers as well as other agricultural role players can arguably be powerful actors in new knowledge construction about farmers in the commercial mainstream South African news media.

Keywords: colonial construct, critical discourse analysis, critical discourse moment, farmer portrayal, mainstream news media, South Africa

Opsomming

Die beeld van die Suid-Afrikaanse boer in die 21ste eeu is waarskynlik nog steeds geanker in 'n koloniale konstruksie. Die uitbeelding van die boer is veral relevant in die lig van huidige mediadiskoerse rondom vrees en onsekerheid oor grondonteiening in Suid-Afrika. Die grondhervormingskrisis bring kwessies na vore oor gemarginaliseerde swart boere en gestigmatiseerde wit boere, in reaksie op die rasgebaseerde hegemonie van 'n meerderwaardige koloniale boeridentiteit. In 'n ontluikende demokratiese samelewing wat steeds deur ongelykheid en polarisasie gekenmerk word, is dit inspirerend dat die siening van sekere mense oor ander stadig kan verander. Die vraag is of daar sulke transformatiewe diskoerse oor boere-identiteit sigbaar is in Suid-Afrika se kommersiële hoofstroom-nuusmedia, wat die mag het om die siening van die publiek te beïnvloed. Akademiese navorsing oor die uitbeelding van die boer in die hoofstroommedia is steeds beperk, veral binne die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Hierdie verkennende studie ondersoek hoe boere in sekere Suid-Afrikaanse kommersiële hoofstroom-nuusmedia, naamlik *The Citizen*, *News24*, *Netwerk24*, *TimesLIVE*, *SowetanLIVE*, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* en *Independent Online (IOL)*, verteenwoordig word. Die teoretiese vertrekpunt is die konflik tussen stereotipiese en genuanseerde voorstelling, veral met betrekking tot die gebruik van taal in nuusseleksie en -aanbieding. Hierdie studie se gekose teoretiese raamwerk is kritiese diskoersanalise, met die Foucaultdiaanse konsep van representasie as diskoers as die basis vir 'n verkenning van hoe die kombinasie van mag/kennis die uitbeelding van boere kan beïnvloed. In hierdie studie is kritiese diskoersanalise gebruik om die verband tussen hierdie publikasies se uitbeelding van boere, en hul eie ideologiese voorkeure en hul waargenome gehoor, te ondersoek. Die konsep van die kritiese diskoersmoment word gebruik om die steekproefneming van hierdie studie te rig, met grondonteiening sonder vergoeding as die gekose moment. 'n Kritiese diskoersanalise van nuusmedia-dekking oor boere in bogenoemde publikasies gedurende 2018 het bevind dat die diskoers van vrees in grondonteieningsdebatte teengewerk word deur 'n diskoers van samewerking, wat die koloniale boerkonstruksie sowel as die *Othering* van boere uitdaag. Alhoewel daar voorbeelde gevind is van verteenwoordiging van sekere groepe wat sinspeel op voortgesette magstryde gebaseer op verdeeldheid en aannames wat deur kolonialisme en apartheid geskep is, is daar ook bewyse gevind van hoe stereotipes oor wit én swart boere verwerp word. Boere en ander landbou-rolspelers kan ongetwyfeld magtige akteurs wees in die konstruksie van nuwe kennis oor boere in die Suid-Afrikaanse kommersiële hoofstroom-nuusmedia.

Trefwoorde: hoofstroom nuusmedia, koloniale konstruksie, kritiese diskoersanalise, kritiese diskoersmoment, Suid-Afrika, uitbeelding van boere

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Opsomming	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.1.1. Motivation.....	1
1.1.1.1 Colonial farmer discourse	1
1.1.1.2 Towards a 21 st century farmer discourse	4
1.1.2. Research problem	6
1.1.3 The farmer, representation as discourse, and mainstream news media.....	7
1.1.3.1 The farmer.....	8
1.1.3.2 Representation as discourse	11
1.1.3.3 Mainstream news media.....	11
1.2 Focus	12
1.3 Preliminary study	13
1.4 Problem statement	14
1.5 Theory	14
1.6 Research questions	15
1.7 Research design and methods	15
1.8 Structure of study	16
1.9 Summary	17
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	19
2.1 Introduction: Gaps in the field of research	19

2.2 Commercial mainstream news media in South Africa	19
2.2.1. Overview: The commercial mainstream news media in South Africa	19
2.2.2. Current concerns about representation in the South African mainstream news media	21
2.2.3. Roles of the media in a young democracy	23
2.3 Farmer portrayal in the media	26
2.3.1. Powerful or Othered: The farmer in the international mainstream media	26
2.3.2. Lacking: Farmers in the African mainstream media	28
2.3.3. The 21 st century farmer in the South African mainstream media	29
2.4 Summary	33
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	34
3.1 Introduction.....	34
3.2 Central theoretical departure point	34
3.3 Discourse theory: Critical discourse analysis	36
3.3.1 Critical discourse moments	37
3.4 Representation as discourse	37
3.4.1 Stereotype theory.....	38
3.4.2 Representation as social carrier of ideology	40
3.5 Normative theories: The role of the media	42
3.6 Summary	44
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY	46
4.1 Introduction.....	46
4.2 Research approach.....	46
4.3 Data gathering and analysis.....	47
4.3.1 The critical discourse moment	47
4.3.2 Purposive sampling of texts.....	48
4.3.3 Data analysis	50
4.4 Content analysis: Critical discourse analysis	50
4.4.1 Benefits of CDA	51
4.4.2 Criticism of CDA	51

4.4.3	Motivation for CDA model	52
4.5	Van Dijk’s model of CDA	53
4.5.1	Context of discourse	53
4.5.2	Power relations	53
4.5.3	Us and Them	53
4.5.4	The presupposed and the implied	53
4.5.5	Selection and representation	53
4.6	Fairclough’s linguistic analytical tools	54
4.7	Summary	55
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION		57
5.1	Introduction.....	57
5.2	Timeline synopsis of land expropriation without compensation	57
5.3	Findings of CDA.....	58
5.3.1	Introduction.....	58
5.3.2	Context of discourse – fear and collaboration	59
5.3.2.1	Fear and the dispel of fear.....	59
5.3.2.2	Collaboration.....	60
5.3.3	Power relations – when farmers are important	64
5.3.3.1	Farmers and government/politicians.....	64
5.3.3.2	Farmers and the media.....	65
5.3.4	Us and Them – a new Us?.....	66
5.3.4.1	Who is a farmer (and who is not)	66
5.3.4.2	Farmers and government.....	67
5.3.4.3	A new farmer construct.....	70
5.3.5	The presupposed and the implied – farmers and stereotypes.....	72
5.3.5.1	Black success.....	73
5.3.5.2	A ‘boer’ is a farmer.....	75
5.3.5.3	Land thieves.....	76
5.3.5.4	The land owner stereotype.....	77
5.3.5.5	The “brutal farmer” stereotype.....	78
5.3.5.6	The language of generalisation	80
5.3.6	Selection and representation – farmers and polarised opinions	82
5.3.6.1	Trumped: A triumph for transformation.....	82
5.3.6.2	From racist and radical to rational and representative	83

5.3.6.3	From extremists to outsiders	84
5.3.7	Summary	86
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....		88
6.1	Introduction.....	88
6.2	Chapter summaries.....	88
6.2.1	Chapter 1: Introduction	88
6.2.2	Chapter 2: Literature review	88
6.2.3	Chapter 3: Theoretical framework	89
6.2.4	Chapter 4: Methodology	89
6.2.5	Chapter 5: Analysis and discussion	89
6.3	Research findings and discussion.....	90
6.3.1	How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language?.....	90
6.3.2	How did these publications' reporting reflect efforts to portray farmers with nuances?	91
6.3.3	What are these publications' contributions to a certain perspective of farmers?.....	93
6.3.4	How do the discourses about farmers in these publications relate to the ideological position of these publications?	95
6.3.5	What do the discourses about farmers in the selected commercial mainstream South African news media news publications reveal about the publications' role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers?	96
6.4	Recommendations.....	97
REFERENCES.....		98
LIST OF ARTICLES INCLUDED IN CDA		119

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Motivation

In my current occupation as a communication professional for an agricultural society in South Africa, I frequently interact with agricultural and mainstream news media. One of this organisation's main objectives is to promote the image of agriculture. As a result, I developed an interest in how farmers are portrayed in – and *by* – the South African mainstream news media.

In South Africa, the term farmer (defined in more detail in 1.1.4.1) represents a complex and sensitive concept with controversial roots. Farming is politicised because of the unresolved issue of land dispossession as brought into being by colonialism and apartheid (Dlakavu, 2014). The discourse about farmers is therefore related to one of the country's (and the world's) most significant challenges, namely inequality. The history of the origin of the South African farmer is evident in current debates, and thus needs to be addressed in the background to this exploratory study.

1.1.1.1 Colonial farmer discourse

The term farmer as used in discourses in the South African mainstream news media arguably originated as a colonial construct. The concept of who a farmer is, is not only a historical issue, but also one of language. From a Foucaultian viewpoint,¹ the term farmer ('boer' in Afrikaans and in Dutch) was created through language from the moment European colonial settlers became known as farmers, when farms were granted to them by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1657 (Coetzee, 2000:viii). The colonial debates therefore should shed some light on how current farmer discourses originated.

The meeting of European settlers and indigenous Khoikhoi pastoralists in the mid-17th century can be constructed as a clash between different farming systems (Guelke, 2003:91). The Khoi's system entailed nomadic livestock farming, whereas the colonial model of crop and livestock farming required demarcated areas and private ownership (Guelke, 2003:91). The colonists eradicated the farming of the Khoi (McLachlan, 2019:100), the European model became established and the original

¹ In this study, the term discourse is used from a Foucaultian view, arguing that language constructs that which it seeks to describe. Foucault understood discourse as a product of social power reflecting historic narratives, for example the way in which people speak (Foucault, 1972:193; O'Farrell, 2020).

farming system would never be restored. A new kind of farmer was constructed, one that changed the settlers, the original inhabitants, and the land itself (Guelke, 2003:90).

One could argue that the Khoi operated a sophisticated system of farming, but was not equally worthy of the term farmer. The Khoi were called “Hottentots” (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:19) by the Dutch-speaking colonialists, a term now regarded as offensive. In historiography, they are differentiated either as hunter-gatherers or as herders and pastoralists, labeling them as distinctly different to the colonial farmers. However, a pastoralist can also be defined as “a *farmer* who breeds and takes care of animals, especially in Africa and Australia” (own emphasis) (Pastoralist, 2020). Van Aswegen (1989:30) calls the Khoi the “founders of livestock farming in South Africa”.² The Khoi could arguably be constructed as farmers who farmed on a big scale with large herds of livestock (Van Aswegen, 1989:32), thus, colonial power robbed them not only of their use of land, but also of their farmer identity.

Furthermore, conflict between “[t]rekboere, a particular kind of pioneer farmer” (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:62) and Africans lead to a century-long series of frontier wars (Ross, 1999:26) and further dispossession of land. As a result, some Africans formed a peasantry, for example at missionary stations, and many of them were successful small farmers (Bundy, 1972:373) according to the colonial construct, even if not owning land. However, legislation turned the racial division of land in South Africa into law, reflecting the ideology of the day that black people were “servants or employees, not farmers” (Davies, 1990:3).

Historiography is influenced strongly by Europeans’ prejudice towards Africans (Van Aswegen, 1989:5). Especially the National Party, a South African political party, founded in 1914, which ruled the country from 1948 to 1994, justified limiting land for black people (Davies, 1990:4) by promoting the discourse that black³ people had arrived in South Africa almost at the same time as the colonists. After 1994, the government especially emphasised discourse with an Africanist point of view. The issue of who the first farmers in South Africa were, has been viewed and portrayed through different lenses. New research challenged the stereotype and proved African farmers became established in Southern Africa already by the first half of the first millennium CE (Wright, 1977:27), at least from 250 CE (SA History Online, 2019a), as part of Iron Age societies farming on communal land. Western historiography created stereotypes of “African incapacity” (Wright, 2017:10) in its portrayal of early

² Translated from Afrikaans by the current author, as all subsequent Afrikaans texts referenced.

³ Race categories are included in this study as placed on the statute-book during apartheid and are now used for the government policy of Broad-based black economic empowerment (BEE), according to which the generic term black people refer to Africans, Coloureds and Indians (President of the Republic of South Africa, 2013:2).

African farmers. In African-centric historiography, these farmers are portrayed as self-sufficient grain and livestock farmers (Van Aswegen, 1989:75). In colonial and apartheid discourses, however, these pre-colonial African farmers and their descendants arguably did not qualify as farmers; they were rather portrayed in generic ethnic terms such as tribes, chiefdoms (Wright, 2017:9), Blacks or natives, some of which are regarded as derogatory today.

Colonialism and apartheid thus created two agricultures, fractured in nature – on the one hand large-scale commercial agriculture on mainly white-owned farms; on the other hand, subsistence agricultural production by the majority involved in agriculture in the rural areas including the former homelands (Kariuki, 2004:31, Kirsten & Van Zyl, 1998). According to Genis (2015:21), this dualist construction is based on “a long history of dispossession and suppression of self-sufficient and, in some cases, commercially successful black farmers and an exclusive system of support for white farmers”. According to Emeritus Professor Ben Cousins (2000:4), a prominent voice in the land reform debate, this stereotyping is aimed at separating the “mass of backward peasants, farming on household plots in the reserves, from progressive, market-oriented farmers who deserve to own land under individual title and to receive real support from the state”. Genis (2015:58, 361) argues the failure to accept differentiation led to assumptions of homogeneity on both sides. Genis (2015:57) also argues that “although large-scale commercial farmers as a group may have lost their privileged positions and political power, they are not a homogenous group, but show huge differentiation”. Therefore, Genis (2015:iii) proposes differentiation categories such as “accumulators”, “successful reproducers”, “struggling reproducers” and “simple commodity producers”.

In South Africa, transformation began in 1994, with black people gaining more power, which started to become visible in changing media discourses in certain mainstream news media. Even though the construction of the farmer has arguably become more complicated than before democracy, more than two decades later some of the past trends in the portrayal of the farmer as a colonial construct arguably persist. The portrayal of the farmer is interwoven with the highly politicised issue of the land owner, as the majority of farmland is still owned by white commercial farmers (Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy [BFAP], 2018:4). Communal land under traditional leadership means that many rural farmers are “still without security of tenure of land” (Genis, 2015:51). Current farmer and land ownership statistics are perceived to be outdated, inadequate and unreliable (Kirsten & Sihlobo, 2019, BFAP, 2018:4, Cousins & Hall, 2017), as well as controversial due to contradictory interpretations. According to Statistics South Africa (2016:34), 2,3 million households are involved in agriculture. Fig (2018) proffers that there are more than one million mostly black households engaged in small-scale farming, whereas Greyling, Vink and Mabaya (2015:2) give a figure of up to 4 million black

smallholder farmers, mostly women. Agriculture is however still seen to be dominated by (mostly white) commercial farmers as they produce the majority of the country's food – a number of between 32 000 and 70 000 farm units, depending on different statistics (Brümmer, 2019b:7, Kirsten & Sihlobo, 2019, Fig, 2018). Kirsten (2017:15) says a general wisdom exists that “most large-scale commercial farmers are white and most small-scale farmers are black – as if there are no white small-scale commercial farmers” – or one could argue, no black commercial farmers or black owned corporate farm enterprises. I thus argue that, on the one hand, although these statistics are difficult to interpret, it might perhaps paint a more complicated picture than before and influence how the media currently represent farmers. On the other hand, one could argue that the characteristic factor of uncertainty about farmer and land owner statistics may allow contradictory allegations about Us and Them to be made in farmer discourse in the media.

After more than two decades of democracy, South African society is still deeply divided. Diverse groups still hold adverse views about each other, leading to tension and conflict (Fourie, 2007:248). This is visible in the anger of many people (Cousins & Hall, 2017) and debate with rhetoric such as “give back the land” (Meyer, Price & Louwrens, 2019). It can be argued that within this environment prejudice and stereotyping work together to maintain social inequality and even to deepen existing divisions, whether intentionally or not. One thing many role players agree about is that government failed in land reform twice – firstly through the slow pace, and secondly through unsuccessful transformation of redistributed land.

This exploratory study does not attempt to provide solutions for farming or land reform, neither is it aimed at establishing whom the land belongs to or arguing the advantages and disadvantages of commercial versus small-scale farming. The focus of the study is only concerned with how the farmer is portrayed in certain commercial mainstream South African news media, namely *The Citizen*, *News24*, *Netwerk24*, *TimesLIVE*, *SowetanLIVE*, *City Press*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Independent Online* (IOL). From a Foucaultian point of view, this portrayal of the farmer has its origin as a colonial construct, although a different and more complex reality might exist. In my exploration of relevant farmer discourses, I will analyse whether these discourses are still rooted in a colonial construct of the farmer, and whether these discourses would also be able to describe a new reality.

1.1.1.2 Towards a 21st century farmer discourse

We are faced today with the complex aftermath of events that started three to four centuries ago. Debates are still situated within a conflict of different, clashing farming systems and resultant constructions of farmer identity.

The colonial farmer construct should be viewed from within a power relationship of opposing forces (Coetzee, 2000:4), which arguably still influences farmer representation. White people not only introduced Western-style farming (Guelke, 2003:90) but also dominated farming for centuries – leading to understandable stereotypes such as that farming is “dominated by Afrikaner males with an exaggerated sense of threat, marginalisation and neglect among existing and prospective farmers” (Department of Agriculture, 2001:8) and that “black people are unable to farm or should not become anything above the social class of poor subsistence farmers” (Department of Agriculture, 2001:8).

Personally, growing up on a farm in South Africa during the final years of apartheid and the first years of democracy, I experienced being labeled as part of a white, conservative, racist, paternalistic and patriarchic Afrikaner farming community, so much so that for many years as an adult I hid my family origins. At the same time, journalist Ivor Price lived with his dark family secret, namely the legacy of his grandfather’s words “the only good farmer is a dead farmer” (Price & Louwrens, 2019:11). His grandfather referred to a ‘Boer’ (white Afrikaner person) and not to a farmer, but Price was too young to understand the difference. Price’s perspective about farmers only changed years later, after meeting farmers across the country for the 2018 *Landbouweekliks* television programme (La Cock, 2018). Price has been vocal about his changed perception and now applies his grandfather’s construct to raise questions about farmer identity, such as “What does it mean to be a farmer? Can we separate farmer and ‘Boer’ from each other? What stories lie beyond this unraveling?” (Van Dyk, 2020). Price (Meyer, Price & Louwrens, 2019) argues that good news stories about farmers are often ignored by society and the media as it is easier to continue thinking along our entrenched biased beliefs than facing new realities that do not fit our preconceived ideas.

South African media entrepreneur Andile Khumalo argues that more dialogue is needed to “highlight the power of collaboration” (Khumalo, 2017) that might aid in bringing about economic transformation and inclusive growth. Khumalo (2017) raises concern that work done by agricultural media “reveals a collaborative energy we hardly hear about” as these stories “don’t often make it into the mainstream”. Furthermore, Khumalo argues that if more dialogue could have lessened mistrust and misgivings, “perhaps these isolated stories of successful collaboration would have been the norm by now and helped us all to understand that even a black woman could be a Boer” (Khumalo, 2017).

Agricultural journalist and researcher Amelia Genis criticises certain members of the media for portraying ignorance when writing about agriculture, arguing that “farming and agriculture are considerably more complicated and sophisticated than the picture in their heads” (Genis, 2018a).

The above concerns raised by Price, Khumalo and Genis led me to questioning what the portrayal of

farmers in the mainstream news media may reveal about certain publications' role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers. A review on databases such as Google Scholar and Stellenbosch University Library, shows the issue of the portrayal of the farmer in the South African mainstream news media has not been investigated in an academic context to date. This exploratory study would thus make a valuable contribution in investigating whether the discourse about farmers in the 21st century commercial mainstream South African news media is still shaped according to colonial patterns or whether it has started to change.

1.1.2. Research problem

The portrayal of the 21st century farmer has yet to be closely studied in the context of the South African commercial mainstream news media. It can be argued that the portrayal of the farmer not only influence farmers, but also the livelihood of thousands of workers, and the food security of South Africans. Recent land reform discourses, including the fierce national debate on land expropriation without compensation (Van Dyk, 2020), have brought to the fore the fundamental issue of who and what a farmer is, which raises the problem of the continuity of a colonial construct, as arguably still portrayed in the South African commercial mainstream news media.

In South Africa, the power relations founded by colonialism and apartheid were unequal to begin with and it is within this context that we should study the media's portrayal of specific groups. At the beginning of the 21st century, literator and political activist Ampie Coetzee (2000:xiii), stated that farming and land form part of a multi-voice conversation, a "deadly serious debate – a discourse in the true sense of the word". Two decades later, this exploratory study will investigate whether the portrayal of the farmer should still be viewed as historically part "of a wider discourse: of political power, of texts as part of the construction of a hegemony" (Coetzee, 2000:14).

The portrayal of the farmer should also be viewed from the perspective of current concerns about the country's news media, such as wrongful portrayals and misinformation, as discussed in Chapter 2. In addition, my study also takes into consideration Fourie's (2007:248) suggestion that stereotyping should receive special attention in media studies about South African society, to ascertain "how people ascribe meaning" (Fourie, 2007:248-249) and whether stereotypes and stereotypical thinking have become entrenched in media content. Fourie (2007:248) argues that the role of the media in "sustaining and often creating" stereotypes and negative views about the Other should be investigated, especially in the context of the ideal of a more complex, but united nation.

When Fourie (2007:248) refers to the Other, it is within a post-colonial paradigm where it normally refers to formerly colonised subjects, whereas Botma (2011:85) suggests a more recent possible

development of the former colonialist as an Other. According to Botma (2011:75), post-apartheid media adopted a contradictory neoliberal, pluralist role as originally proposed by the old, National Party elite, thus they “remained close to arguably the most powerful post-apartheid elite” (Botma, 2011:86). However, the ANC, now the powerful political elite (Botma, 2011:86), has since declared a “fundamentalist return to essentialist African values in which the former colonialist, in turn, became a hostile and foreign ‘other’” (Botma, 2011:85). These arguments relate to the fact that white farmers were part of the power bloc and an elite in the previous dispensation; and in the new dispensation they still are part of an economic and even social elite, but they have less political power. Therefore, the question arises whether it would be possible, in terms of post-colonial theory, to describe them as some kind of Other in relation to the current political power sphere? Furthermore, can both black and white farmers, albeit differently, be Othered in the 21st century? Such an argument might be controversial in terms of post-colonial theory, but this study takes cognisance of the possibility that all farmers might be Othered, and that especially the white farmer might increasingly in some respects have become a type of Other. One could argue that are two opposing processes at work, namely that white farmers have lost power and black farmers have gained power. In terms of post-colonial theory, black farmers were much more marginalised in the past, and maybe there are elements of the white farmer’s position now that make them an Other too? As this dualist characteristic of the South African farmer was inherited through apartheid, one must deal with the issue accordingly. However, is a black farmer now closer to power than a white farmer? Black farmers may arguably be closer to political power, but are they closer to economic power? Would it be feasible to describe the South African farmer as an Other non-rationally as the average South African farmer is not empowered, similar to findings of international studies as included in this study’s literature review in Chapter Two (see 2.3.1)?

These debates inform this exploratory study of the portrayal of the farmer in certain South African commercial mainstream news media, particularly with regards to how language is used to portray farmers in a certain light. My analysis will focus on specific publications over a period of 12 months during 2018. Findings will arguably shed light on whether the commercial mainstream South African news media portray farmers with nuances – or not.

1.1.3 The farmer, representation as discourse, and mainstream news media

Three important terms in this study will be clarified in this section.

1.1.3.1 The farmer

Definitions of the word farmer include “someone who owns or takes care of a farm” (Farmer, 2019a) and “a person who cultivates land or crops or raises animals” (Farmer, 2019b), as well as “one who cultivates a farm, whether as tenant or owner; one who ‘farms’ land, or makes agriculture his occupation” (Farmer, 2019c), of which the latter, wider definition is preferred for this study. It is noteworthy that certain dictionary entries for farmer still refer to stereotypes, for example “a yokel: a naive or gullible inhabitant of a rural area or small town” (Farmer, 2019b) or “a bumpkin: an awkward and unsophisticated rustic” (Farmer, 2019b).

In the South African context, the word farmer has a loaded context due to historic connotations. There is much controversy when it comes to farmer categories.

a. The terms ‘commercial, subsistence, small-scale and emerging farmers’

Farmers in South Africa historically are portrayed as part of either one of two categories, namely (mostly white) commercial and (mostly black) subsistence farmers, in comparison to the international context of a broader range of farmer categories (Kirsten & Van Zyl, 1998:551).

Government policy has been criticised for its continued dichotomy between commercial and subsistence farming (Cousins, 2000:4) as it does not represent the diversity of the sector (Kariuki, 2004:31). Subsistence farmers are represented as “failures” (Taylor in Kariuki, 2004:31), indicating a class-based, hierarchical bias, as well as race bias (Masweneng, 2019). According to Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998:551), the concept of the small-scale farmer is value-laden and creates incorrect impressions as it is often viewed negatively, equated with “backward, non-productive, non-commercial, subsistence agriculture” as well as with the fallacy that “small-scale relates to land size only”. The Youth Chairperson of the African Farmers’ Association of South Africa (AFASA), Nono Sekhoto (Price, 2018a), argues benchmarking against white large-scale commercial farmers means that “smallholder farmers and black farmers are treated as second-rate citizens”. Binswanger and Deininger (1993:1462) argue that “the extraordinary discrimination against black South African farmers” over centuries is unrivaled in contrast to the marginalisation of small-holder farmers globally.

The term ‘emerging farmer’ was developed as “an imperative against the background of South Africa’s historic injustices and transformation in agriculture” (Agri SA, 2018b:14). The perception exists that all emerging farmers are black. Farmer Andries van der Poll sees the term ‘emerging farmer’ as almost insulting, because it seems as “if you must still become a farmer and is not one yet” (Genis, 2018b). Van der Poll sees himself as a “farmer and that is it” (Genis, 2018b). According to

Greyling (2020), “Andries’ heartfelt wish is to remove the term ‘emerging’ before the word ‘farmer’ for good.” Van der Poll (quoted in Greyling, 2020), says “What does emerging really mean? Accept my great love for farming and call me a farmer, who successfully farms commercially.”

Kariuki (2004:31-32) calls for a more nuanced understanding of what farmers do. According to Kariuki (2004:32), stereotyping marginalises low-resource farmers as it “says very little about the way in which agriculture forms part of culture and gives meaning and identity to successful farmers, in particular, in the former Bantustans”. A “continuum of farmers” (Andrew, Ainslie & Shackleton, 2003:1) approach might be more suitable to represent the nuances of South African farmers (Kariuki, 2004:31). One such example is Price’s prediction that within ten years black women will produce most of the country’s food (Herselman, 2020, Meyer, Price & Louwrens, 2019) in line with government and other efforts. Dan Moshenberg (2013), founder of the feminist forum Women In and Beyond the Global, agrees that “the story of South African farming, especially small hold or small scale, independent, subsistence, emerging or peasant farming is a women’s story”; however, Moshenberg argues this is underreported as women are still marginalised in society as part of the inheritance of apartheid policies and practices.

Kariuki (2004:31) argues that if differences between farmers are not considered to differentiate in a meaningful sense, if one “merely reproduces the differences, then the same old apartheid divides in land will be perpetuated”. Hendricks (2004:15) warns that it may be impossible to accommodate these categorisations without replicating them. The same argument can be made for the portrayal of the farmer in the South African commercial mainstream news media.

b. The terms ‘boer’ and ‘Boer’

English is the main publication language of the commercial mainstream South African news media (Roper *et al*, 2019:6). Since this study also analyses Afrikaans texts, and because the Afrikaans words ‘boer’ and ‘Boer’ are also used in English, it is necessary to be cognisant of the difference, but also the short distance, between the Afrikaans words ‘boer’ (no capital) which means “farmer” (Luther, Pfeiffer & Gouws, 2015) and ‘Boer’ (capital) which means “Afrikaner: (mostly white) person (with a strong sense of national pride) whose mother tongue or home language is Afrikaans” (Luther *et al* 2015). The latter version ‘Boer’ is an ethnonym (Van Zyl, 2000:1) with stereotypical and derogatory meanings attached.

Coetzee (2000:xv) argues that historians created the ‘boer’ (farmer) that became ‘Boer’ (white Afrikaner) by associating the development of an Afrikaner identity to the original “relationship between white settlers and farming, and later between the Afrikaner, land and the farm” (Coetzee,

2000:viii). What is problematic is that the terms ‘boer’ and ‘Boer’ are often used “ambiguously, reflecting a multiplicity of meaning(s)” (Van Zyl, 2000:1). When it is used or perceived interchangeably, or are conflated, intentionally or unintentionally, the word ‘boer’ (farmer) then also gains ideological meaning (Van Zyl, 2000:12).

The concept of the ‘Boer’ was used “to express apartheid as identity politics” and thus also became “an embodiment of the oppressor” (Pretorius & Froneman, 2018). During the 1980s, right-wing groups also claimed the name ‘Boere’ [Boers]. In addition, since the 1990s, the use of ‘Boer’ and interchangeably ‘boer’ in political freedom songs such as “Kill the boer, kill the farmer” further contributed to the term as “a polemical point of discussion in post-apartheid South Africa” (Pretorius & Froneman, 2018), perceived by many as hate speech. Beukes (2012:139) describes it as “dehumanising use of language” often employed in discourse by South African politicians. However, Julius Malema, previous President of the ANC Youth League and current leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)⁴, maintained the reference to “Boere” in the version “Shoot the boere, they are rapists”, is a “metaphor for apartheid” (Beukes, 2012:139) and therefore acceptable. In 2010, the High Court ruled the use of the chant “unconstitutional and unlawful” (Beukes, 2012:139). In 2018, the “Constitutional Court ruled that the use of the word ‘boer’ is not racist, but that its use in certain struggle songs was inappropriate”, such as “hit the boers” (Venter, 2018).

Vestergaard (2001:38-39) argues that the Afrikaners need to “prove their loyalty to the new South Africa more than any other group” to prevent being stigmatised as against transformation, reactionary and racist. While this might be true, Afrikaners are not weak, but wealthy as a group, and most importantly, symbolise the “old power elite – the oppressors” (Vestergaard, 2001:39). Verwey and Quayle (2012:574) refer to increasing discourses of threat and genocide with the result that farm murders are “labelled ‘genocide’ by Afrikaner politicians”.

Issues highlighted in the above background, although limited due to space constraints, inform the portrayal of the farmer in the current land conversation. From a Foucaultian point of view, the concept of a farmer was not only constructed through colonialism, but also through language, especially during apartheid.

⁴ The EFF is “a radical and militant economic emancipation movement, formed in the year 2013 with the aim of bringing together revolutionary, militant activists, community-based organisations as well as lobby groups under the umbrella of the political party pursuing the struggle of economic emancipation” (EFF, 2020).

1.1.3.2 Representation as discourse

Representation is the “production of meaning through language” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2013:14). The concept of representation as discourse (Reid, 2008:219) is based on the theory of French academic Michel Foucault (1926-1984) which focuses not only on language, but rather on the “dialogue or ‘conversations’” (Reid, 2008:219) within the language system. Foucault understood discourse as “a group of statements which provided a language for the production of knowledge” (Reid, 2008:219). Discourses thus “provide ways of talking about a particular topic with repeated motifs or clusters of ideas, practices and forms of knowledge” (Barker & Jane, 2016:102).

Language is intrinsically linked to the representation of the farmer in the mainstream South African news media. Representation as discourse thus provides an appropriate theoretical approach to investigate how representational practices such as stereotyping (Hall *et al*, 2013:247) are used in the mass media to construct power relations through discourse.

The relationship between representation as discourse and power will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

1.1.3.3 Mainstream news media

Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2003:56) define mainstream media as:

large scale and geared towards large, homogenous (segments of) audiences; state-owned organizations or commercial companies; vertically structured organizations staffed by professionals; and centrally, carriers of dominant discourse and representations.

The power relations between producers and audiences in mainstream news media are important. There is mostly still a “significant degree of trust in the author of news”, which, coupled with its large audience size, means these “entities can have a significant effect on how a large number of people understand the world” (Mooney & Evans, 2015:64). Rumney (2014:72) says traditional news media “seeks to portray or to represent the news or events to its audiences in a simplified and narrative manner in limited time and space”. Hall (1973:235) believes that mainstream journalism news values are ideologically structured to support society’s strongest groups.

The South African mainstream news media, especially the commercial mainstream news media, will be discussed further in the next section and in Chapter Two.

1.2 Focus

This exploratory study focuses on the portrayal of the farmer in the 21st century over a period of twelve months during 2018, on some of the country's most prominent commercial mainstream news publications' online platforms.

I chose to focus on the so-called independent – and therefore commercial news media – linked to the printing press. Firstly, while most mainstream commercial South African news media publications belong to a few big publishing houses (Wasserman, 2020:453), they arguably offer a diverse sample of opinions and ideologies. Secondly, although newspaper circulation is decreasing, most of these publications have a strong online presence, and online news remains a vital news source (Finlay, 2018:15).

It is important to note that I excluded the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), although it forms part of mainstream news media and has an online footprint, firstly because I did not look at broadcasting, and secondly because the ideological position of the SABC arguably requires a study of its own. I therefore focus specifically on the online content of certain commercial print media publications that also have a print footprint as either daily, weekly or Sunday newspapers⁵. Some of them offer free access to their publications online, others partial or paid access.

Online content from the following publications is included in the sample of this study:

- *Independent Online* (IOL), published by the Independent Media group, owned by Sekunjalo Investment Group.
- *Mail & Guardian*, owned by M&G Media.
- *News24*, belonging to Media24, part of Naspers.
- *Netwerk24*, also owned by Media24, Naspers.
- *SowetanLIVE*, owned by Arena Holdings.
- *TimesLIVE*, also owned by Arena Holdings.
- *The Citizen*, owned by Caxton Publishers.

Chapter Two includes more detail about the commercial mainstream news media in South Africa. Chapter Four, which focuses on the methodology of this study, and Chapter Five, which discusses the analyses and findings, will explain the sampling of the above publications.

⁵ At the time of writing, the online news outlet *Daily Maverick*, not included in this study, also launched a print edition.

1.3 Preliminary study

A preliminary literature review on databases such as Google Scholar and Stellenbosch University Library has indicated that there is a lack of research on the portrayal of farmers in the commercial mainstream news media, particularly in South Africa. This exploratory study will therefore add new knowledge in the field.

Only a few recent international studies focused on the representation of farmers in the media, namely in Australia (see Downey, Threlkeld & Warburton, 2013), France (see Caquot-Baggett & Annes, 2016:35) and America (for example Ruth, Lundy & Park, 2005). Therefore, this study also includes recent related international studies in the wider field of agricultural news reporting, for example on bias (see Hagins, 2001; Saunders, Akers, Haygood & Lawver, 2003; Whitaker & Dyer, 2000) and gatekeeping (see Cartmell II, Dyer & Birkenholz, 2001). Some older studies explored gender roles in the media portrayal of women in agriculture (see Bock & Shortall, 2006, Liepins, 1996, Liepins, 1998). Closer to home, in the African media, recent studies on the portrayal of agriculture were done in Botswana (Oladele & Boago, 2011), Nigeria (Ojebode, 2006; Olakunle, 2015) and Tanzania (Ogessa & Sife, 2017). Researchers also studied the role of the media during land reform in Zimbabwe (Chari, 2013, Mutanda, 2012, Rutherford, 2005). South African studies on land reform (Bernstein, 2005, Cousins, 2016, Young, 2018) touched on media portrayal of farmers, with Muswede (2018) and Genis (2006) focusing specifically on the role of the media in land reform.

The literature review (Chapter Two) will focus on the portrayal of farmers in the media as explored by these and other studies. In addition, I will give an overview of the South African commercial mainstream media landscape as well as touch on the role of the media in a young democracy, including a social responsibility role in contributing to change and reconciliation.

This exploratory study aims to describe where certain commercial mainstream South African news media situate themselves within the broader discourse of farmers in a young democracy's transforming society and what these publications contributions are to a certain perspective thereof. Media portrayal has in certain instances changed for the better, including more reasonable representation by some members of the South African media that question racially based myths and portray groups less stereotypical (Fourie, 2007:256-258). However, after more than two decades of democracy, society and media still experience a disconnect (Krüger, 2017:33). Society may have become less segregated, but in a highly segmented media market (Wasserman in Johnston, 2014:215) audiences are still defined strongly by race (Krüger, 2017:33). The discourse about transformation continues to be mostly along racial terms (Krüger, 2017:33), therefore one could argue that current

pertinent discourses about farmers and especially land reform and expropriation would be characterised as such. Especially criticised is the commercial media for reinforcing stereotypes (Johnston, 2014:215).

1.4 Problem statement

South African agriculture is one of the most important drivers of the country's economy (Viall *et al*, 2011:242), however it also is a highly politicised matter. Farming continues to be characterised by a legacy of "extreme dispossession through colonialism and apartheid" (Cousins & Hall, 2017). The South African farmer in the 21st century faces the paradox of transforming into a more complex identity, whilst arguably still being portrayed as a colonial construct. Focusing on how specific South African media portray the farmer in current discourses can help develop an understanding of the importance of a nuanced view of farmers, especially in a society where deeply entrenched prejudice still hinder reform and often lead to tension. Research has been done on the media's portrayal of land reform, but there has been no work exploring the portrayal of the 21st century farmer in the South African mainstream commercial news media.

This exploratory study will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as methodology to discuss selected commercial mainstream South African news media news publications' participation in the representation of farmers especially with regards to the language used to describe these processes, the content ascribed to words such as "farmer", the presumptions when writing about farmers, and the differences in their portrayals.

This exploratory study will mainly draw on CDA, and normative theories about the role of the media, to analyse the level of tension between the publications' portrayal of farmers on the one hand, and their own ideological preferences and their perceived audiences on the other hand.

1.5 Theory

CDA is a multidisciplinary approach that has become increasingly important (Reynolds, 2019:47) in studying the "relationship between discourse and society" (El-Sharkawy, 2017:6). Both a theoretical and methodological approach, CDA is distinguished from general discourse theories and content analysis by its focus on power (Smith & Bell in McQuail, 2010:349). Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak are the most important foundational CDA scholars (Carvalho, 2008:162, Reynolds, 2019:49). I will draw primarily on the work of Van Dijk (1993:249-250,466), who argues that social, political and historical contexts are important influences on how language is used to enact, reconstruct, validate and/or resist the abuse of social power and inequality.

The idea of representation is significant to cultural studies (Hall *et al*, 2013:1). Especially relevant to this study is the constructionist approach to representation or “meaning constructed in and through language” (Hall *et al*, 2013:1). I will focus on representation through discourse by paying special attention to representational practices such as stereotyping to better understand difference and “the spectacle of the ‘Other’” (Hall *et al*, 2013:215).

In this study, I will also take the normative roles of the media into account, including how the media can influence opinion and thus social change (Boyd-Barrett & Newbold, 2003:120; Wasserman & De Beer, 2005:46). One could argue that the commercial mainstream South African news media played an integral role during apartheid to control its audiences’ perceptions of the world and that this study will aim to investigate whether certain media still holds this position.

1.6 Research questions

The theoretical departure point of this exploratory study is that because of the colonial construct of the farmer, many stereotypes exist about farmers in South Africa, especially about white farmers, which on the one hand sometimes leads to misinformation about farmers in the media; however, on the other hand, some of these stereotypical perceptions might be changing slowly in the commercial mainstream South African news media after more than two decades of democracy.

The general research question flows from the discussion above: What do the discourses about farmers in the selected commercial mainstream South African news media news publications reveal about the publications’ role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers?

In order to answer the general research question, the following specific research questions are formulated: (1) How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language? (2) How did these publications’ reporting reflect efforts to portray farmers with nuances? (3) What are these publications’ contributions to a certain perspective of farmers? (4) How do the discourses about farmers in these publications relate to the ideological position of these publications?

These research questions will be answered in Chapter Five through the CDA findings and in the Conclusion in Chapter Six.

1.7 Research design and methods

From the existing literature, the portrayal of the farmer in the South African mainstream commercial news media has not yet been sufficiently examined. This field can therefore be viewed as being relatively unknown. In the absence of a substantial knowledge base, this study aims to generate

insights by utilising an exploratory research design. According to Babbie (2008:98), exploratory studies are valuable when the aim of research is to break ground in a field that is relatively new, as this approach mostly yield new insights into research topics. According to Mouton (1996), exploratory studies could contribute to establish facts, to gather new data and to determine meaningful patterns or themes in a relatively unknown research area.

One of the drawbacks of an exploratory study is that no “deep-delving” can be done, however, for the purposes of a 50% thesis such as this study, an exploratory design should be sufficient to set the stage for future research. This exploratory study will make use of qualitative empirical research informed by the theory and methodology of CDA, as well as representation theory and normative theories about the role of the media. Data collection will employ purposive sampling based on the concept of “critical discourse moments” (Carvalho, 2008:166) (explained in 3.3.1 and 4.3.1), focusing on a specific period, namely 1 January 2018 to 31 December 2018. This 12 month-period covers an intense time of change and uncertainty for the South African farming community, with various issues, debates and events widely reported on by the news media, including land expropriation without compensation. Texts will be collected from some of South Africa’s most prominent commercial national news publications’ online platforms (*The Citizen, News24, Netwerk24, TimesLIVE, SowetanLIVE, City Press, Mail & Guardian, Independent Online (IOL)*) which includes online articles also appearing in daily outlets (*Die Burger, Sowetan*), weekly outlets (*City Press, Mail & Guardian*) and Sunday outlets (*Rapport, Sunday Times*). I will focus on editorials, columns and articles that include opinion, sample the most appropriate texts and discuss them in detail.

Data analysis will be based mainly on the five-step approach of Van Dijk (1998b:61-63), enriched with linguistic analytical tools of Fairclough (1989:109). This exploratory study will focus on how much of the discourse about a changing farmer identity is reflected in these publications.

The Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee has declared this study (reference number JOU-2019-10837) exempt from ethics review and clearance as only data that is freely accessible in the public domain is collected.

1.8 Structure of study

The research report will have six chapters, outlined as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The current chapter discussed the background, problem statement, theoretical assumptions, research questions, research design and methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter presents the main characteristics of farmer portrayal and related media discourses from a review of international and local literature. Also included is an overview of the South African commercial mainstream news media and relevant roles of the media in a young democracy.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter discusses the chosen theoretical framework, CDA. Concepts and themes central to the study, including discourse as representation, are explained. In addition, an overview is given of normative theories about the role of the media.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter discusses the approach that will be employed to conduct the empirical research for this study, including an explanation of the concept of critical discourse moments. The method of CDA will be used to answer the research questions.

Chapter 5: Text analysis and discussion

This chapter presents and discusses the findings from the CDA of texts.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of the preceding chapters. I answer the specific research questions and the general research question: What do the discourses about farmers in the selected commercial mainstream South African news media publications reveal about the publication's role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers? I discuss the findings in relation to the research questions, theory and literature; reflect on the greater significance of the findings; and make recommendations for further studies.

1.9 Summary

This chapter provided the motivation for this study and the background to the research problem. Concern about the way in which farmers are portrayed in the South African commercial mainstream media was highlighted, including that misinformation about farmers could possibly have negative consequences for society, such as the exacerbation of existing divisions. This exploratory study addresses the lack of research regarding the role of the commercial mainstream South African news media in the portrayal of farmer identity in society, as is shown in the preliminary review of literature. The goal of the study is to investigate where certain commercial mainstream South African news media situate themselves within the broader discourse of farmers in a young democracy's

transforming society, and what these publications contribute to a certain perspective thereof. In the next chapter I will discuss the literature review of the study in more detail.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction: Gaps in the field of research

From the preliminary literature review it is clear that little has been written academically about the portrayal of the farmer in the mainstream South African news media. This review will therefore firstly give an overview of the commercial mainstream news media to be included in the sample of this study as well as current concerns about representation in the mainstream news media in South Africa.

The media's role in creating discourses, and its consequences, relates to normative theories about the ideal roles of the media, thus this review also includes insights about ideal roles of the media in a young democracy. Secondly, this chapter will review international and local literature about farmer portrayal and related media discourses.

2.2 Commercial mainstream news media in South Africa

2.2.1. Overview: The commercial mainstream news media in South Africa

In this section, I focus on the commercial mainstream news media publications to be included in the sample of this exploratory study:

- *Independent Online* (IOL) is one of South Africa's largest online news sites (IOL, 2019), published by the Independent Media group, owned by Sekunjalo Investment Group. The editor is Riana Howa (Independent Media, 2020). *IOL* includes articles from prominent outlets. The *Cape Argus* is "aimed at the middle and upper-class population of Cape Town" (SA Media, 2020a). The editor is Aziz Hartley (Independent Media, 2020). The *Cape Times*' target market is the middle classes of Cape Town (Brand South Africa, 2013). The editor is Siyavuya Mzantsi (Independent Media, 2020).
- The *Mail & Guardian* website and newspaper describes itself as investigative, activist and editorially independent (*Mail & Guardian*, 2020a). The title is owned by M&G Media, with its majority shareholder the Media Development Investment Fund (MDIF), a New York-based non-profit organisation (*Mail & Guardian*, 2020b). The editor-in-chief is Khadija Patel (*Mail & Guardian*, 2020a).
- *News24* is the online news leader in South Africa (Roper *et al*, 2019:11, Wasserman, 2020:455), belonging to Media24, part of Naspers, the largest media group in Africa (Mokoena, 2018:9). The editor is Adriaan Basson (*News24*, 2020). *News24* also publishes articles that appear in *City Press*, South Africa's third biggest newspaper (The Space Station,

- 2020), serving “Safropolitans – a cross-cultural, multi-racial mix of people who are passionate about their country” (The Space Station, 2020). Plaut (2018:159) lauds *City Press* for “excellent, independent journalism”. The editor is Mondli Makhanya (Finlay, 2018:63).
- *Netwerk24*, also owned by Media24, Naspers, is an Afrikaans online news website which also includes articles appearing in Media24’s outlets such as *Die Burger*, *Rapport* and *Beeld*. The editor-in-chief is Henriëtte Loubser (*Netwerk24*, 2020). *Rapport* is a Sunday newspaper, distributed nationally (SA Media, 2020c). The editor is Waldimar Pelsler (Finlay, 2018:63). *Die Burger* is the biggest daily newspaper in the Western Cape, published six days a week (Brand South Africa, 2013). The editor is Willem Jordaan (Finlay, 2018:63).
 - The *Sowetan* is one of the biggest nationally distributed daily English newspapers in South Africa, with *SowetanLIVE* as its online portal. The title is owned by Arena Holdings, the country’s biggest national English-language publishing group and second-largest digital publisher (Mokoena, 2018:9). The *Sowetan* has an English-literate black readership (Brand South Africa, 2013) and claims to be a “fearless advocate of political truth and national development, but also a proud promoter of personal liberation” (Arena Holdings, 2020a). Its editorial tone is regarded as left-leaning (SA Media, 2020b). The editor is Nwabisa Makunga (*SowetanLIVE*, 2020).
 - Also owned by Arena Holdings, *TimesLIVE* is South Africa’s second-biggest news website (*TimesLIVE*, 2020a). Content is included from the *Sunday Times* (Mokoena, 2018:9), the country’s best-selling national weekly newspaper with a strong demographic spread across race, age and income (Arena Holdings, 2020b). The title’s reputation suffered a blow in 2018 when several investigative stories were discredited (Finlay, 2018:8). The website editor-in-chief is Sthembiso Msomi (*TimesLIVE*, 2020a), also editor of the *Sunday Times*.
 - *The Citizen* (Mokoena, 2018:9) is a Gauteng-based daily, national newspaper, owned by Caxton Publishers. According to *The Citizen* (2020), its website *citizen.co.za* is one of the top ten South African news websites. *The Citizen* describes itself as catering to an audience with varied interests, in an accessible writing style (*The Citizen*, 2020). Its editorial positioning claims considerable input from their readership from a broad racial and political range (*The Citizen*, 2020). The editor is Trevor Stevens (Finlay, 2018:63).

In the next section, I focus on current concerns about representation in the SA mainstream news media.

2.2.2. Current concerns about representation in the South African mainstream news media

Recent media research as well as industry reports have highlighted serious concerns with regards to the mainstream South African news media, also with specific reference to some of the publications included in the sample of this study.

In the *State of the Newsroom 2018* report, Mobara and Retief (2018:57) highlight the press ombudsman's concern that wrongful portrayals in the South African news media may cause "tension amongst people of different races, which in turn could escalate into violence" (Mobara & Retief, 2018:58). The portrayal of "allegation as fact" (Mobara & Retief, 2018:57) is identified as a mistake increasingly made. It is described by the press ombudsman as "turning a question mark into an exclamation mark" (Mobara & Retief, 2018:57), with negative repercussions for individuals as well as certain groups.

In the same report, Umejei (Finlay, 2018:3) calls for "more nuance in the treatment of the news by the media", as the media's oversimplification makes it vulnerable to third-party agendas. Finlay (2018:3-4) says the "implication is that nuance – reporting the difficult story – rather than sensationalism or the thirst for a dramatic headline, is part of the public interest responsibility of the press. The news might look a lot quieter, but it will be more reliable." This study will consider Umejei's (2018:57) argument that it is important to keep in mind how narratives are influenced by the media's own ideological foundations.

According to the Reuters Institute's 2019 *Digital News Report*, misinformation, such as "false, misleading and extreme content" (Newman, 2019:5) "designed to deepen divisions in society" (Wardle in Newman, 2019:13), spreads distrust and misperceptions (Newman, 2019:5) in South Africa. According to Roper *et al* (2019:12), especially before and during the general election in South Africa on 8 May 2019, "misinformation on social media exploded, with news brands becoming targets as well as sometimes unwittingly amplifiers". Another concern is the weakening power of the South African media to "hold populist politicians and powerful business leaders to account" (Newman, 2019:5).

One example is repeated meddling in editorial policy by Dr Iqbal Survé, the head of Sekunjalo Investments, owner of Independent Media, resulting in "the integrity of its news products severely compromised" (Roper *et al*, 2019:12). Independent Media has experienced reputation problems "with the repeated use of its newspapers as a public relations front piece for its owner, rather than reporting the news" (Finlay, 2018:3). Independent Media's change in ownership, to become co-owned by

Chinese investors, South Africa's state-owned Public Investment Corporation (PIC) (with Government Employee Pension Fund money) and Iqbal Survé and the Sekunjalo consortium of "politically connected people and organisations" (Plaut, 2018:158), is also viewed as an ANC tactic to "take control of important independent newspapers" (Plaut, 2018:158).

Another example was *Sunday Times*, one of the country's most trustworthy brands, that was "forced to apologise for lapses in journalistic rigour and the publication of several false scoops" (Roper *et al*, 2019:12). Harber (SA Jewish Report, 2020) says the example of the *Sunday Times* that fell for misinformation and stories that aided state capture is not a mistake exclusive to this title, but a system-wide problem of an "arrogant journalistic culture" (SA Jewish Report, 2020), trying to hang onto pre-social media gatekeeping power. Harber (Leshilo, 2020) believes for the media to repair its reputation would require addressing its problems in collaboration with the "private sector, the public sector, the philanthropic sector, civil society and the state".

Fourie (2007:264) suggests media organisations' codes of conduct should include guidance about representations of sensitive subjects such as racial groups to aid journalists to be critical of their own possible prejudices (Fourie, 2007:260). The South African media has come some way in achieving this in 2018, as in the Press Council's Press Code the "definition of hate speech was brought in line with the constitution's definition" (Finlay, 2018:11). Regarding codes of conduct of the media included in the sample of this exploratory study, Media24 and all its titles, as well as *TimesLIVE*, *Sunday Times*, *SowetanLIVE* and *Sowetan* subscribe to the Press Council's Press Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media, which prescribes news that is truthful, accurate, fair and balanced (Media24, 2020, *TimesLIVE*, 2020b, *SowetanLIVE*, 2020).

IOL has their own press code which includes only very basic guidelines for discrimination, racism and hate speech, namely that no "disparaging remarks" (*IOL* Press Code, 2020) should be published and reference to race and other sensitive categories should be avoided unless relevant. The *Mail & Guardian* also has their own press code with guidelines on "minimising harm" (*Mail & Guardian*, 2020c) which is arguably closest to the guidance that Fourie (2007:260) suggested. The *Mail & Guardian* pledge to minimise harmful impact include not fueling racism, racist stereotypes and xenophobia; eradicating hate speech; interrogating news choices and editorial decisions for judgmental assumptions; being aware of and reflecting disadvantages affecting certain groups; and avoiding racial and other socially prejudiced labels unless essential (*Mail & Guardian*, 2020c). The *Mail & Guardian* press code thus arguably is not only a set of rules, but of practical value to journalists to preempt their own possible prejudices.

According to Wasserman (2008:263-264), several challenges hinder the creation of more complex audiences and identities, such as publications that are still based on apartheid identity categories which largely still relates to socio-economic status. According to Harber (2014:219), inequalities in media access means that the national conversation is limited. The global phenomenon of audience fragmentation is “superimposed on a foundation of social inequality” which means “we conduct parallel conversations of different social, economic, and language groups, rarely overlapping, with the exclusion of a large part of the country from the media” (Harber, 2014:220). Govenden (2019:7) describes the historically English print media’s transformation over the last two decades as token transformation as it does not disrupt “elite class continuities, inferential racism of negative stereotypes of the black race, and white racial power at the top of the hierarchy of press institutions”.

The mainstream South African news media have been accused of having a certain ideological bias in serving the interests of competing elite groups (Botma, 2013; Kupe, 2014:34). Omar (2014:18-19) relates increasing conflict between the South African media and government to their perceived opposing ideologies – with the ANC’s ideologies of “developmental state, collective rights, values of caring and sharing community, solidarity, Ubuntu, non-sexism, working together” versus what the ANC believes the mainstream South African news media’s ideologies to be, namely “neo liberalism, a weak and passive state and overemphasis on individual rights, market fundamentalism etc.”

The “views of the ruling elite dominate the media, and those with the least resources are only infrequently heard” (Harber, 2014:219), mostly as needy victims. Wasserman (2017) warns that the fact that the South African media is not diverse enough in terms of ownership or perspective means that the media cannot claim to represent the public and that the media should take care to not represent “the voice of only some”. According to Jansen (2017), although there is a slow move “towards the middle ground among black and white South Africans”, this is not yet reflected in the media, mainly because of politics. Jansen (2017) argues, “the brutal death of a farmer should grieve us as much as the tragic death of yet another Cape Flats schoolgirl... But depending on which newspaper you read, the one is regular news and the other not.”

2.2.3. Roles of the media in a young democracy

The role of the media is a highly debatable and contested issue world-wide, with conflicting views especially so in the context of transforming societies such as South Africa (Rodny-Gumede, 2017:10). From a normative liberal perspective, the news media is perceived to “play a crucial role in building a new democratic society” (Rodny-Gumede, 2017:10). Media in a democracy are; however, subject to “social and political forces that limit their power” (Steenveld, 2004:111). Steenveld (2004:111)

argues that even if the media contribute to society as an informational resource, they are no longer socially and politically useful institutions if their “increased commercialisation and privatisation limits access to, and diversity of, these resources”.

In recent times of state capture, nepotism, and corruption, “the media have come in for intense pressure as they fulfilled their obligation to act as the nation’s watchdog” (Plaut, 2018:152). Plaut (2018:159) argues South Africa still has a “relatively unfettered media – certainly by African standards”, but “pervasive impact of government intervention has taken its toll” (Plaut, 2018:160). Optimism about South African media’s role in entrenching democracy through increased inclusion of a wider public is diminishing, as elite agendas as accommodated in the media “do not resonate with the poor, the youth and the marginalised” (Wasserman, 2020:456). Wasserman (2019:230) says:

The re-establishment of journalism’s relevance in the everyday lives of their publics will depend on the engagement with people’s emotions, identity positions and cultural frameworks, lest these be usurped by populists.

There seems to be an increasing understanding that journalism carries a certain social responsibility. It can be seen as a step in the right direction that a recent study by Wasserman, Bosch and Chuma (2018:383) found that journalists increasingly accept that their monitorial role should include other roles, including a developmental journalism role such as listening and facilitating dialogue. Omar (2014:26) calls for critical self-examination in order to correctly value the “power of the media to promote, to create and to destroy” as well as “the impact the media can have in shaping our first impression of an issue”. Bornman (2013:444) advises the fostering of critical discourse on the reality of diversity, its underlying issues as well as solutions conducive to solidarity, as a countereffect to the “divisive effect by being indifferent to difference” and divisive polarisation.

According to Botma (2018:737), “the often contradictory and very complex role of the post-apartheid South African media” includes “setting and patrolling some boundaries in society as agents of power in their own right”. One such example is that “while racist discourses take place on social media, most if not all of the mainstream media are involved in active anti-racism campaigns” (Botma, 2018:737). However, the mainstream media often add to the “cycle of often sensationalist coverage” (Botma, 2018:737) when they report, often without sufficient context, on “incidents of alleged racism when these go ‘viral’ on social media” (Botma, 2018:738). Rumney (2014:73) agrees with Botma that “racism and the perpetuation of racist stereotypes still occur” in mainstream South African news

media, often because in reportage with a racial undertone no contextual explanation or analysis is provided to responsibly counter possible racist or stereotypical perceptions.

Gqola (2001:95) found an unfortunate irony that “apartheid language continues to determine the manner in which we speak against it in discursive construction”. “White solipsism” (Rich in Gqola, 2001:104), the predisposition “to think, imagine and speak as if whiteness described the world”, goes unchallenged and “serves racism by omission” (Gqola, 2001:104). Wasserman (2005:82-83) calls for a continual re-interpretation of the past in order to establish new post post-apartheid identities such as a new African identity based on shared experience, “influenced but not determined by identity categories inherited from colonial or apartheid discourses”.

Glenda Daniels (2020), associate professor in the Department of Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, calls for a re-imagining of the media and journalism. Daniels (2020) argues “the media has power to think and act beyond the norms of everyday mainstream culture and perceptions”. Change is evident in South Africa as “old norms are shifting and structures of power are challenged more than ever; there is more pushback against the greed of corporates, corrupt politicians, patriarchy, racism but also of mainstream media, part of the old norms and elitist establishments” (Daniels, 2020). Daniels (2020) argues these challenges create “an opportunity for change to finally serve audiences”. One example would be for journalists to not only “expose the corrupt; they can also expose the media companies for their lack of humanity, and could do journalism with more compassion, empathy and include diversity of voices” (Daniels, 2020). Ultimately, according to Daniels (2020):

Journalism has power and can find humanity itself amid the noise of social media, of the binary oppositions of us and them, male and female, black and white, left and right, for climate change or not, feminist or sexist...Power is quirky, slippery and paradoxical. It shifts and slides, depending on where you are standing, your position and your gaze. Power also lies in re-imagining.

One such example of re-imagining arguably comes from South African journalist Kobus Louwrens (Meyer *et al*, 2019) who argues that “since agriculture is such a nexus of the fault lines along which South Africa is divided – race, gender, economic exclusion, you name it – we believe that the sector could be a powerful point to actually start building social cohesion, literally from the ground up”. Louwrens co-founded the agricultural news website *Food for Mzansi* with journalist Ivor Price in 2018. Their aim is to promote nation building and social cohesion through agriculture by focusing on

unheard stories about unsung heroes of the agricultural industry (*Food for Mzansi*, 2020a). Louwrens (quoted in Fredericks, 2019) says: “We tell the stories of the farmers and agripreneurs who have been unrepresented until now, because their successes are considered to be below the bar for mainstream agrimedia as well as news media.” According to Louwrens, the result is that “people no one has taken notice of before now see themselves represented” (Brümmer, 2019c). This is a novel objective aimed at counteracting how farmers are portrayed in the mainstream South African news as well as agricultural media, even in the light that there are other factors at play as well since *Food for Mzansi* is a commercial concern with financial support from many sponsors in the agricultural industry, who would want to get exposure for transformation initiatives.

2.3 Farmer portrayal in the media

In this section, a review is included of studies on farmer portrayal or related studies in the international, African and South African media. An important focus is identifying role players that influence the portrayal of specific groups such as farmers. This study takes cognisance of research findings about, on the one hand, different elites who claim powerful roles, and the sources of their power; and on the other hand, marginalised voices, the so-called Other, and how they might be excluded.

2.3.1. Powerful or Othered: The farmer in the international mainstream media

International studies over the last three decades (see Caquot-Baggett & Annes, 2016; Downey *et al*, 2013; Germov, Williams & Frey, 2010; Lundy *et al*, 2007; Ruth *et al*, 2005; Seymour *et al*, 1997) conclude that certain media portray farmers problematically, for example by reinforcing stereotypes. A recent Foucaultian discourse analysis (Downey *et al*, 2013:88-97) of how ageing Australian farmers were constructed in mainstream Australian news media, found that competing discourses by stakeholders such as farmers, farmer industry bodies, the media and government did share a common characteristic – it ignored the diversity of the farmers.

Lundy *et al* (2007:76) and Ruth *et al* (2005:21), found the representation of farmers on American reality television as “hickish and backwoods” strengthened negative perceptions toward agriculture (Ruth *et al*, 2005:21). Although Lundy *et al* (2007:77) admit that audiences may understand that their “perceptions of agriculture are not completely accurate”, stereotypes may be all they know about agriculture. Further, “unrealistic portrayals ... may indeed become reality in the minds of many viewers, resulting in a distorted image” (Ruth *et al*, 2005:13).

Caquot-Baggett and Annes’ (2016:37) discourse analysis of farmer representation on French reality television provides valuable parallels for this study. Their focus on how competing representations

and ideological appropriation of farmers fit in with “tensions in reconfigurations of nationhood” (Caquot-Baggett & Annes, 2016:37) provides insights into similar, or different, negotiations of meanings in the South African context. They found the TV programme “reinforces and perpetuates a dichotomised national identity with its visual and discursive idealisation and marginalisation of farmers” (Caquot-Baggett & Annes, 2016:35). A description of these farmers as “a polysemous social category that is alternately venerated or rejected” (Caquot-Baggett & Annes’ (2016:36) might hold true for the complex category of South African farmers.

Similarly, Seymour *et al* (1997:72) argue that British farmers could be viewed as an “othered” rural group due to displacement through loss in status, although they “remain, in many respects, a powerful group”. These farmers’ power includes their influence as land owners, or, by resisting their Othering via influencing the discourse of the powerful such as government or farmer groups (Seymour *et al*, 1997:72).

Gender roles, and the portrayal of female farmers, are not discussed in detail in this exploratory study, but relevant findings are included. Peoples (2006:93) found certain media continue to disseminate dominating discourses of masculine power in agriculture, which “reinforce discourses of patriarchy”. According to Liepins (1998:374, 376), the political narrative, such as “the interplay between farmer groups, institutions of government, and commercial industry organisations”, attributes power to male leadership. Although the woman-farmer has increasingly been included in recent years in discourse, print media are “slow in representing these women” (Liepins, 1998:375). A Foucaultian analysis of agriculture coverage in Australian and New Zealand print media showed that the hegemonic “gendered nature of agricultural discourse” (Liepins, 1998:8) can be changed, for example through women farmers’ active participation in events. One could thus argue that farmers sometimes have a choice between being voiceless or becoming a voice. Even in the United States, where more than 30% of farmers are female, Gardner (2019) quotes Bridget Holcomb of the Women Food & Agriculture Network (WFAN) as saying “the very concept of what makes a farmer is what needs to be changed”. Holcomb (in Gardner, 2019) adds:

One of the biggest problems that we face is that every time that there is a general news story about agriculture in the US, the person who is interviewed is a white man wearing a plaid shirt, standing in a field of commodity crops. Our ultimate goal is that no story about agriculture is complete until women's voices are included.

I agree with the above, in the wider context of how the complex characteristics of farmers as a group are portrayed by the mainstream news media. McGlynn (2014:71) also argues that “farmers’ voices, typically left out of mainstream media and not typically considered a source of information for urban consumers, are entering the conversation”, thanks to digital media. I therefore argue that the public (including farmers) have a choice to enter the conversation by voicing their opinions, increasingly so with the power of online media.

The above-mentioned studies make a valuable contribution to the corpus of farmer identity; however, their findings do not shed much light on the powerful role players that both orchestrate and benefit from the creation of specific discourses about farmers in the media. Another shortcoming is actual readers’ interpretations. My study also does not include this due to time and scope limitations; however, its value lies in describing whether a certain discourse was created by the media with a particular audience in mind.

2.3.2. Lacking: Farmers in the African mainstream media

Several authors (see Ogessa & Sife, 2017; Okorie & Oyedepo, 2011; Ojebode, 2006; Oladele & Boago, 2011; Olakunle, 2015) have recently shown academic interest in African media’s portrayal of agriculture. Studies about agricultural news in newspapers in Botswana (Oladele & Boago, 2011) and in Tanzania (Ogessa & Sife, 2017) focused on the extent of the coverage and lack critical analyses. In comparison, studies about agricultural portrayal in Nigerian media (Ojebode, 2006; Okorie & Oyedepo, 2011; Olakunle, 2015) contain in-depth qualitative analyses. Findings include negative perceptions towards agriculture (Okorie & Oyedepo, 2011:27).

A study that focused on Nigerian farmers found widespread assumptions that men (and not women) are the real farmers (Ojebode, 2006:2) even if “women formed about 80% of the labour force in agriculture” (Ojebode, 2006:1). Ojebode (2006:11) thus advises that journalists need to be trained in “gender sensitivity and reporting diversity”, as well as about “democratic values and weaning them off the dominant, top-down conception of society and development – a predisposition that makes them define newsworthiness in terms of the elite, the rich and/or the powerful”.

Studies about the role of the media during land reform in Zimbabwe (Chari, 2013; Mutanda 2012; Rutherford, 2005) criticised the generalised character of portrayal. Mutanda (2012:276) identified hate speech and bias. Chari (2013:321) found stereotypical representation by private and international media, juxtaposing white farmers positively and black Zimbabweans negatively, whereas state media showed support for the latter as land owners and farmers. Rutherford (2005:103) argues that opposing generalisations by the media did not reflect the “complex context of the land reform discourse”.

2.3.3. The 21st century farmer in the South African mainstream media

As was indicated already, no studies that specifically focus on the portrayal of South African farmers in the mainstream news media was found in the literature review for this study. However, certain studies about land reform (Bernstein, 2005; Cousins, 2016; Genis, 2006; Muswede, 2018; Young, 2018) touched on the portrayal of farmers in the mainstream news media. Especially race continues to play a major role in the land reform discourse and how farmers are portrayed. Cousins (2016) highlights the juxtaposing of role players through political rhetoric in the discourse, namely that “white farmers and foreigners are villains, black South Africans are victims, and government (or an opposition party, or civil society activists) are heroes riding to the rescue”.

Young (2018), who completed a PhD on South African land reform as peacebuilding, argues that the land reform debate is constructed in ways that “suggests only winners and losers, ‘us and them’, inclusion and exclusion”. Young (2018) found farmers had a positive attitude towards land reform when they “believed they were perceived as ‘farmers’ rather than just as representatives of a race”. Farmers feel they are portrayed negatively, and as opposed to land reform, which Young (2018) argues is not only caused by the public construction of land reform narratives, but also by the land owners’ own “racial, class and ideological prejudices”.

A report by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) criticises South African and international media for sensational reportage of “drama, incident, and false analogies with Zimbabwe” and for being biased toward activists’ campaigns, often for political gain (Bernstein, 2005:27). Recommendations to achieve a fairer portrayal include: to change the language and rhetoric about land reform (Bernstein, 2005:21), which is perceived to be indiscriminately hostile to all white farmers (Bernstein, 2005:18) from racial to rational (Bernstein, 2005:32); to challenge stereotypes such as “All the land whites own, they stole from blacks” (Bernstein, 2005:5); to include more and more emphatic non-state voices of rationality (Bernstein, 2005:5); to change the narrative of media commentators who only criticise government (Bernstein, 2005:7); and that government should claim and better communicate land reform achievements (Bernstein, 2005:21,30).

Genis (2006:iii) found in her study of newspaper land reform coverage at the time of the 2005 National Land Summit that reportage foregrounded certain issues, often event-driven, and sources that gave preference to powerful elites. In line with the concept of the critical discourse moment as employed in this study, Genis (2006:38) noted that interest in stories about land reform increase during or after certain events such as land conferences and speeches by political role players. The main finding of Genis’ (2006:iii) study is that the five prominent South African newspapers analysed

“missed opportunities to convey the ‘full story’ of land reform, to provide ‘communicative spaces for debating alternatives, to influence public opinion and playing a ‘watchdog’ role. Genis (2006:97) found that the voice of the powerful political elite was foregrounded in reportage, and that important issues such as the “demand for land, poverty alleviation, tenure reform and women’s land rights” were neglected. Genis (2006:111) thus argues that the media should use its power to “influence public opinion and challenge government to bring the priority and money given to land reform in line with its rhetoric”, which would include reporting marginalised voices and non-event related news (Genis, 2006:112-113). In addition, Genis (2006:112) believes “shifting the balance of land reform coverage from only focusing on the repercussions for commercial farmers and their supposed resistance to change”, could result in a more nuanced coverage of different farmers who are co-existing.

A study by Muswede (2018:602,612) on prejudiced editorials and the quality of land discourse in the South African press, found that ideological outlooks of the publications as well as colonial narratives and racial undertones formed the basis of representation. Muswede (2018:612), similarly to Mutanda’s (2012) and Chari’s (2013) findings about Zimbabwean media, found certain media arguably failed in fulfilling an empowering educational role. Muswede (2018:612) argues such media portrayal “diminishes, rather than elucidate the potential consequences” for audiences to correctly grasp the essence of land reform and, I would argue, thus also of 21st century South African farmer identity.

I also found research on farmer-related subjects that include insights about the portrayal of farmers in the South African mainstream media, such as case studies of emerging farmers (Mabaya, Tihanyi, Karaan & Van Rooyen, 2011), coverage of farm murders (Roets, 2017; 2018) and representation of agriculture issues (Yusuf, Krul & Marufu, 2016). Mabaya *et al* (2011:iv) found that the media portray emerging farmers falsely as homogenic, ignoring diversity within the group. These farmers are compared with established white commercial farmers in ways that do not reflect the nuanced and multi-faceted similarities between them (Mabaya *et al*, 2011:iv). Mabaya *et al* (2011:310) argue that successful emerging farmers’ portrayal as the “poster children” of the industry have negative effects such as taking their focus away from farming. Mabaya *et al* (2011:310) identify government agencies as powerful role players in this representation, as it is to their advantage to be identified with these farmers.

AfriForum’s⁶ study on media reportage of the controversial topic of “farm murders” criticises

⁶ AfriForum is a civil rights organisation aimed at mobilising and protecting the rights of Afrikaners, Afrikaans-speaking people, and other minority groups in South Africa (AfriForum, 2020).

government and the mainstream media for “double standards regarding racism” (Roets, 2018:6), namely in emphasising incidents of white on black violence, while ignoring black on white violence. AfriForum alleges reportage is skewed to frame white people negatively in the English media especially (Roets, 2017). According to AfriForum, this strengthens a “white perpetrator/black victim” (Roets, 2018:22) narrative. Roets maintains these double standards not only promote negative stereotyping of white farmers but also a perceived justification of farm murders with “the potential of having a major impact on public sentiment, government policy and even increasing levels of farm attacks” (Roets, 2018:22).

Yusuf *et al* (2016:287), in their study of representation of agricultural issues in South African newspapers over a period of five years between 2009 and 2013, argue that “more inspirational stories of farmers in agriculture are needed” (Yusuf *et al*, 2016:287) to interest the youth in farming. Yusuf *et al* (2016) suggest special columns, similar to sports and entertainment columns, to highlight agriculture and farming, especially to motivate younger generations.

As no academic studies focus specifically on South African farmer portrayal in the media, I include recent references (see Abdulla, 2017; Brümmer, 2019a; Corrigan, 2018; Herbst, 2018; Motsuenyane & Ntshabele, 2018; Verwoerd, 2018; Wyngaard, 2018) to concern about farmer portrayal found in certain South African mainstream as well as agricultural media.

- Motsuenyane and Ntshabele (2018) equate the continuation of the myth that black people cannot farm to the recreation of lies as facts by powerful content creators and warns of the danger that such myths will continue to be accepted as the true versions of history by future generations because of an erased institutional memory, and especially if the voices that could tell the truth remain silent.
- Verwoerd (2018) says the impression that “*all* white farmers are right wing, conservative, opposed to the current political regime and against land reform” (own emphasis), is still habitually used by certain politicians as well as certain media. She argues such stereotypes strengthen the divisive tactics of certain organisations such as AfriForum “who want us to believe that they are speaking on behalf of the majority of farmers and even the majority of whites” (Verwoerd, 2018).
- Corrigan (2018) warns that in an already fractured society the media should be careful to not exacerbate tension, for example through the popular trope of the “brutal farmer”. He says the media has a duty to tackle rather than avoid sensitive issues, but that it is important that they should reflect it accurately and factually (Corrigan, 2018).

- Abdullah (2017) argues there is a “popular narrative that South Africa’s white farming minority is under siege” through victimisation and possibly genocide. “Farm murders in South Africa are a highly politicised issue” (Abdullah, 2017) and those who use inaccurate stats may intentionally strengthen a “predetermined belief – a bias” rather than portray facts.
- Herbst (2018) accuses the *Cape Times* newspaper of misportraying South African farmers through “relentless bias and censorship by omission”, ignoring newsworthy stories about white farm murders and events which could create empathy for white South Africans. Herbst (2018) argues the paper is “constantly seeking to widen the ethnic divide by scapegoating white people in general and farmers, in particular”, and, therefore, he says it should be asked if “this sort of campaign – and the political climate it creates” does not in some way motivate “bestial hate crimes” such as farm murders.
- Dr Johan Burger of the Institute for Security Studies says that land reform discourse such as “the land is stolen and must be given back to its rightful owners” means that the farmer is portrayed as a thief and a criminal (quoted in Brümmer, 2019a). Burger maintains that farmers are victimised because race and language connect them to colonial and apartheid, which justifies apathy towards them (quoted in Brümmer, 2019a).
- Dr. Danny Titus, previous convenor of the Human Rights Commission’s report on farm safety, says stereotypes about farmers persist with the consequence that farm murders are perceived in the context of “white farmers, white farms” and not in the “wider context in terms of the role of the farming community in food” (quoted in Brümmer, 2019a). Farm murders is thus incorrectly viewed as a lilywhite problem, which it is not, as according to Titus, black farmers also experience attacks (Brümmer, 2019a).
- Frikkie Maré (2020:2), editor of the South African agricultural magazine *Veeplaas*, argues that the current bigger picture of agriculture in South Africa is “not only good or bad”, but a “complete yin-yang image”. Maré (2020:2), however, criticises the mainstream media for only focusing on either the good or the bad, not portraying both sides to current agricultural issues. In addition, Maré’s (2020:2) concern is that the right message, as well as counter arguments, do not necessarily reach the correct audiences because of audiences still being fractured along language or ideological lines.
- South African author Bettina Wyngaard (2018), herself affected by forcible removal in the past, argues “we never hear the success stories of land reform”:

When it comes to land expropriation, nowadays, the dominant narrative is one of ‘them’ that took ‘our’ successful commercial farms

and let it be reduced to subsistence farming. There are always pictures of machinery standing around rusting because ‘they’ do not know how to use it, of buildings being neglected because ‘they’ cannot maintain goods well. There is not a single story of how ‘they’ took a successful farm and improved on it. Of course not. It does not fit the narrative of the hard-working farmer who provides for our food needs that have been deprived of their business so that the stupid and lazy black people can drive everything into the ground. It does not fit the narrative of unreasonable, ill-considered and unplanned land expropriation by a black government that is really only just taking out their black hatred and revenge on innocent, honourable, hard-working white people.

Wyngaard (2018) argues this narrative plays out in the media because of persistent post-apartheid right-wing influences aimed at keeping different groups apart with fear. Wyngaard (2018) claims the media is responsible for inciting panic about land expropriation politics, which she sees as a mere government strategy to neutralise the EFF’s election strategy.

The above examples from the media make it clear that misportrayal of farmers is not good for South African society as it arguably may exacerbate existing tension and mistrust, and further polarise groups. These concerns, together with the findings on the portrayal of farmers from studies referenced above, support my argument that further studies, such as this CDA, is necessary in gaining a better understanding of farmer portrayal in the South African commercial mainstream news media.

2.4 Summary

This chapter firstly included background information about the current state of the commercial mainstream South African news media, such as how limitations on media diversity negatively influence the portrayal of certain groups. Secondly, I also touched on ideal roles of the media in a nascent democracy in relation to the research objectives of this study. Thirdly, I reviewed literature on farmer portrayal in the mainstream news media by focusing on characteristics of farmer portrayal in related studies in South Africa as well as in Africa and internationally.

No specific study on farmer portrayal in the commercial South African mainstream news media has been done to date, therefore this exploratory study aims to address this gap.

In Chapter Three, the study’s theoretical framework will be discussed.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The portrayal of the farmer in the mainstream South African news media forms part of a larger narrative at a given historical moment. One could thus argue that this portrayal is a result of ideology, formed by the specific historical and social contexts in which the media work.

The aim of this exploratory study is to shed light on the role played by the commercial mainstream South African news media in reproducing and creating public understandings about farmers.

In this chapter, the central theoretical departure point of this study will be restated, followed by an explanation of the theoretical approaches, including discourse theories, representation as discourse, and normative theories about the role of the media, particularly those relevant in a new democracy such as South Africa.

3.2 Central theoretical departure point

The theoretical departure point of this study, as outlined in Chapter 1, is that because of the colonial construct of the farmer, many stereotypes exist about farmers in South Africa, especially about white farmers, which on the one hand sometimes leads to misinformation about farmers in the media; however, on the other hand, some of these stereotypical perceptions might be changing slowly in the commercial mainstream South African news media after more than two decades of democracy.

This exploratory study positions itself in a critical, poststructuralist/postmodern approach to cultural studies. Poststructuralism is distinguished by an emphasis on language, with Foucault as one of its main philosophical sources (Barker & Jane, 2016:268). Unlike structuralism, poststructuralism holds meaning to be unstable and based on intertextuality and not “confined to single words, sentences or particular texts” (Barker & Jane, 2016:21). Barker and Jane (2016:24-25) explain that:

Poststructuralism and postmodernism argue that subjectivity is an effect of language or discourse and also that subjects are fractured – that is, we can take up multiple subject positions offered to us in discourse.

The central idea of this study accepts the Foucaultian view that what is of concern is *how* (own emphasis) farmers are represented and *what* (own emphasis) the consequences of their portrayal are “rather than the truth or accuracy of representation” (Barker & Jane, 2016:378). Foucault viewed discourse as the “production of knowledge through language” (Barker & Jane 2016:102) and used the power/knowledge combination to illustrate that power and knowledge about a subject are

fundamentally interrelated (Fourie, 2007:166). An important aspect of Foucault's conception of power is his view that the power of discourse is not always negative – it is productive instead of repressive as it “brings subjects into being” (Barker & Jane, 2016:103). This study accepts the discourse theory of Foucault as basis of the relationship between language and power.

From a Foucaultian viewpoint, “meaning is not contained within a statement” (Fourie, 2007:165), and should therefore always be understood within the bigger picture of existing/historical social and cultural boundaries that regulates what may be said about a topic within a certain discourse (Barker & Jane, 2016:102, Fourie, 2007:165). These conditions are time-bound and may change over time as new knowledge is acquired (O'Farrell, 2020). A person's thinking about a subject is “the product of your own background, culture, religion, politics and culture and is embossed on you by those with power” (Fourie, 2007:165).

The different discursive practices in society collectively have the power to impose their rules on people's ways of talking and understanding (Barker & Jane, 2016:102, Fourie, 2007:166). The “power effects of discourses”, from a Foucaultian point of view, whether consciously manipulative or unintended, include influence by “powerful actors” such as “members of political and economic elites who have greater financial resources or privileged access to the media” (Jäger & Maier, 2016:13). Botma (2010:6) argues that from a Foucaultian viewpoint, discourse theory can assist the researcher to view journalists' output as “part of the process of constructing reality”, influenced by outside pressures, and by their “personal and institutional culture and practices” (Botma, 2010:6).

According to Liepins (1998:371), cultural studies “often focus on *discourse* to show how meanings are formed and power is articulated” (original emphasis). This study supports Liepins' (1998:371) view that more studies should be undertaken to explore the cultural politics of agriculture, especially in the context of social meanings, such as the context of perceptions about the farmer. I therefore propose, following Liepins (1998:372), an explicitly discursive approach accepting that agriculture is socially constructed.

This study employs a multidisciplinary approach, combining relevant theoretical perspectives of media studies, as proposed by researchers such as Caldas-Coulthard (2003:274) and Fourie (2007:145). These theories will guide this exploratory study in understanding whether, in its portrayal of the farmer, the mainstream South African news media, individually as well as a group, “manipulate language to persuade, inform and misinform, and use language to construct and communicate ideology and support or oppose political power” (Sonderling, 2009: 84). In the next section, critical discourse analysis will be explained as relevant to this study's theoretical framework.

3.3 Discourse theory: Critical discourse analysis

Discourse theory has since the 1980s become an increasingly popular approach in media studies (Van Dijk, 2009:192). CDA as a relatively new approach developed from the ideas of earlier theorists such as Foucault (Botma, 2016:159). Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak are seminal CDA scholars (Reynolds, 2019:49).

According to Van Dijk (2001:352), CDA

primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Fairclough stipulates a three-dimensional framework which combines three different forms of analysis, namely of language texts, of discourse practice (such as text production, distribution and consumption) as well as of discursive events (Fairclough, 1995:2). This approach of Fairclough underlines the importance that “analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which texts are embedded” (Fairclough, 1995:9), a principle also recognised by Van Dijk (1998a).

Van Dijk (2001:466) argues that CDA ultimately challenge inequalities, with Van Leeuwen (in El-Sharkawy, 2017:6) similarly arguing that CDA “argue explicitly for change on the basis of its findings”. According to Carvalho (2008:162), CDA can “expose the causes and consequences of specific discourses and to denounce the social, cultural or political wrongs which they sustain”. I argue that CDA thus is an appropriate approach for the purpose of this exploratory study, as CDA of media texts is critical for exploring the “continuing existence of prejudice and social inequalities” (Richardson, 2007:5).

According to Caldas-Coulthard (2003:274), media discourse analysis can benefit from an interdisciplinary perspective to discover “hidden agendas that are not explicit at first sight”. Fourie (2007:130,145) agrees that the investigation of the media’s power to control discourse through language as a kind of “ideological agent” calls for a combination of approaches. This study will mainly draw on the CDA approach of Van Dijk, but will also incorporate concepts of Fairclough, supporting Van Dijk’s (2001:363) argument that a multidisciplinary CDA could satisfactorily accommodate concepts on power abuse and inequality, as well as a more linguistically oriented approach of detailed discourse analysis. In addition, the newer concept of “critical discourse

moments” (Carvalho, 2008:166; Chilton, 1987; Gamson, 1992; Richardson, 2006), as introduced in the next section, will also be employed.

3.3.1 Critical discourse moments

Most studies of media discourse can be described as “snapshots” (Carvalho, 2008:164) that focus on detail, but only for a short period, even only a day or a few days, which is appropriate for some events. Carvalho (2008:164) advises that to understand the “evolution” of public issues with a longer lifespan, researchers need to find ways to study discourse for a longer period of time, for example through focusing on “critical discourse moments”. According to Carvalho (2008:166), critical discourse moments can be identified as “periods that involve specific happenings, often political or social in nature” during which knowledge about a certain topic seems to be growing or changing.

Carvalho (2008:173) argues analysis of critical discourse moments “allows for the identification of discursive turns and/or continued lines or argumentation at particularly important times in the social construction of an issue”. Jäger and Maier (2016:20) propose that, although all events are entrenched in discourse, the theoretical concept of discursive events refer to events that “appear on the discourse planes of politics and the mass media intensively, extensively and for a prolonged period of time”. Jäger and Maier (2016:20) argue that discursive events can “influence the future development of discourse”. An additional applicable criterion is to employ CDA to “examine whether an event becomes a discursive event or not” as this “depends on the power constellations at work in politics and the media” (Jäger & Maier, 2016:20).

In the next section, the concept of representation as discourse will be explained, including details of stereotype theory as well as the relevance of representation as social carrier of ideology.

3.4 Representation as discourse

The concept of representation is complex (Reid, 2008:199). Our general understanding of representation as imitation or fake originates from ancient Greek philosopher Plato (Reid, 2008:199). Today, media scholars agree that representations are mediated versions of reality (Reid, 2008:199). Theorists such as Swiss linguist and semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure and French critic Roland Barthes were the forerunners of the constructionist concept of representation (Hall *et al*, 2013:19) as a language system focused on the production of meaning.

Foucault’s concept of representation as discourse means that discourse (and not language) should be investigated as a system of representation (Hall *et al*, 2013:29). His approach was differentiated by his focus on “relations of power” (Hall *et al*, 2013:28) and the “production of knowledge” (rather

than just meaning)” through “discourse (rather than just language)”. Foucault understood discourse to be about “where meaning comes from” (Hall *et al*, 2013:30), not where meaning is produced.

Hall *et al* (2013:28) sums up Foucault’s understanding of representation as discourse as “how human beings understand themselves in our culture” and how our knowledge about “the social, the embodied individual and shared meanings come to be produced in different periods”, which brings to attention another unique focus by Foucault – how “discourse, representation, knowledge and ‘truth’ are radically *historicized*” (original author’s emphasis) (Hall *et al*, 2013:31).

Important to this study because of its approach to critical discourse moments, is Foucault’s beliefs about the non-continuous character of transitions between different periods, namely “radical breaks, ruptures and discontinuities between one period and another, between one discursive formation and another” (Hall *et al*, 2013:32). With discursive formation he meant that discursive practices belong to the same formation when the same discourse presents itself as part of various events, but about a specific object, and with a similar style and strategy (Hall *et al*, 2003:31).

Wasserman (2008:260), in viewing identity construction from a media representational system approach, argues that the media is not a mirror of reality, but says it is important to realise that the media “shapes our understanding of reality”. Rumney (2014:71) agrees that although the media is not a mirror, “it has the ability to shape and be shaped by that which it seeks to represent”. Botma (2010:6) argues that journalists often maintain they are holding up a mirror to society; however, through processes such as news selection and framing, and because of historical and ideological positioning, they are only constructing a “particular version of reality for the audience”.

As this exploratory study aims to identify the role of stereotyping in the portrayal of farmers in the mainstream South African news media, a discussion of stereotyping as a representational practice (Fourie, 2007:248) in critical media studies is necessitated here.

3.4.1 Stereotype theory

Stereotyping is a popular, longstanding theory used to describe certain effects the media have on audience’s perceptions, as well as on how they think and act (Fourie, 2007: 237-238, 247). In Foucault’s terms, stereotyping is a “‘power/knowledge’ sort of game” (Hall *et al* 2013:248).

O’Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery and Fiske (1994:299-300) define stereotyping as:

the social classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalized signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set

of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history.

Hall *et al* (2013:247) stresses three important characteristics of stereotypes, based on Richard Dyer's essay on stereotyping: firstly, that stereotyping "reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference'", secondly that stereotyping divides the "normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable", and thirdly, that stereotypes "tend to occur where there are gross inequalities of power". It is important to be aware of how stereotyping is situated within "play of power (hegemony, power/knowledge)" as well as of "counter-strategies *trans-coding* negative images with new meanings" (Hall *et al*, 2013:267, original emphasis).

Stereotypes result from "oppositions and differences between people and groups" (Fourie, 2007:256) and are thus used to communicate myths about people and groups (Fourie, 2007:255-256). Myths are social beliefs (Fourie, 2007:255) which exist in all cultures and are told as stories across generations (Fourie, 2007:251) to explain and preserve a society's values. Studies aimed at exposing latent media messages, hope "to see beyond the mythical message being conveyed", but also to explore mythical meanings associated with objects because of social conventions of a certain culture (Fourie, 2007:253).

In studying stereotyping in the media, an essential concept is that of "the *other*"; everything that is different to the "collective whole to which one belongs" (Fourie, 2007:249, original emphasis). Fourie (2007:249) argues it is a natural reaction to feel threatened by, retreat from, combat or humiliate the Other. The media's stereotyped portrayal "may reinforce existing patterns of attitudes and behaviour toward specific individuals, groups, and institutions, especially minority groups" (Fourie, 2007: 243-244). De Fleur and Dennis (1994:599) argue consistent negative portrayal of specific groups contributes to validation of stereotypes. The stereotyped group is often shown as having fewer desirable qualities than the powerful group with whom the media identifies (De Fleur and Dennis, 1994:599).

De Fleur and Dennis (1994:599) argue that stereotypes construct meaning, especially for those media users who have no or little physical contact with individuals from the stereotyped group. In addition, these meanings become part of media users' memories which may influence how they think about or react to persons from a specific group without taking their individual personality into account (De Fleur & Dennis, 1994:599). Stereotypes become so engrained in the culture of a group that its members "accept them unquestioningly as a kind of natural law" (Fourie, 2007:255).

Fourie (2007:265), however, argues audiences are not helpless victims of the media – they have free choice in deciding which media to read and their personal values come in play as a “buffer against media effects” (Fourie, 2007:265). He cautions that many different variables should be considered when linking “specific behaviour and thinking to the media”, for example when arguing that a specific publication’s portrayal of a group, such as farmers in this study, regulates audiences’ thinking and behaviour.

In addition, it is essential to keep in mind that the power of discourse is time- and context-related. According to Caldas-Coulthard and Van Leeuwen (in Caldas-Coulthard, 2003:274):

People may at different times and in different contexts, draw on different discourses about the same practices or practices, choosing the one they assume as most appropriate to their own interest at the given moment and in the given context.

One could argue that in South Africa various discourses, “each with their own discursive practices” (Fourie, 2007:166), take place at any given time, also about farmers. Politicians, on the one hand, would debate issues “in terms of the discourses and the discursive practices of party-political rhetoric and thus what would please (or at least not alienate) their supporters and constituencies” (Fourie, 2007:166). The media, on the other hand, would debate issues “in terms of the discursive practices related to the institutionalised production, presentation and representations of media content, frequently falling back on stereotypes” (Fourie, 2007:166). Therefore, according to Fourie (2007:166), “in the end, the individual and society’s discourse about and knowledge of the topic was/is the result of all these discourses and their demarcated discursive practices allowing them to converse about the topic only in certain ways”.

3.4.2 Representation as social carrier of ideology

Several media studies researchers, such as Barker and Jane (2016), Caldas-Coulthard (2003), Fourie (2007), Goatly (2007), Hall *et al* (2003), Van Dijk (1998a, 1998b, 2009), Reid (2008), and Sonderling (2009), studied the ideological power of representational practices such as stereotypes in discourse. Fourie (2007:133) argues that “ideology affects our whole way of being” as it influences “how we experience life and others and how we think about our own culture and those of others”. Goatly (2007:2) agrees that ideologies exist “in your head as well as in discourse”. Caldas-Coulthard (2003:274) says “news is not the event, but the partial, ideologically framed *report* of the event” (original emphasis). Reid (2008:203) describes representations as the “social carriers of ideology”

throughout the ages, and I therefore argue that a discussion about the theoretical links between news, discourse and ideology is necessary to inform this study's multidisciplinary approach.

Barker and Jane (2016:82-83) link their understanding of ideology, as binding and justifying ideas of any social group that requires no concept of the truth, in line with Foucault's knowledge/power implication and a cultural studies perspective of the social construction of truth. Foucault was a proponent of the idea that ideology is not equal to class power and interest, but more complex, leading to, for example, the Marxist Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony as a form of power (Hall *et al*, 2003:33). From a Foucaultian perspective, the power of ideology thus lies in discourses with "specific *consequences* for relations of power at all levels of social relationships" (Barker & Jane, 2016:83, original emphasis).

Van Dijk (1998b:23) argues the concept of ideology is one of the "most elusive notions in the social sciences". He defines ideology as:

the basis of social representations shared by members of a group. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organise the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them and to act accordingly (Van Dijk, 1998a:8).

Van Dijk (2009:202) argues news uphold the dominant ideology and therefore plays a significant role in the (re)production of ideologies in society. For example, ideologically controlled news structures cause the media to be continually "part of the problem of racism, rather than its solution" (Van Dijk, 2009:199). Furthermore, in discourses polarised (Us versus Them) ideologies vie to sustain existing powers, within class, gender, age and sexual orientation (Van Dijk, 2009:202). Van Dijk (2009:202) also concludes:

The elites that control the access to, and the contents and structures of public discourse, and that of the mass media, in particular, thus also are able to control the formation and reproduction of the very ideologies that help to sustain their power.

The power of discourse to "define our reality" should motivate studying the "close relationship between language and social relations of power and *ideology*" (original emphasis) (Sonderling, 2009:111). Ideology works best when it becomes a "common-sense explanation for the ways the world and society operate" (Sonderling, 2009:111). These common-sense perceptions can be misleading as the public is "unaware that most of what they hold to be true and self-evident is illusion produced by the suggestive influence of the social world in which they live" (Fromm in Goatly,

2007:11). Ideology can be both “useful” and “harmful” (Goatly: 2007:1). Power relations is of particular importance in the advancement of ideologies, for example how groups enact power over other groups or resist others’ dominance (Goatly, 2007:1). Sonderling (2009:109) argues that:

language constructs images ... and constructing such images and interpreting reality is the essence of political activity. Language as political activity also means that the images and interpretations of the world often contain misinterpretation and misrepresentations that are calculated to serve the interests of politicians.

In the South African context, the mainstream South African news media serves an elite; however, it is difficult to identify the elite and the source of their power – is it the (mostly white) people with money/economic influence (power) and/or the (mostly black) people with political influence (power), or perhaps a combination of both? The portrayal of farmers in the mainstream South African news media is a by-product of different powerful elites’ ideologies. By influencing the dominant view of what is important, the discourse results in a dominant ideology such as the dominant construction of farmers in the mainstream South African news media.

I will in the next section consider normative ideas around the role of the news media in society and the strengthening of democracy, such as the contribution that the news media could make to nation building, for example through universal ethical principles such as inclusiveness. I argue that especially within a diverse society with fragmented audiences, it is important to hold the media accountable for supplying reliable information through unbiased coverage.

3.5 Normative theories: The role of the media

The normative theories of the press traditionally focused on the information, surveillance and political functions of media in society; however, globalisation and technological advances stimulated a need for newer frameworks (Fourie, 2007:185). In addition to the initial four theories – authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet communist – the development and democratic-participant theories were formulated to accommodate postmodern/-colonial circumstances such as in developing countries as well as to contextualise increasing pressures on democratic societies (Fourie, 2007:185,191).

McNair (2009:248) argues that although nations’ democratic cultures may differ immensely, there seems to be agreement from various international media that the normative roles of liberal journalism in democracy are universally applicable. McNair (2009:239-240) summarises these roles as:

information; critical scrutiny; representation and advocacy; partiality (as long as it is clearly signaled as such); and watchdog (the Fourth Estate, giving journalists the duty to monitor the exercise of power, asking questions about government's performance and ethics, on behalf of, and with the permission of, the public).

Fourie (2007:203) warns that today's postmodern public in capitalist societies such as South Africa is fragmented, hybrid and concerned with minority rights, which does not easily relate into the Habermasian ideal of a coherent population with shared values, but rather various publics claiming powerful roles. Fourie (2007:215) advises studies of South African media to adopt the postmodern concept of "*difference and diversity*" (original author's emphasis) as in "accepting difference (different publics, different public spheres, different audiences, different media)". Nordenstreng *et al* (in Fourie, 2007:202) suggest a more pluralist view of a combination of roles, arguing that the media (both collectively in a nation or as an individual medium/journalist) can perform one of, or, several roles, namely collaborative, surveillance, facilitative and/or critical/dialectical roles.

Krüger (2017:23) argues that, from a normative perspective, Habermasian standards of inclusivity, openness and non-coercion are still appropriate in studying the role of media practices and institutions, especially in South Africa where inequality negatively effects the quality of civic discussion. Krüger (2017:23) suggest three normative roles for the media, namely as curator of information and views, as direct participant with its own voice, and as custodian of public discussion on individual as well as institutional level to ensure a "vibrant public sphere where inclusive, fair civic discourse" (Krüger, 2017:30) takes place. The media's inherent and institutional structures of inequality make it integral for individual journalists to challenge and counteract manipulative ways of the "powerful to skew civic discourses" (Krüger, 2017:30). Journalism's own power should be used to protect the rules of the game, for example by counteracting the exclusion of views or voices actively by drawing "marginalised voices into the national conversation" (Krüger, 2017:33), even if it means individuals going the extra mile to reach and include such communities.

McQuail (2013:211) holds the ideal role of public informant in democracy as requiring "a commitment to truth, as far as attainable and to a measure of neutrality and good faith in the selection of information for wider dissemination and of opinions voiced or given access in relation to events". He recognises the media's public accountability role, although he argues most journalists "do not see it as their task to act as accuser or judge, but they do enable others to act in this way via the provision of information and evidence and by the expression of supportive opinion" (McQuail, 2013:212).

Except for a mirror, McQuail (2010:84-85) suggests additional metaphors to describe the role of media in society, including a “platform, window, interlocutor, mediator and activist”. Sometimes the media’s influence may be unintentional, but it still is influential due to its sheer reach (McQuail, 2013:19). Not only is the media instrumental as conduit for the “power of governments, propagandists and advertisers” (McQuail, 2013:19), but also for media enterprise owners’ “own economic and sometimes political interests” (McQuail, 2013:19).

Binding all the above normative roles together, as well as highlighting the media’s specific role of representation, I argue that Wasserman (2008:246) is correct in saying that “because the media plays such an important role in helping us think about who we are, where we fit into society and how we are related to others in society, the media should be scrutinised critically to establish how it plays this role”. In this study of establishing the power relations behind how the media portrays farmers and with what consequences, I will be conscious of how “identity construction can play a political – even violent – role”, with textual representation of identity always situated within “much broader networks of meaning” including its “social, political, economic and cultural contexts” (Wasserman, 2008:247). Wasserman (2008:248) says:

the construction of identities in South African media is, for instance, also linked to cultural shifts and contestations taking place in political discourses and struggles over control of meaning-making in the public sphere.

I agree with Wasserman (2008:262-263) that Foucault’s insight that “subjects are produced through discourse” could shed light on “some of the attempts that have been made in South Africa to reconstruct identities after apartheid”, including those of the SA farmer of the 21st century. After all, as Wasserman (2008:260) summarises, “media representations and discourse form an interrelationship with other social forces to construct identities”.

3.6 Summary

This chapter outlined the theoretical paradigm, critical discourse analysis, in which the study positions itself. It gave an overview of the concept of representation as discourse as the basis for a discussion on how power/knowledge might influence the portrayal of farmers in the commercial mainstream South African news media. Attention was given to stereotyping as a representational system, as well as its role in furthering ideologies. The basis of Foucault’s combined approach of discourse and power as power/knowledge lies in the relationship between how something is portrayed and the consequences of this portrayal. I therefore argue that just as the stereotype becomes the discourse, the discourse also becomes the stereotype, because it creates, in Foucaultian terms, a regime of truth

with far-reaching consequences “if everyone believes it to be so” (Hall *et al*, 2003:32-33). In the case of discourses relevant to the South African farmer, this exploratory study examines their representation during a period of profound change. The Foucaultian approach will enable this study to explore whether competing discourses can be identified in different commercial mainstream South African news media publications. In addition, normative theories about the role of the media in a young democracy serve as a departure point for a discussion of the different roles of the South African media in the 21st century.

In Chapter Four, the methodology of this study will be discussed.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodology of this exploratory study which aims to answer the following general research question:

What do the discourses about farmers in the selected commercial mainstream South African news media news publications reveal about the publications' role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers?

In order to answer the general research question, the following specific research questions need to be addressed: (1) How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language? (2) How did these publications' reporting reflect efforts to portray farmers with nuances? (3) What are these publications' contributions to a certain perspective of farmers? (4) How do the discourses about farmers in these publications relate to the ideological position of these publications?

In the next section, the rationale behind the research approach for this study will be explained.

4.2 Research approach

This exploratory study employs a qualitative empirical approach to analyse the portrayal of the farmer in the commercial mainstream South African news media within the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Three.

According to Du Plooy (2015:35), a qualitative research approach assumes that reality is subjective. The qualitative research approach allows insights into communication "derived from the subjects' perspective" (Du Plooy, 2015:35) and therefore is valuable to understand a communication phenomenon, such as land reform reportage.

Both deductive and inductive reasoning are used in the qualitative research process. This study moves deductively from the theories as described in Chapter Three to a critical discourse analysis of farmer identity as reflected in certain commercial mainstream South African news media. At the same time inductive reasoning assisted during the CDA in identifying patterns in analyses to develop qualitative themes and categories to describe meanings within specific contexts, as Du Plooy (2015:35) suggested.

In the following section the data gathering and the analysis method of this study will be explained.

4.3 Data gathering and analysis

Textual data such as media editorials and news articles are rich in meaning (Mouton, 2001:108) and the capturing process can be complicated. In the next section, I will explain the incorporation of the critical discourse moment in the data gathering and analysis of this study.

4.3.1 The critical discourse moment

Critical discourse moments, introduced in 3.3.1, are “periods that involve specific happenings, which may challenge the established discursive positions” (Carvalho, 2008:166). According to Jäger and Maier (2016:20), such events are often situated within a discursive struggle; therefore “attempts at crisis management can be understood as attempts to get the urgencies of various interest groups (nations, different groups of the population, corporations, ...) under control”.

Carvalho (2008:166) suggests that for bigger amounts of data, criteria should be designed to assist “re-selection” of texts for CDA. One approach would be to combine a system of more comprehensive analysis in selected periods with analysis of critical discourse moments. I will therefore make use of the concept of the critical discourse moment as tool to reselect and reduce the amount of data for my text analysis. In addition, I will make use of Carvalho’s (2008,166) criteria to identify such moments by compiling a chronology of relevant events, and to ask questions concerning these moments, such as “Did arguments change? Did new/alternative views arise?”.

In the South African context, land reform arguably qualifies as a “combined crisis, or series of crises, in several dimensions” (Jäger & Maier, 2016:20), namely of inequality, transformation, retribution, poverty, identity, racism, corruption and unemployment. I followed the advice of Carvalho (2008:166) to design a formula for reselection of material by looking at “periods that are determining in the construction of an issue”, for example “when it was transformed from a low-attention issue into a significant political and public issue”. Prior to 2017, the discourse about land expropriation without compensation was the almost exclusive domain of the EFF, but since the end of 2017, and especially during 2018, the discourse increasingly became an important political and public issue, and eventually part of government policy.

I thus chose land expropriation without compensation as critical discourse moment for this exploratory study, as deduced from different steps in my data gathering and analysis, and also from the historical background context and the literature review of this study. This discourse moment directed my final sampling and will therefore also influence the analysis and discussion of text in

Chapter Five. Purposive sampling of texts was done in four different steps as explained in the next section.

4.3.2 Purposive sampling of texts

The textual data for analysis was selected from the mentioned publications' websites using "purposeful sampling" (Merriam, 2009:77) as collection method. Purposive sampling is a type of nonprobability sampling using a portion of the research material, in this case, news reports richest in information (Joubert, Hartell & Lombard, 2016:104; Merriam, 2009:77). In accordance with the aim of a qualitative study, the examples were selected based on predetermined criteria to investigate a specific phenomenon, which in this case was a pertinent portrayal of the farmer, either individually or as a group, further demarcated by a specific time period and critical discourse moment.

According to Merriam (2009:77):

Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned.

Babbie (2010:193), similarly to Merriam, believes that purposive sampling, also known as judgmental sampling, relies on the researcher's judgement to decide which of the units to be studied will be the "most useful or representative". The researcher's choice is based on prior knowledge of both the "population, its elements and the purpose of the study" (Babbie, 2010:193). According to Babbie (2010:193), purposive sampling is helpful when choosing a "small subset of a larger population" when it would be difficult or impossible to sample all the units.

It is accepted practice that sampling is influenced by factors such as time and finances as well as by the nature of the research problem and the characteristics of the population (Joubert *et al*, 2016:94). Some advantages of purposive sampling are that it is less expensive than probability sampling and less time consuming to implement. The articles selected are not considered representative of the respective publications' coverage; however, they reveal patterns in media discourse and serve as illustrations of some of the different ways in which farmers are represented.

Articles were selected for analysis following four steps in a selection process. Reselection in each step contributed to ensuring acceptable qualitative case study research findings. In the first selection step, articles were included based on date of publication, between 1 January 2018 to 31 December 2018. This period was chosen because it signified an intense time of change and uncertainty for the

farming community. Therefore, expropriation without compensation in the land reform debate was identified as the chosen critical discourse moment of this study.

To locate data for analysis, I conducted a systematic search of online commercial South African media archives and databases (for example PressReader, Google) as well as commercial South African mainstream media publications' websites. I used the search term 'farmer' or 'boer' and the following terms in any combination: opinion/land, reform/land, summit/white/black/racist/murder/brutal. The first terms were used to retrieve results of arguably more neutral nature and the latter terms to retrieve articles that arguably display representation of Us and Them, presupposition and polarised group opinions. My search was conducted using keywords in English and Afrikaans, which are dominant languages of the mainstream South African news media. As discussed in the previous chapters, Afrikaans also is relevant because of the historic context of the farmer. In addition, these are the only two South African languages I am fluent in.

In the second selection step, relevance was determined according to how the texts relate to the research topic of the portrayal of farmers and the critical discourse moment, namely expropriation without compensation. I included news reports, opinion pieces and analysis by a variety of writers including journalists, commentators and analysts. Articles about agriculture in general as well as articles that did not have an explicit reference to farmers (or arguable synonyms such as land owners) were excluded.

In the third step, I finalised the selection of texts to online versions of a limited number of commercial South African mainstream print media publications (as indicated above). The overall dataset comprised 145 relevant texts. The size of the sample and the criteria used for sampling texts was influenced by practical considerations such as time constraints. A hard copy of each of these texts was printed for analysis.

In the fourth and final step, the most relevant and information rich articles were selected, which included mostly editorials, opinion pieces and longer news stories, as I argue that these would enable the best analysis of how ideology and bias influence the publications' discursive representation. An electronic copy was saved of each of these texts. This final subset sample of 72 articles include 19 texts from *Netwerk24* and related outlets, 12 from *News24* and related outlets, 10 from *TimesLive* and/or *Sunday Times*, 9 from *IOL* and related outlets, 8 from *SowetanLIVE* and/or *Sowetan*, 9 from *Mail & Guardian*, and 6 from *The Citizen*). Most texts are English-language texts (53), and the remainder (19) are Afrikaans.

4.3.3 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis includes examining, categorising and testing evidence to answer the research questions (Yin, 2003:109). According to Mouton (2001:108), “analysis involves breaking up the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships”.

The objective of analysis is to increase the understanding of a phenomenon. Mouton (2001:108) says:

the aim of analysis is to understand the various constitutive elements of one’s data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs and variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data.

The analysis of this study functions on three levels (text, production context and societal context), therefore the discussion will be structured accordingly, with the addition of the critical discourse moment. Babbie (2010:400) argues the “concept” is the organising principle for coding, namely, to classify or categorise individual pieces of data. In this study, the organising principle is the tension between stereotypical and complex representation of farmers.

I will study the texts until reaching a point of “saturation” (Merriam, 2009:183), accepting that I have collected and analysed sufficient data with no new information or insights emerging. As it is impossible to describe the whole CDA process in detail, only examples of analysis will be discussed. According to Van Dijk (1983:29), full-scale analysis is too complex when it entails a large selection of data and “selective analysis of some relevant features is practically always necessary”.

This exploratory study will not include analysis of readers’ comments on texts due to limited space, and also because most sampled texts do not include readers’ comments as only a limited number of online publications still allow readers’ comments.

In the following section my chosen research design of CDA will be outlined in more detail.

4.4 Content analysis: Critical discourse analysis

The CDA approach has both advantages and disadvantages, which are summarised here in recognition of its strengths and weaknesses. In this section, I also explain the rationale behind the CDA model chosen for this exploratory study.

4.4.1 Benefits of CDA

CDA offers a valuable qualitative research method to study the context of texts due to its focus on “what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts” (Richardson, 2007:15).

CDA is differentiated from other forms of qualitative analysis, firstly, because “the term ‘discourse’ has a broader connotation and covers all ‘texts’, in whatever form or language they are encoded” (McQuail, 2010:349). Fairclough (1989:54) argues the value of CDA lies in the fact that “a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the radar”. Carvalho (2008:163) agrees that the historical nature of discourse means that “texts always build on previous ones, taking up or challenging former discourses”.

Secondly, CDA always views the text as constructed via interaction between the producer, the text, and its user (McQuail, 2010: 349; Richardson, 2007:15). From a CDA perspective, “ways of talking produce and reproduce ways of thinking, and ways of thinking can be manipulated via choices about grammar, style, wording and every other aspect of discourse” (Johnstone, 2008:54).

Thirdly, CDA is a unique qualitative analysis tool in its “attention to power analysis, historicity, and cultural context” (Reynolds, 2019:48). Barker and Jane (2016:102), with reference to Foucault, argue that discourse regulates “who can speak, when and where”. According to Louw (2001:33), Foucault’s insights aid researchers to understand discourse as a “potentially powerful hegemonic tool for social control, because discursive formations have the power to exclude from discussion certain questions or issues”. Botma (2016:158) echoes this in saying that language is used as medium in “discursive power processes” to legitimise the in- or exclusion of certain people or groups or ideas. Therefore, CDA can assist in analysing the power of “those who have access to the media ... to influence the construction of readers’ reality” (Botma, 2016:154).

CDA thus is an effective approach to identify “opaque as well as transparent” (Wodak & Meyer in McQuail, 2010:349) ways of how language is used to enforce power relations. I argue that the benefits of CDA outweigh many of its disadvantages, as discussed in the next section.

4.4.2 Criticism of CDA

Criticism of CDA includes concern about its empirical weaknesses, its diverse methodologies, and its ideological character. Stubbs (in Huckin, 2002:26) advises that a firmer empirical basis is required than in many existing CDA studies. More explicit explanations are desired of “exactly how texts

influence the formation of beliefs and values” (Stubbs in Huckin, 2002:26). Similar criticisms are made by Hammersley (1996) and Widdowson (1996). CDA is also criticised for too much diversity in its methodological processes (Toolan, in Carvalho, 2008:162), and being too ideological (Tyrwhitt-Drake in Carvalho, 2008:162). Carvalho (2008:162); however, argues “methodological pluralism ... can be seen as a strength rather than a weakness, and ideological commitment ... is an explicit agenda of CDA and does not equal analytical distortion”.

In the next section, I describe the motivation for my CDA model, which will arguably address some of the concerns about the shortcomings of CDA.

4.4.3 Motivation for CDA model

The CDA model of this study is primarily based on Van Dijk’s (1998b:61) five step model for CDA, which entails an analysis of the context of the discourse; of groups, power relations and conflicts; of opinions about Us and Them; of the presupposed and the implied; and of the selection and representation of polarised group opinions. Van Dijk (1993:249-250,466) argues that language is used to enact, reconstruct, validate, or resist abuse of social power and inequality as part of “specific social, political and historical contexts”. Van Dijk’s approach to CDA supports the Foucaultian theoretical framework of this study, therefore, it is an applicable choice.

Furthermore, this study’s CDA model will be supplemented with linguistic analytic tools from Fairclough where I argue Van Dijk’s model can be strengthened through the addition of linguistic elements. Fairclough (2003:123) is a proponent of Foucault’s principle that CDA should aim to uncover the rules behind texts. The enhancement of Van Dijk’s model with linguistic analytic tools from Fairclough will arguably assist in Van Dijk’s (1998b:22) recommendation that an examination of “subtle textual expressions of ideologically based opinions” is necessary in order to “show precisely how elements of societal structure (such as groups, institutions, power or inequality), as well as the everyday social practices of discourse and other forms of interaction among people as group members, are systematically related to the socially constructed dimensions of their minds” (Van Dijk 1998b:22).

Van Dijk (2013) argues the CDA researcher should “do critical discourse analysis by formulating critical goals, and then explain by what specific explicit methods you want to realise it”. I would argue that I have formulated sufficiently critical goals, with reference to my general and specific research questions. With regards to stating explicit methods, I have explained that CDA is my chosen method, which would specifically include the use of the concept of the critical discourse moment, in this case, of expropriation without compensation, to direct my sampling. I will make use of Van

Dijk's model as a second access point for the CDA of texts and enrich this model with insights from Fairclough's linguistic analytical tools.

In the next section I will explain the methodological details of Van Dijk's model and Fairclough's linguistic analytical tools.

4.5 Van Dijk's model of CDA

In this study, I will interpret Van Dijk's (1998b:61) five step CDA model to analyse opinions and ideologies in the media, as follows:

4.5.1 Context of discourse

I will study the context of the farmer discourses such as historical developments and current issues, especially land expropriation without compensation as already identified as critical discourse moment. In addition, I will investigate whether farmers are still portrayed as a colonial construct or in a more nuanced manner in editorials, opinion articles, as well as news reports.

4.5.2 Power relations

I will analyse relevant groups, power relations and conflicts. Furthermore, I will discuss how journalists and politicians express their views, both in editorials as well as in news reports, on farmers in relation to powerful opposing role players and debates in the land reform discourse.

4.5.3 Us and Them

I aim to identify positive and negative opinions about Us and Them. In editorials, I will examine how farmers are presented as part of an insider or outsider group. I will also elaborate on the meaning of Us and Them in the discourse in the representation of farmers, such as texts in support of or opposing the status quo.

4.5.4 The presupposed and the implied

I will identify what is said and unsaid within the land reform discourses, both in editorials and news reports, for example within recurring themes, topics and strategies in debates and opinion (Botma, 2010:9).

4.5.5 Selection and representation

I will examine formal structures that emphasise and/or deemphasise polarised group opinions (Van Dijk, 1998b:61), such as the inclusion or exclusion of specific issues and prominence (Botma, 2010:10) in news reports portraying the farmer.

I will employ Van Dijk's model from a macro as well as a micro perspective as I would argue that I have already partially employed step one (context of discourse) and step two (power relations) of Van Dijk's model in the introductory and literature review chapters of this study.

An analysis of news coverage guided by Van Dijk's model would aid in answering (1): How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language? as well as (2) How did these publications' reporting reflect efforts to portray farmers with nuances? and (3) What are these publications' contributions to a certain perspective of farmers?

An analysis of editorials and opinion articles according to Van Dijk's model would be helpful in answering (3) What are these publications' contributions to a certain perspective of farmers? as well as (4) How do the discourses about farmers in these publications relate to ideological position of these publications?

In the next section, I will explain the inclusion of Fairclough's linguistic analytical tools as part of the CDA model of this study.

4.6 Fairclough's linguistic analytical tools

Fairclough (1989) developed a CDA model, advising three interrelated processes of analysis related to three interrelated dimensions of discourse, namely the object of analysis (in this case, the texts relating to farmers), the interaction or the process by which the text is produced and received, and the socio-historical conditions in which the text is produced. Fairclough (1989:54) argued that the power of the media lies in its cumulative effects, such as repetition of descriptions or of ways of description in different texts, which builds an image in the reader's mind. Therefore, Fairclough (1989:110-138) devised procedural questions for CDA, as described in *Language and power*, which includes linguistic analytic concepts to be used in close textual CDA at different levels of granularity (Huckin, 2002:6).

I argue that incorporating these linguistic tools (Fairclough, 1989:110-138) in my CDA might enrich the model of my analysis which is based on Van Dijk's model. In the case of this exploratory study, I would examine how the words used to describe certain farmers form an image of them and position them so that perceptions of them were either negative or positive. I will establish who is being represented in the texts and who has the power to say what about whom, in other words who "owns the narrative" or who is given legitimacy (Fairclough, 1992:272).

In addition, I will examine texts for experiential values (Fairclough, 1989:110-138) such as classifications (for example the success of a farmer with relation to commercial versus subsistence);

words that are ideologically contested (for example ‘Boer’ and ‘boer’); rewording or overwording (for example words that are used frequently); as well as ideological relations between words such as synonyms, hyponyms and antonyms (for example farmer and land owner).

I will aim to identify what types of process and participant predominate, if agency is unclear, if nominalisations are used, whether sentences are active or passive and positive or negative. To understand the relational values (Fairclough, 1989:110-138) of words, I will take note of connections between words, euphemistic expressions, formal or informal words, as well as how pronouns such as we and you are used. I will be conscious of modality and related associations. The style used can, according to Fairclough (1992:287), be used to create an impression of division or cohesion (for example, using a word without a presupposition such as “farmers” versus “the farmers”).

I will be cognisant of figures of speech and of metaphors and ideological attachments (Fairclough, 1989:110-138). In addition, I will note how rhetoric is used, for example to deceive and manipulate (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012:56). I will also be aware of subordinate or presumptive clauses, and of intertextuality and interactional conventions (Fairclough, 1989:110-138). Furthermore, I will examine how quotations may allude to power relations (for example, who is controlling the discourse, the government or the farmer). I will also inspect the texts for presuppositions that may be used manipulatively to create a sense of cohesion and emphasise commonality (Fairclough, 1992:283).

Instead of dealing with each linguistic concept individually, I shall study them in an integrated manner and present the findings as part of my five-step model. The integration of Fairclough’s linguistic analytical tools in this study’s CDA model would aid in answering all four of the specific research questions of this study, but especially Question One: How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language? and Question Three: What are these publications’ contributions to a certain perspective of farmers?

4.7 Summary

In addressing this study’s research questions, I make use of CDA as methodology, specifically Van Dijk’s model, integrated with Fairclough’s analytic tools, and with the addition of the concept of the critical discourse moment, to describe and discuss the discursive construction of the farmer in certain commercial mainstream South African news media over a specific period of time. In addition, the examples of stereotypes about farmers, mostly about white farmers as part of a colonial construct, as identified in the literature review, are employed as a baseline against which the findings of my CDA will be discussed.

For the purposes of the narrower focus of this exploratory study I argue that a CDA of these discourses around farmers in the identified South African commercial mainstream news publications not only identify discursive and representative devices that might contribute to constructing a more stereotypical or more nuanced image of farmers, but will also give a good overall indication of discourses around farmers in the commercial mainstream South African news media during this period.

Chapter 5: Analysis and discussion

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters gave an indication of the diversity of media discourses around the South African farmer of the 21st century. In line with Carvalho's advice to illustrate my identification of land expropriation without compensation as the chosen critical discourse moment for this study, I will in the next section construct a "chronology of events relevant to the issue being analysed" (Carvalho, 2008:166). The timeline synopsis will be followed by the CDA of this study based on the model of Van Dijk (1998b:61-63) integrated with Fairclough's (1989:110-138) linguistic analytical tools.

5.2 Timeline synopsis of land expropriation without compensation

In 2018, reporting about land expropriation without compensation centered mostly on government's plans to amend the constitution, but also on how society reacted to this news.

The land reform discourse changed radically when it was reported that land expropriation without compensation unexpectedly became ANC policy at its December 2017 conference. After years of favouring a market-led approach to land reform, the ANC "suddenly changed gear, at least at the level of rhetoric, to advance a radical thesis" (Ntsebeza, 2018) of land expropriation without compensation. This led to the passing of a motion for expropriation without compensation in the National Assembly in February 2018 and ultimately to Parliament's resolution for the constitution to be amended, in December 2018, leading to the 2019 Expropriation Bill.

Land expropriation without compensation unquestionably qualifies as a critical discourse moment according to the criteria of Carvalho (2008), as the events of late 2017 and 2018 transformed expropriation from an outsider issue into a significant political and public issue. In addition, these changes also challenged the established discursive position previously dominated by the EFF (Ntsebeza, 2018) since their founding in 2013. Some important events during 2018 include the ANC land summit in May 2018 as well as the public land reform hearings between June and August 2018. In addition, the media were also involved as role players, such as organisers of events including the *Agri SA* and *Landbouweekblad* land reform conference (titled *The Land Solution: Farmers' perspectives on reviving rural South Africa*) in August 2018, the *City Press* and *Rapport* Land Indaba in October 2018 and the land summit of *Landbouweekblad* and the Komga Farmers' Association in November 2018.

In my CDA, I aim to illustrate, according to Carvalho's (2018) concept of critical discourse moments, how during the period under review knowledge about the issue of expropriation without compensation grew, arguments changed, and new or alternative views arose (Carvalho, 2018).

5.3 Findings of CDA

During 2018, a vast number of texts were published in the commercial mainstream South African news media on a variety of topics relating to land reform and expropriation without compensation.

In addition to my chosen specific critical discourse moment of expropriation without compensation, I will include references to other parallel and intertwining debates where the land reform discourse connects with other issues relating to farmer identity, such as farm attacks and farm murders, the "white genocide" myth, and the "brutal farmer" trope.

5.3.1 Introduction

In this section of the CDA, my sample of editorials, profile articles and news reports are analysed according to Van Dijk's guidelines. In addition, I employ linguistic analysis tools from Fairclough's model throughout the analysis where these may add additional insight.

The CDA is presented chronologically according to Van Dijk's five steps, as explained in Chapter Four, namely a discussion of the context of the discourse (some of the changes that occurred during 2018 as reported in the sampled publications); an analysis of groups, power relations and conflicts (at the publications and in society); identifying positive and negative opinions about Us and Them (such as strategies of labeling used by authors); examining the presupposed and the implied in the main discourses; and looking for discursive strategies in selection and representation of farmer coverage in the publications in that period.

As was outlined in Chapter Four, a total sample of 72 texts are included in the analysis (19 from *Netwerk24* and related outlets, 12 from *News24* and related outlets, 10 from *TimesLive* and/or *Sunday Times*, 9 from *IOL* and related outlets, 8 from *SowetanLIVE* and/or *Sowetan*, 9 from *Mail & Guardian*, and 6 from *The Citizen*).

Although I keep the suggested structure of the Van Dijk model intact, emerging patterns and trends are included as sub-categories through sub-headings, thus contributing to the structure of the presentation of findings.

5.3.2 Context of discourse – fear and collaboration

The first aim of this CDA is to track and discuss the context of the different discourses in the content of the publications sampled for this exploratory study. From the sample, I deduce two main discourses relating to farmers in the land expropriation without compensation debate, namely fear, and collaboration.

5.3.2.1 Fear and the dispel of fear

The first dominant discourse centers on uncertainty and/or fear, which mostly plays out as a counter-discourse of the dispel of fear. The following headlines are indicative of this discourse:

- Paul Mashatile – There will be no land grabs! (Vallie, 2018), *IOL*
- #LandExpropriation: Key food producers’ land is “safe” (Ndaba, 2018), *IOL*
- Trust us on land, Mabuza urges farmers ... (Kgosana, 2018a), *The Citizen*
- ANC moves to reassure farmers on land grabs (Modjadji, 2018b), *SowetanLIVE*
- Farmers, it’s not about race and we’re listening (Hosken, 2018a), *TimesLIVE*
- David Mabuza tells farmers to trust government on land reform (Child, 2018a), *TimesLIVE*
- White, black farmers pacified about land (Burgess, 2018a), *Netwerk24*

Central to this discourse stands farmers’ uncertainty about government’s land reform plans, and thus the implications of government’s political power on other levels, such as economic and cultural. *TimesLIVE* published the full speech of Deputy Minister David Mabuza with the heading “In full: “Trust us”: What David Mabuza told farmers at the AgriSA land summit” (*TimesLIVE*, 2018), positioning Mabuza as the actor in charge, having more power than the farmers as subjects, with similar positioning in the text, “David Mabuza tells farmers ...” by *TimesLIVE* (Child, 2018a) as well as in the text “... Mabuza urges farmers” by *The Citizen* (Kgosana, 2018a). In these texts, the political elite’s version of land expropriation is foregrounded, positioning them as powerful players as they are drumming up support for changes to laws as well as support for their parties in the election.

Farmers, especially white land-owning farmers, are portrayed as Outsiders, who only has outsider knowledge constructed on biased assumptions, and thus need to be “pacified” (Burgess, 2018a), “reassured” (Modjadji, 2018b), “urged” (Kgosana, 2018a) and “told” (Child, 2018a) in this discourse of the dispel of fear.

In addition, the discourse of the dispel of fear is visible in the negation of extremists’ voices, for example of AfriForum, by commentators and journalists, such as in the following examples:

- Max du Preez: “Stop farming with fear” (Du Preez, 2018b), *Netwerk24*
- Kallie Kriel: “Rather farm with facts” (Kriel, 2018), *Netwerk24*
- “Mabuza: Stop spreading lies on SA land reform” (Makhafola, 2018), *IOL*

In the opinion piece by Du Preez (2018b) on *Netwerk24*, farming might broadly refer to actual farming and certain farmers, but more specifically this appeal is made to AfriForum and the Institute for Race Relations to “stop selling fear and panic [about farm murders and expropriation without compensation] to attract more donations and members”.

5.3.2.2 Collaboration

The second dominant discourse in the sample is a counter-discourse of collaboration, which challenges the colonial farmer construct. The following headlines are indicative of this discourse:

- “We must debunk the myth that black people cannot farm” (Motsuenyane & Ntshabele, 2018), *News24/City Press*
- “Farmer shows ubuntu, gives land to his workers” (Kgosana, 2018b), *The Citizen*
- “We will make this thing work, says farmer” (De Lange, 2018b), *Netwerk24/Rapport*
- “Land: how black and white can make it work” (Fengu, 2018), *News24/City Press*
- “The magic of the land reform process” (Du Plessis, 2018), *News24*
- “Land reform’s Codesa moment” (Du Preez, 2018b), *News24*
- “Watch: Farmers’ Woodstock moment at Bela-Bela” (Schoeman, 2018), *Netwerk24*
- “White farmer writes plea to Ramaphosa to let him help black farmers” (*The Citizen*, 2018), *The Citizen*
- “Opinions: Guard against throwing farmers to the wolves” (Price, 2018), *Netwerk24*
- “Government ‘WANTS to collaborate with commercial farmers’” (Van der Walt, 2018b), *Netwerk24*
- “Time to punch the crocodile in the face and learn to swim” (Burgess, 2018b), *Netwerk24*
- “Land summit instills new hope for agriculture in South Africa” (Serfontein, 2018), *News24/City Press*
- “Mabuza’s address on land expropriation without compensation receives a warm welcome from the agricultural sector” (Mitchley, 2018a), *News24*
- “A black farmer pleads with parliament to leave the constitution alone” (Pather, 2018), *Mail & Guardian*

The *City Press* opinion piece “We must debunk the myth that black people cannot farm” (Motsuenyane & Ntshabele, 2018) tells the two authors’ own family’s history, one being the successful 91-year-old farmer and agronomist Sam Motsuenyane. The text gives an overview of the centuries-long government suppression of successful black South African farmers, and ends with “The future of this country hinges on all of us working together to sort out the land issue” (Motsuenyane & Ntshabele, 2018). In this text We and Us arguably are anyone and everyone in support of cooperation, and ultimately a more nuanced farmer construct. In the text Them is everyone against a re-imagined farmer future, those benefiting from the status quo of conflict, certain politicians advancing their own agendas, the so-called Gucci farmers – land reform beneficiaries who are not actual farmers, corrupt government officials, certain white farmers who might be against expropriation, and radical organisations such as the EFF and AfriForum.

There was consensus in the mainstream media sampled about the positive collaborative nature of the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit. Texts linking to the summit are overwhelmingly positive from various role players’ perspectives, for example the text “Land reform’s Codesa moment” (Du Preez, 2018a) on *News24*, with the heading equating the event to as important as the negotiation forum which was instrumental in South Africa’s transition to democracy, namely “the Convention for a Democratic South Africa” [Codesa] (SA History Online, 2019a). Another example, by *News24/City Press*, is “Land: How black and white can make it work” (Fengu, 2018), which describes the summit as a “historic event that came at the right time”.

Du Plessis (2018), on *News24*, argues that on the one hand “there is a great deal of uncertainty and that generates a great amount of fear”, but on the other hand that South Africans should “honour the magic moments of the imperfect process”, such as the “inclusive” Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit, as well as the land reform hearings where “Parliament had gone to the people” and ordinary people with many different and opposing views could have their voices heard, without “civil war”. In addition, Du Plessis (2018) argues South Africans has “a margin of control over the process” and that “we can rather make choices that will facilitate the weaving of the social fabric of our society” and ultimately re-imagine our future.

The *City Press* and *Rapport* Land Indaba was reported on as “Land summit instills new hope for agriculture in SA” (Serfontein, 2018) by *News24/City Press*. In this text, Serfontein (2018) also refers to the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit which he described as “one of the most important landmarks in the history of agriculture” in South Africa. According to Serfontein (2018), media coverage of the summit included “success stories that nobody was aware of, which says a lot about

the nature of our society”. Serfontein (2018) believes “we have to realise that every success story, no matter how small, makes a massive difference”.

Certain post-summit texts, such as two *TimesLIVE* articles, included government perspectives only. Other post-summit texts, such as “Government ‘WANTS to collaborate with commercial farmers’” (Van der Walt, 2018b) on *Netwerk24* and “Mabuza’s address on land expropriation without compensation receives a warm welcome from the agricultural sector” (Mitchley, 2018a) on *News24*, included many different voices and opinions.

A direct result of the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit reflected in the sample is the telling of stories from the farmers’ perspective. Certain texts only included the voices of organised agriculture speaking on behalf of certain farmers. However, certain texts (for example Child, 2018b, De Lange, 2018b, Fengu, 2018, Kgosana, 2018b) also include voices of farmers themselves, both black and white. These texts arguably bring change to the discourse and construct a more nuanced farmer portrayal.

Another example is *The Citizen* text “Farmer shows ubuntu, gives land to his workers” (Kgosana, 2018b) which includes a positive portrayal of all farmers. The author quotes the farmers directly, telling their own stories, thus also reflecting a metaphor by farmer Colin Forbes, “walk in the other guy’s shoes”, in the text. Intertextually this metaphor also forms a strong contrast to the “Gucci shoes” (Kgosana, 2018b) of certain land reform beneficiaries. All the actors in the text are portrayed with nuances, with everyone given a turn to speak in a story about dignity, interaction and “our shared humanity” (Kgosana, 2018b). However, only the farmer is included visually, which arguably stills portrays his superior importance. In addition, the use of possessive pronouns in the text to portray the relation between the farmer and the farm workers, such as “his workers” (Kgosana, 2018b), also in the heading, arguably recalls a colonial farmer construct (“the workers on his farm” would have been a more neutral construct). This construct of power over other are however only found in indirect quotes by the author and not in direct quotes of the farmer. The farmer uses arguably more objective descriptions such as “the community”, “farm workers” (no possessive form), “your neighbour” and even colloquial references such as “a few guys” and “the other guy”, that are arguably acceptable in the wider context of this article.

Another example in reaction to the summit is the *Netwerk24/Rapport* text “We will make this thing work, says farmer” (De Lange, 2018b) about success stories of collaboration, telling stories from the perspectives of both established and new farmers’ through direct quotes. One story is about the already-mentioned Forbes’ project (Kgosana, 2018b) in which new farmers say Forbes vouched for

them when no one else wanted to help them financially; the direct translation from Afrikaans being “he stood father for us for loans” (De Lange, 2018b), which can be interpreted as a positive countering of patriarchic colonial discourse. However, again there are references such as “their workers” (De Lange, 2018b) in the reporters’ account, although not in direct quotations of farmers, who use more sensitive references such as “the community” and “people of the area” (De Lange, 2018b). Visually the story features the successful black, female farmer Rita Andreas through a photo, and her story is also told first, giving prominence to a voice twice marginalised through gender and race.

A third post-summit example is the *News24/City Press* text, “Land: how black and white can make it work” (Fengu, 2018), which arguably positions all farmers positively. The inclusion of a photo portraying a confident black farmer with the caption “Leonard Muvhungu and his beloved cows, which he leases to white commercial dairy farmers in the Eastern Cape” (Fengu, 2018) contributes to a more nuanced, less colonial construct. In this text, Muvhungu, who is employed as a farm manager/worker, is not represented as owned by anyone (in comparison to his/their workers references). A strong counter stereotype discourse becomes visible through the inclusion of a quote by Muvhungu, saying about black people: “We can do it. We are the same. We have common sense like everyone. We have brains. There are tools that we can use. What more do we want?” (Fengu, 2018). In addition, the text also features a voice countering the stereotypical colonial farmer, in indirect quotes of Muvhungu, such as that “he had never experienced racism while working with whites”. In addition, even though some black farmers view him as a “traitor who spies for the white man”, Muvhungu denies patriarchal bias in declaring that the involvement of white people “is not about leadership and control. That’s an insult” (Fengu, 2018).

Sampled texts on *Netwerk24* (Burgess, 2018a, Burgess, 2018b) about the *Landbouweekblad* and Komga Farmers’ Association’s land summit at Haga Haga in the Eastern Cape provided positive narratives about collaboration and are arguably nuanced through the inclusion of a variety of voices and visual representation. An example is the inclusion of the marginalised voice of Elias Makhanya, “who acknowledged that it was the first time he was given the opportunity to be part of a conversation that is so important to the country. The stories convinced him that ‘there is a road ahead for everyone’” (Burgess, 2018a). Makhanya was quoted as: “What I experienced today, totally changed my opinion about farmers, Afrikaners and white people in general” (Burgess, 2018a). Omri van Zyl of Agri SA described the discourse moment as “It is time for us to jump in the river, punch the crocodile in its face and cross the river” (Burgess, 2018b).

5.3.3 Power relations – when farmers are important

This section contains an analysis of groups, power relations, and conflicts represented in the content of the publications sampled. The analysis generated the following sub-categories: farmers and government/politicians, and farmers and the media.

5.3.3.1 Farmers and government/politicians

A subtext in the debate on land reform is politicians' voices confirming that farmers are valuable and that collaboration between farmers and government is important, essentially because of food security (Hosken, 2018a, Ndaba, 2018, Vallie, 2018).

In an *IOL* report on a government summit on farm killings and stock theft the (then) director-general of the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Mike Mlengana, assured food producing farmers that their farms will not be expropriated without compensation (Ndaba, 2018). Although they are portrayed positively, they are spoken on behalf of, for example “we must work together” (Ndaba, 2018), as their own voice is omitted in this text. Steve Galane, spokesperson for the department, also refer to certain farmers whose attitude was changed because of the summit; however only one side of the story is told as this view is not confirmed through farmers' voices (Ndaba, 2018).

In a *TimesLIVE* report on a summit by the Department of Agriculture, “Farmers, it's not about race and we're listening” (Hosken, 2018a), the headline gives prominence to the negation of a preconceived notion of bias from government's point of view, and arguably also supports the discourse of the dispel of fear. Semantically, it construes a negative interpretation of an insinuation that it in fact might be about race. It is unfortunate that there is seemingly a typing error in the text, namely of “farming assassinations” instead of “farming associations”, especially given the sensitive context of the farm murder debate.

The above texts by *TimesLIVE* and *IOL* are examples of Mlengana being construed as an important voice in agriculture in South Africa. From a Foucaultian point of view, it is important to take note of wider power struggles, such as that on the same day this story was published, 18 June 2018, Mlengana was suspended as DG by the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. He was previously also suspended, in July 2017 (Jordan & Hyman, 2018). After his second suspension, Mlengana again resumed his post as DG after the appointment of a new minister, but resigned in July 2020 “due to his ongoing concerns with the management and operations of the department” (Phillips, 2020).

5.3.3.2 Farmers and the media

Certain South African mainstream and agricultural news media have made use of the land reform debate as an opportunity for expanding their role as facilitators of dialogue, for example the involvement of *Landbouweekblad*, *Rapport* and *City Press* (as referred to in 5.3.2.2), as well as *Business Report*, in the hosting of events about land in South Africa.

In a report on *IOL* (Vallie, 2018) about an address by ANC Treasurer General Paul Mashatile at an event hosted by Independent Newspapers' publication *Business Report*, both farmers and the government are portrayed positively. The heading "Paul Mashatile – There will be no land grabs!" (Vallie, 2018) is sensational with an arguably inappropriate exclamation mark. In the conclusion, the reference to (land) grabs is repeated intertextually as "The future is bright in South Africa, so let's grab it", and although positive, it reflects on a real threat for many people. No mention is made of government's failure or slow rate of land reform; and, by giving a platform to Mashatile, not only in the article, but also hosting the event with Mashatile as a speaker, arguably alludes to Independent Media's support of government policy. Not only Mashatile is featured in the main photo, but also *Business Report* editor Adri Senekal de Wet, constructing a power relation and a possible ideological agenda, as well as arguably a commercial benefit through government support.

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the well-known media personality Ivor Price has become an important voice in the national farmer discourse through his involvement with media platforms that specifically focus on farmers, such as the television programmes *Landbouweekliks* and *Vir die liefde van die land*. Price also turned his newfound appreciation of farmers into a commercial enterprise by establishing the digital media publication *Food for Mzansi*. Price's public support of commercial farmers is significant given his background and his influential status. In a *Netwerk24* interview with Price, his negative view of politicians in relation to farmers becomes evident when Price describes his visits to white commercial farms as arriving as "a coloured person in an environment where I am not supposed to be welcome – this is what the politicians make me believe" (La Vita, 2018a). On *Netwerk24* this profile article is not listed under profiles but under agriculture only, understandably so as *Netwerk24*'s agricultural leg *Landbou.com* is affiliated to the *Landbouweekliks* TV show, of which Price was the presenter during this time. Arguably, this alludes to a commercial approach, strengthening *Netwerk24*'s agricultural offer to both readers and advertisers, but this selection arguably means that this pro-farmer and anti-stereotype voice is seen as only relevant to *Netwerk24*'s agricultural audience, and not important enough for its wider audience.

5.3.4 Us and Them – a new Us?

Othering is part and parcel of farmer identity in South Africa, as explained in the preceding chapters. In a text on *Netwerk24*, political analyst Theo Venter calls for farmers to break down the borders of Us and Them to become Us only (Van der Walt, 2018a). In addition, this CDA aims to examine how farmers are positioned in relation to other role players in popular discourses. The analysis generated the following subcategories: who is a farmer (and who is not); farmers and government; and a new farmer construct.

5.3.4.1 Who is a farmer (and who is not)

The Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit is branded as “farmers’ Woodstock moment” for its “courageous enjoyment” by Schoeman (2018). In this *Netwerk24* text, farmers (Us) are perceived to include all farmers at the summit, as the writer refers to 600 farmers, and to 600 people in the audience. The farmers (Us) are thus pertinently positioned as challenging the stereotypical colonial construct, in comparison to descriptions in other texts sampled, namely *SowetanLIVE*: “more than 350 farmers” (by Child, 2018a), *The Citizen*: “hundreds of farm owners” (Kgosana, 2018a), *News24*: “black and white farmers” (Du Preez, 2018a), *TimesLIVE*: “farmers” (TimesLIVE, 2018) and *Netwerk24/Rapport*: “many white and black farmers” (Pelser, 2018a).

Schoeman (2018) quotes the main organiser of the summit, Chris Burgess, editor of *Landbouweekblad*, as that the purpose of the summit was for people to “listen *and* have a conversation” (original emphasis), “breaking bread” in a Biblical sense. In addition, Us in the context of this text can thus be interpreted as part of an even bigger Us which include farmers as well as other agricultural role players, such as Burgess and other media, as well as government, everyone wanting to collaborate. Therefore, Them would thus be anyone not willing to join this conversation on an equal level. Leading farmer Nick Serfontein (Us), also a member of President Ramphosa’s (Us) land reform committee, calls the summit “one of the biggest landmarks in the history of South African agriculture” (Schoeman, 2018). Schoeman (2018) describes “the vibe” at the summit as “more Kleinjan Gasekoma (Us) than Donald Trump” (Them). Gasekoma, who was a speaker at the summit, in 2015 became the first black farmer ever to be named “commercial cattle farmer of the year” (Schoeman, 2018). In addition to government role players (Us) and the summit organisers (Us), several farmers (Us) are quoted in the article, including Serfontein, Gasekoma, Cois Harman, Ralph Swart, Ellouise Volmink and Christof Cloete. The story is told from the farmers’ perspective, also visible in visual representation.

5.3.4.2 Farmers and government

The *Netwerk24/Rapport* text “Land: NOW everyone is talking” (Pelser, 2018a) was published as a front-page story in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport*. I therefore decided to also look at the print version which includes supporting embellishments such as pull-out quotes. The heading refers to an eventful week in the land reform arena, including the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit. The subheading “farmers and government want to work together around farms and economy – but mistrust runs deep” immediately alludes to an Us (farmers) and Them (government) discourse. The emphasis on “now” in the heading implies a turning point, which supports my argument that expropriation without compensation could be viewed as a critical discourse moment (Carvalho, 2008:166). The text refers to the summit as a historical moment for “bringing together white and black commercial farmers to talk about solutions during time of high tension” (Pelser, 2018a). This claim is also confirmed by other sampled texts describing the summit as a “historical” (Fengu, 2018) “landmark” (Schoeman, 2018), both by government and farmer role players. The attendance by Deputy President David Mabuza is described as a big step, as well as that “the atmosphere has changed” and that “there now is a line of communication” (De Lange, 2018c).

Although reference is made to “black agricultural unions AFASA and NAFU” (Pelser, 2018a), none of their representatives’ voices are heard in the article. Only white farmers (Us) (the economic elite) are represented in the text through the voices of white agricultural union representatives; and the government (Them) (the political elite) through the voices of politicians. One could argue that this alludes to *Rapport’s* support for Us being mainly white farmers and that the black farmer voice is omitted by stereotypical default rather than on purpose. Three pull-out quotes are used prominently, two (conflicting) white farmer voices and one government voice. The latter reflects a colonial construct, arguably portraying the farmer as a ‘Boer’ with a capital B, namely “All you need is the faith your ancestors had with the Groot Trek – Mike Mlengana, Director-General of Agriculture” (Pelser, 2018a). The “everyone” implied in the heading are thus not represented in this text as the black farmer voice is still marginalised. One could argue that this represents a discourse where it is acceptable for the white farmer and government to decide the future of the black farmer. This discourse of marginalisation is arguably also represented in the main photo of the front-page article, which only features Dan Kriek, President of Agri SA, sharing a table with Deputy President David Mabuza and the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, with their names included in the caption. Other summit attendees are visible in the background, of which at least one is recognisable as a black farmer, Ettiene van Wyk, a speaker at the summit.

The sentence “especially black commercial farmers during the land summit described in detail their frustration with the government (read report on p. 6)” (Pelser, 2018a) supports my argument of marginalisation – these farmers are portrayed as noteworthy, but not important enough to be included. One could argue that the black farmer voice, which is omitted in the front-page story, is only included on page six as *Rapport* values the black farmer voice as of less importance to their readers. A reference to this article is also included through a prominent teaser right in the middle of the text; however, as it reads “Stop giving land to the lazy, say farmers – 6” (Pelser, 2018a), farmers could be interpreted (admittedly rather stereotypically) as white farmers. In the actual article on page 6, three black farmers and a white farmer involved in the development of new black commercial farmers are quoted (De Lange & Pelser, 2018).

The title “Land: NOW everyone is talking” (Pelser, 2018a) arguably also suggests urgency because of international pressure. A controversial tweet by Donald Trump about the alleged confiscation of farms of white South African farmers and farm murders, and a statement by the American department of foreign affairs “that expropriation without compensation can send South Africa in the wrong direction” (Pelser, 2018a) is referred to prominently in the first part of the text, in the third paragraph. Reference is also made to a meeting scheduled for the next day between diplomats, the European Union and South African agricultural leaders. The American reaction is attributed to AfriForum “making alarm in America about land expropriation and farm murders”, but only included in the last paragraphs of the text, backgrounded to the second page of the newspaper.

In an editorial comment on the second page of the same edition, “*Rapport* says: “Land: Reason to be cautiously optimistic” (*Rapport*, 2018), an interpretation is given of the title’s view towards expropriation. In the concluding paragraph, the importance of “sustained international pressure to stop full-scale land expropriation without compensation” (*Rapport*, 2018) as well as collaboration between all parties to find solutions for land reform are highlighted. *Rapport* makes it clear that although they think “radical outsiders” (*Rapport*, 2018) have a right to their leftist or rightist views, *Rapport* does not agree with them. This clearly positions AfriForum as outsiders, even though they arguably construct themselves as representing farmers, although without a mandate. One might thus argue *Rapport* views Trump’s tweet as less of a discursive moment than the summit, effectively Us saving the day, which situates the farmer as the hero as the intended reading position.

In a *SowetanLIVE* text by Modjadji (2018b), a similar main photo of the same table at the summit is used as in the *Netwerk24/Rapport* text, but more people are included in the photo and a Reserved sign is now visible. As in the *Netwerk24/Rapport* photo, a black farmer and speaker at the summit, Ettiene van Wyk, is visible at a table behind them, but because of the angle of the photo he is situated as part

of the main table. The caption, however, refers only to the three ANC leaders (Us) at the table, also omitting the names of the two AgriSA leaders (white farmers) (Them) at the same table. In this visual portrayal, all farmers are thus arguably Othered as less important than government.

In addition, in the text, reference is made to farmers' concerns at the summit, but only collectively, with no farmer or farmer representatives' voices included. Instead, the author chose to speak to a former apartheid minister "on the sidelines of the summit" (Modjadji, 2018b) and to quote him indirectly about his views on white farmers, namely "that there was a disconnect between the government and farmers" and that land expropriation without compensation "has stirred emotions among farmers". The publication in this text through both visual and textual portrayal position the farmer as the Other and thus arguably contributes to an even greater distance between Us and Them.

In the same text, although describing Deputy President Mabuza's speech as "to allay farmers' fears", the quotation chosen from the speech may allude to the opposite. The first part of the quote refers to the ANC and government not wanting "social fractures and racial polarisation", but the second part "our farmers must continue to invest in their farms and increase production while extending a hand of collaboration with government" could through the choice of pronouns and modal verbs be interpreted as portraying a power struggle within which government claims ownership, even if only rhetorically, both of farmers (and who they are), their production and their transformative efforts. On the other hand, this could be viewed as a counter colonial farmer construct – and that farmers on their farms could in fact be more nuanced than just land thieves and have an important role to play together with government to find solutions for land reform.

In the text "Mabuza's address on land expropriation without compensation receives a warm welcome from the agricultural sector" on *News24* (Mitchley, 2018a), the positive title is in stark contrast with the negative use of a metaphor in the text, namely "Mabuza addressed several white elephants in the room" (Mitchley, 2018a), which is confusing two different sayings. "An elephant in the room" is "an obvious problem or difficult situation that people do not want to talk about" (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*, 2020a), which arguably would have been an appropriate description. A white elephant is "something that has cost a lot of money but has no useful purpose" (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*, 2020b), which is usually used singular and in a disapproving way. The neologism-combination, whether a mistake or on purpose, arguably reflects the author's negative attitude towards white farmers in attendance and could be experienced as Othering them.

5.3.4.3 A new farmer construct

The *Netwerk24/Rapport* text “Skoppensboer” (Botha, 2018) could be read as a mere personal retelling of attending the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit, but also as a rather nostalgic representation of the farmer (Us) as both at the end of an old era and the start of a new one. The title “Skoppensboer” has an ambiguous meaning. Firstly, it could be a Jack of spades card, the highest trump card in a certain card game, also symbolising death (Odendaal, 2019). Secondly, it could be used figuratively, as in the dictionary example “polarisation, suspicion, playing the race card and intolerance is the *skoppensboer* (Jack of spades) in the hand of certain politicians when the election game starts” (Skoppensboer, 2019). Thirdly, it might be an intertextual reference to the poem *Skoppensboer* by the renowned poet Eugène N. Marais, in which “threatening negatives” (Odendaal, 2019) are construed as the death. However, some readers might not make the connection with the poem nor with the card. The title might thus be interpreted literally, with “skop” meaning “kick”, which could imply either a kicking farmer (calling up the “brutal farmer” stereotype), or a farmer being kicked (as victim, for example through farm attacks or literally through marginalisation).

The title could thus arguably describe the death of the farmer as a colonial construct, in the text represented by the author’s father, an 80-year-old white farmer, and ultimately symbolising the end of an era and the loss of power. The article is introduced with a text teaser, “Forget about all the doomsayers. Being a farmer is not about giving up or giving away. It is about passing on” (Botha, 2018). These words could be an intertextual reference to a speech with similar words by the well-known poet and activist Breyten Breytenbach, and a friend of Botha, in 2007 at the opening of the Breytenbach Centre (Breytenbach Centre, 2020). Only in the concluding part of this text, one learns that the indirectly quoted words are attributed to Botha’s father’s impression of the summit, fitting, as part of the story is constructed as offering insight into an old white farmer’s (Us) mind. Her father, in reaction to the summit, also proclaimed he would give shares to four people working for him (Us) and motivate his farmer son (Us) to think big again.

The text alludes to the origin of the name Bela-Bela, the venue for the land summit, as in the Northern Sotho indigenous language meaning “boiling water”. The author makes a figurative connection to the irony of the farmers (Us) finding themselves in hot water, but then goes on to metaphorically call the summit “the *Kookwater* summit”, alluding to an ambiguous meaning of the Afrikaans word as being “hot” in the figurative sense of being excellent. Ambiguity is visible throughout the text, constructed as a power struggle between different role players, debates and ideologies. Although the text is positive about cooperation between farmers (Us), the author is critical of government’s (Them) performance. Botha (2018) describes the event attendees as “people with open faces”; however,

Deputy President David Mabuza, she says, “decided on his own to visit and descends from a helicopter to open the proceedings with reassuring words”. Through questions such as “is this stately straw” and “is Piet Retief again in Dingaans’ camp” she insinuates that although he may appear as a saviour descending from heaven, his intentions might be less sanctified. However, later in the text she also includes Mabuza’s plea “Farmers, we need you”.

With reference to the “threatening negatives” of the *Skoppensboer* poem metaphor, the texts include many a reference to threats that the farmer (Us) must deal with, from rural decline, incompetence and corruption; a son who farms unsafely close to town, his own approaching death and the imminent death of the family farm. The text contrasts the author’s melancholic memories of the romanticised rural pastoral with her father’s critical descriptions of government inefficiency. These problems are also juxtaposed with a reference to “in front of me sit six black farmers with tears running down their cheeks” in reaction to a story (also used as a pull-out quote in the text) told at the summit of an elderly female farmer that used her profit to buy a bed as “in her whole life ... [she] has never slept on a bed” (Botha, 2018), which is a powerful image of what inequality really practically means, and also again a haunting reference to threatening negatives of frailty and loss. Another juxtaposition is a quote from her father about “Us boeremense ... We were never colonialists like the English” (Botha, 2018) which arguably strengthens a discourse of the denial of blame, fault or guilt, for example as not stealing any land, contrasted to on the other hand her father’s praise for Dan Kriek, the CEO of Agri SA, who is also quoted in the same text as saying “we must admit that colonialism, the 1913 Land Tenure Act, and Apartheid had a devastating effect on our citizens” (Botha, 2018).

The author (Botha, 2018) says about the summit, arguably also about the recent wider South African discourse, that “slowly a new refrain sounded” ... “sounds of dreams that flower. Of trust that grows lush. Of stereotyped opinions that are smothered in the bud.” Botha (2018) quotes as evidence farmers such as Ettiene van Wyk, as well as Patrick Sekwalakwatla who says the empowerment elite should get their “Gucci shoes out of our feedlots”, and Harry Gxotiwe as saying “I occupied land illegally. And you know what? Agri SA helped me”.

This text also tells the story of “Firi, the little black brother who grew up in our house” (Botha, 2018), who is a farmer too, also attending the summit. The impersonal pronoun, the, and not “my little black brother” arguably denotes a certain distance, however, Botha’s father addresses Firi as “my son” (Botha, 2018). According to Botha, Firi’s father was a migrant worker on her family’s farm, but passed away before he could see or even dream that Firi would become a land owner and farmer. Firi has a story to tell, for example, of the long wait for his small piece of land, because the “reform official wanted to collect a fee and Firi did not have money to pay the bribe” as well as that “his dog

is apparently a racist and does not like white people”. One could argue that Botha missed an opportunity to have Firi’s own voice heard by quoting him, or even by co-writing this story with him, also including his views about the summit. Instead, he arguably stays on the periphery, marginalised as a victim who needs help from the political elite (Them) and/or economic elite (Us). Firi is however portrayed very visibly in two photos, one with Botha’s brother’s children and another with Botha wearing sunglasses, in which Firi could be construed as being important enough to appear with them, but not important enough to tell his story himself.

Botha is the award-winning author of *False River*, “a fictionalised memoir presented as a novel that is written into the tradition of the *plaasroman*” [farm novel] (Visser, 2014:iii). *False River* is described as portraying a “continuing mythologization of the Afrikaner’s relationship to the land, its ownership and consequent contentions of belonging” (Visser, 2014:59), arguably true for the text in the sample too. In addition, the text might be experienced as similar to *False River* in having a “narrative voice that lacks critical engagement with its post-apartheid context” (Visser, 2014:60). Arguably, the text also, in the tradition of *False River* “reveals the ongoing and at times fraught negotiation of identity through its uncomfortably contradictory affirmation of Afrikaner nostalgia” (Visser, 2014:60). However, I would argue that through continuous juxtaposition the author succeeds in portraying the colonial farmer’s loss of power as an opportunity to create a new farmer identity (Us). The text ends with another reference to death, the author quoting words from her brother’s grave (the firstborn who traditionally would have inherited the farm). In another Biblical reference, however, the author challenges the accepted presupposition by asking whether of “faith, hope, love” (Botha, 2018), hope could not be the greatest. One could thus argue that thinking differently about farmers is the actual trump card for this author, and that “Skoppensboer” symbolises a trump card of who the farmer in South Africa really is, namely not a colonial construct, but rather all farmers (Us) as part of the yearning for a new farmer construct through cooperation, as well as a choice to focus on the positive rather than the negative. Death is thus constructed as something that is not necessarily negative as it could be the birth of something better.

5.3.5 The presupposed and the implied – farmers and stereotypes

In land reform discourses, many assumptions, stereotypes, and pretexts influence the portrayal of farmers. This section spells out the recurrent themes, topics, and strategies in debates and opinions expressed in the sampled texts. Through the use of Van Dijk’s model of CDA, six themes – black success; a ‘boer’ is a farmer; land thieves; the land owner farmer stereotype; the “brutal farmer” stereotype; and the language of generalisation – were identified as sub-categories.

5.3.5.1 Black success

From the sampled texts, I identified a recurring theme of black farmers' success stories, for example by *TimesLIVE* (Ngubane, 2018), *News24/City Press* (Fengu, 2018), and specifically about black women farmers' successes, for example by *TimesLIVE* (Meyer, 2018), *SowetanLIVE* (Nyanda, 2018; Ledwaba, 2018a), and *Mail & Guardian* (Collison, 2018; Ledwaba, 2018b). These texts allow the marginalised farmer an opportunity to tell stories from their perspective and thus arguably challenge the stereotypical view that black people cannot farm, which is an ideological frame that might have motivated the text producers, both the author and/or the publication.

In a *Mail & Guardian* text (Collison, 2018), female farmer voices are foregrounded in a report about women who made submissions at national hearings on expropriation. The journalist includes detailed interviews with five women, not only at hearings, but also visiting a communal farm, with photos also included. The female farmer is portrayed as racialised (black), however also as nuanced in the sense of their views, some in support of and some against expropriation. Some of the women construct themselves as second generation farmers and as challenging stereotypes "that women are not able to farm" (Collison, 2018).

In a second *Mail & Guardian* text also related to the public hearings, "Black farmers fall in the furrows" (Ledwaba, 2018b), alliteration and idiom work together to draw attention to an arguably racialised headline. The text however offers a nuanced view as it includes four detailed interviews with black farmers, as well as with the late Vuyo Mahlati, (then) President of the African Farmers Association of South Africa (AFASA). In addition, visual representation is nuanced too with photos included of both a female and a male farmer on their respective farms, one on tribal trust land and the other a land reform beneficiary. The main discourse strand in this text is the dispel of "the racial stereotype that blacks don't have the necessary skills for the tough world of commercial farming and that each hectare of land given to them was as good as ruined" (Ledwaba, 2018b), a result the author argues was part of the objectives of the public hearings too, alluding to a possible critical discourse moment. The secondary discourse strand is that a lack of capital, insufficient government support, title deeds, access to bank loans, and the resultant outdated equipment are the real reasons farmers fail even if given land.

A subtheme of farmers who became self-reliant without government help also emerged, such as a text by *TimesLIVE* (Meyer, 2018) about farmer Beverley-Anne Joubert, who sourced funding for her agricultural studies from a veteran farmer, and who collaborates with private sector "to bring pride and dignity back" into her community. On the one hand, this text through its mere existence visibly

challenges the stereotypical view that black people cannot farm. On the other hand, the use of the description “one of South Africa’s first female black farmers” (Meyer, 2018) to describe someone who only started farming in the 21st century, reflects a new stereotype, as it continues to deny the existence of many previous black female farmers in South Africa who were not recognised according to the colonial farmer construct. Publications should be cautious of such historically controversial claims and rather be specific to sensitively reflect meanings; for example, with reference to Joubert’s BSc qualification in viticulture and oenology, the wording “one of South Africa’s first qualified female black farmers” might be a more correct claim to make.

A *SowetanLIVE* text by Nyanda (2018) includes an anecdote from 24-year-old farmer Mbalentle Sipengane who took extreme measures to counter the colonial farmer concept – when she experienced prejudice from a supplier, she “pretended to be a male Afrikaner”, wrote an Afrikaans letter and hired an Afrikaans man to represent her. In another *TimesLIVE* text, a “young black aspirant commercial farmer named Lonwabo Jwili” (Ngubane, 2018), who farms part-time and bought his land by bonding his house, describes himself as “halfway into becoming a sustainable farmer”.

In addition to telling success stories of how they overcame challenges, black farmers are heard in the sample as voices as against expropriation, for example by *Mail & Guardian* (Collison, 2018, Pather, 2018), as airing their frustration with insufficient government support, for example by *Mail & Guardian* (Ledwaba, 2018b), and about problems to buy leased land by *TimesLIVE* (Maughan, 2018) and *News24* (Ngwenya, 2018). Another voice saying “land ownership ... would not help black farmers unless they are also supported with resources” is heard in a third *Mail & Guardian* text about the farmer Ramodisa Monoasia who made a submission to Parliament to not change the constitution (Pather, 2018). The farmer is quoted indirectly as feeling “useless” and that his land is “useless” too, and that the disadvantage of insufficient support to compete with commercial farmers causes the stereotype, “as black farmers, we become as if we cannot perform. As if we cannot work” (Pather, 2018). A nuanced portrayal is achieved as another voice reiterates this, namely the economic elite, by the mouth of Grain SA Chief Executive Jannie de Villiers, an organisation Monoasia is a beneficiary of.

Two texts by *TimesLIVE* (Maughan, 2018) and *News24* (Ngwenya, 2018) give voice to 77-year-old farmer David Rakgase who brought a case against government for refusing to sell land to him that he has been renting for 27 years. He is believed to be the first farmer to take this measure and the case should become a landmark for similar situations. The farmer and his family, in comparison to the arguably corrupt and incompetent government, is portrayed as “experienced” (Maughan, 2018), hardworking and rational. A summary of the family’s agricultural qualifications represents them as

more qualified than many commercial farmers (Ngwenya, 2018). I did not find any reporting on Rakgase's story by *Netwerk24*, *The Citizen* and *IOL* during 2018, only from 2019. There was an article on Rakgase by *SowetanLIVE* in 2017, but it is no longer available. A search on the *Mail & Guardian* website only found a scant reference to Rakgase's imminent case in an editorial. In May 2020, "after a six-year legal battle, government agreed to transfer full ownership of the farm to Rakgase at the original price agreed in 2002" (*Food for Mzansi*, 2020b), but in November 2020, however, Rakgase, now 80 years old, found out that a portion of his farm is targeted for expropriation.

5.3.5.2 A 'boer' is a farmer

The Citizen (2018) published an English translation of an original (Afrikaans) open letter by farmer Nick Serfontein to President Cyril Ramphosa, which went viral on social media. The editor describes Serfontein as one of "many farmers who come nowhere near" the stereotypical portrayal as "conservative, recalcitrant and selfish racist who want to hog the land at the expense of the black majority" (*The Citizen*, 2018). The heading "White farmer writes plea to Ramaphosa to let him help black farmers" (*The Citizen*, 2018) might however be experienced as patronising, whereas the gist of the letter is not about an individual farmer, Serfontein, dishing out help as might be assumed. In the introduction the letter is explained more appropriately as an "appeal to empower and allow existing farmers who want to help with transformation to do so ... They feel alienated, they want to help but do not know how" (*The Citizen*, 2018). The translation and publication of this letter arguably is a good effort from a publication going the extra mile to overcome language division in the country and challenges the portrayal of the farmer as colonial construct, especially of the Afrikaans 'boer'.

The text by *News24/City Press*, "Boogeying with the boere: What farmers think about land expropriation", is an account by Peter (2018) of her visit to the Nampo agricultural show in Bothaville in the Free State province. The word 'boere' in the heading of this English text creates a certain stereotypical expectation, equating farmers with the colonial construct; however, the unusual action of boogeying (partying) especially together with a second action of thinking about land expropriation creates an arguably more nuanced expectation. The text is introduced as a story on farmers' views on land expropriation, farm murders as genocide and apartheid as a crime against humanity, arguably continuing a colonial construct of who these farmers are because of the text's heading. The next paragraphs arguably strengthen this expectation as Peter (2018) puts into words her personal account of the often-felt feelings of difference between groups in South Africa:

It was a chilly Friday ... but it wasn't just the weather that was cold. I, as a Xhosa woman, had to enter ubuhlanti (a

kraal), where women are culturally forbidden while the men are there. But this kraal was extra intimidating: full of Afrikaans-speaking white men. To fit in with the attendees I ate pannekoek and tried to dance the Sokkie. It didn't help.

However, already in the above representation, Peter (2018) moves towards a more nuanced portrayal by including an Africanised metaphor to put African-colonial cultural differences into perspective. In the text, Peter (2018) includes all kinds of farmers in her five interviews to paint a nuanced portrayal of farmers' views by giving a voice to various farmers with different views. In addition, the positive portrayal of different farmers is boosted in visual representation through photos of these farmers, by a photographer of the publication, even a selfie of the author together with a farmer.

5.3.5.3 Land thieves

The metaphor of (white land owning) farmers as land thieves is used overtly as well as covertly in the sampled texts, but is also challenged in certain texts.

In an opinion piece by *IOL/Cape Argus*, “Land issue is rooted in history of dispossession”, features and op-ed editor Dougie Oakes (2018) declares solidarity with “the forgotten people”, “the real victims of expropriation with compensation”, namely “millions of African and coloured people in rural and urban areas” forcibly removed by the previous government. In the introductory paragraphs of this text colonial “land theft” is linked to “Boers” in a subsequent quote, which arguably serves as a continuation of a colonial farmer construct.

A *Netwerk24/Rapport* text with the sensational title “Which white people stole the land?” (Pelser, 2018b) is a rhetorical question highlighting what the author calls a “polarising and oversimplified narrative” driven especially by the “racial rhetoric of reckless politicians”. Pelsler argues today's white land owners did not steal their land. He says, “black South Africans still have reason to feel wronged about how land was taken from themselves or their predecessors. And even if I did not steal any land, I understand when they say the white people stole their land as government of the day was of and for white people.” The heading is juxtaposed with a pull-out quote claiming that “Many white farmers are the unsung heroes of true empowerment” (Pelsler, 2018b), arguably confirming where the publication stands with regards to the portrayal of farmers.

The text “Make land reforms priority to right wrongs of the past” (Paterson, 2018) by *IOL/ Cape Argus* highlights the importance of intertextual visual representation. The text is a well-balanced report about a land reform event which includes many reasonable voices, saying land reform should right past wrongs through negotiation and comprehensive plans and should “prevent incendiary racial

divisions” (Paterson, 2018). However, the main photo in this text arguably does the exact opposite through racialised representation. The photo, taken during Zimbabwean land occupation in 2000, pictures a white woman embracing two small children, with a big dog standing next to her, and, just outside a closed gate in a fence, fourteen black “war veterans” (Paterson, 2018) standing with sticks in their hands. Given the context of the sometimes-violent land occupations that took place in Zimbabwe, this arguably is a harrowing image. It tells a different story than the text and may create a different impression of what the “right” of “wrongs” are for those just scan-reading. It is a sensational use of a photo that is 17 years old, which in this context arguably is a continuation of the farmer as a colonial construct, whereas the text has a different focus on a future, more nuanced South African farmer. The image reflects division, exclusion, apartheid, privilege, land thieves and fear (both through the arguably dangerous veterans and the arguably dangerous dog) and could create the impression that the author and/or publication approves of what happened in Zimbabwe precisely to “right wrongs of the past” (Paterson, 2018). Although this text is an opinion piece with a disclaimer saying views expressed are not necessarily those of Independent Media, its inclusion on the website with this photo (whether chosen by the author or by the editor) arguably constructs an outsider image of the white farmer as a colonial construct and the original land thief.

5.3.5.4 The land owner stereotype

In the *Sowetan* text (Modjadji, 2018a) “ANC vows to stop farm evictions”, the discourse could be understood arguably as contributing to either more or less uncertainty and fear, depending on whose side you look. Both farm owners (Them) and farm workers (Us) have some legitimate concerns with government’s handling of the issue of farm evictions. In the text, the terms “farm dwellers” and “farm workers” are used interchangeably to create a hegemony, although they arguably are not the same. There are “farm workers who have been booted out of farms ... by farm owners” who “would have lived all their lives at the farms and have their loved ones buried there” (Modjadji, 2018a), but there arguably also are many farm dwellers (who are not necessarily farm workers too) in South Africa who occupy land illegally. Except for this one negative reference to farm owners, there are no other reference to farmers in the story – only to land owners, but by hegemonic implication they are constructed as the same. The story makes use of an unnamed source to position the “ANC’s renewed focus on farm dwellers”, as a counter strategy for the EFF that has “become the leader on issues of land redistribution” in lieu of the ANC’s “failure to implement its own policies” (Modjadji, 2018a). Thus, in this text, farm workers are arguably constructed as victims, farmers as land thieves and inhumane, the government as failing in land reform, the ANC as all talk and no action, and the EFF as pro-actively populist in order to attract votes.

5.3.5.5 The “brutal farmer” stereotype

In Chapter Two, reference was included to Corrigan’s (2018) criticism of the “brutal farmer” stereotype. In this study’s CDA sample, the case of the so-called “Tarlton incident” (Corrigan, 2018) arguably serves as an example of this stereotypical “brutal farmer” misrepresentation. Various mainstream news media reported on this alleged murder of a farm worker by a farmer, which turned out to be a false allegation as he was in fact shot by a security guard.

At the time of writing, however, the *Mail & Guardian* still has an article on their website with the incorrect title “Worker shot dead by farm owner for allegedly stealing tractor” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2018). According to this website, this article has been shared at least 1 000 times. Since 29 October 2019, when I first accessed this article written by Pijoo (2018), changes have been made to the article; however, not to the incorrect title nor to the incorrect content. Only the writer’s name has been removed and changed to “Staff Reporter”, with a broken link to a page that does not exist. Pijoo also was one of the authors of the *News24* reports, which leaves the question to why the *Mail & Guardian* report was not changed after the *News24* report was, even more so as at the bottom of the text the updated *Media24* article is in fact given as the source of this *Mail & Guardian* article. The main photo of the article was also changed. It originally was a partially blurred-out photo of the deceased at the murder scene with the caption “The farmer fled the scene, but handed himself over to the police later on Saturday (Image shared on Twitter)” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2018). It was changed to a photo of two unnamed, black people at a table in a kitchen – which creates the impression that they presumably are family of the deceased – however, the caption still reads “The farmer fled the scene”. This text thus arguably is a deliberate misinformation and continued misrepresentation of a farmer by the *Mail & Guardian*.

The *Mail & Guardian* in fact also published an article about the incorrect portrayal, titled “Agri SA lambasts police for inaccurate reporting on farm worker murder” (Nyoka, 2018b), originally published on *News24* (Nyoka, 2018a). This article is based on a media release “Inaccurate reporting damages farmers’ image” (Agri SA, 2018a), in which both the police and the media are criticised. However, in both Nyoka’s (2018a, 2018b) texts, the police’s wrongdoing is foregrounded in the heading and first paragraph, and the media’s co-responsibility backgrounded and only mentioned in the third paragraph. According to Agri SA, the portrayal of farmers as the perpetrator in the media “often lead to incorrect perceptions about farmers in society” (Nyoka, 2018a). In addition, Agri SA (2018a) says the media’s unnecessary distribution of images (such as the photo of the deceased on the tractor sourced from Twitter) imposed on the dignity of the deceased. Agri SA (2018a) called directly on the media to ensure correct representation of farmers. In the *Mail & Guardian* version of

the article by Nyoko (2018b) a supposedly incorrect photo is included of an unnamed, smiling black woman in a room, creating the impression that she presumably is family of the deceased; however, the incorrect caption reads “Illogical: Egypt will probably import 12-million tonnes of wheat this year – from the United States”.

I argue that the *Mail & Guardian*'s reportage shows disregard for a South African murder victim, for farm workers, for farmers, as well as for the deceased farm worker's family. One could argue the *Mail & Guardian*'s portrayal of the farmer in the Tarlton incident perpetuates a colonial farmer discourse, as in their disdain for the farmer they allude to the publication's continued racist stereotypical understanding of all white farmers as brutal. In addition, their undignified portrayal of the farm worker and his legacy can also be interpreted as a continuation of the colonial and racist inferiority of the worker. The deceased is also not named in the texts, which could be because his name was not released yet, however the inclusion of photos of apparent family members leaves a question about this.

A *News24* text, “UPDATE: Farm worker shot dead near Krugersdorp for allegedly stealing tractor” (Pijoo, Pitt & De Villiers, 2018), is designated as an “update” in the heading, the original version supposedly referred to a farmer as the perpetrator, however, the updated title makes no reference to the actor (security guard/farmer). This elision is thus backgrounded in the text where perpetrator is now identified as “a security official, and not a farm owner”, attributing the incorrect allegation to a police spokesperson. The comment that “the killing of farm workers painted an ‘ugly picture of racialised violence’” by the Gauteng MEC, which was a comment in reaction to the first report of the perpetrator allegedly being a white farmer, is still included. Keeping this quote is a presupposition that the MEC would have said the same about the farm worker being killed by a (in this case white) security guard; however, this alludes to supporting a polarised group opinion which is usually associated with the “brutal farmer” stereotype.

Both the *Mail & Guardian* (2018) text and a *SowetanLIVE* (2018) text at the time of writing still include a Facebook post of Sediko Rakolote, which refers to the murder by the “farm owner” as well as that the death of the “black farm worker” “might not be in the mainstream media because of obvious reasons” The *SowetanLIVE* (2018) text correctly refers to the perpetrator as a security official in their report but includes no reference to the earlier incorrect allegation of the perpetrator as a farmer. In addition, they include a screen shot of the mentioned Facebook post with the full text as well as a photo portraying the alleged farmer perpetrator in front of a tractor, with an additional caption: “A Facebook post in which the two photos were posted has been shared more than 8,000 times, and claims the shooter to be a farmer and that the driver had taken the tractor to buy lunch

when he was accosted and murdered” (*SowetanLIVE*, 2018). This graphic image, often the first thing a person would look at on a page, still implies that a farm owner was the perpetrator, as no context is given in the caption about the false accusation, thus in fact further spreading misinformation about a farmer. Only in a separate article on *SowetanLIVE* (Cowan, 2018), published a day later, and to which no link is provided, is the context given of the false allegation, and mentioned that “the farm owner was not present at any stage”.

The Citizen makes the situation clear with a headline “It’s not farmer who killed man” (Jadoo, 2018); however, this negative framing still has sensational value and still foregrounds the brutal farm stereotype. Nowhere in this article it is stated that the farmer was not present during the murder, it is only stated that the farmer was not the one that “pulled the trigger” (Jadoo, 2018), what is unsaid and even insinuated here is that the security guard might have acted upon instruction of the farmer. In addition, in the conclusive paragraphs the “brutal farmer” is again foregrounded when a connection is made to “racially motivated killings of farm employees by their employers” (Jadoo, 2018), a statement which is then attributed to the EFF and connected to “access to land for workers” (Jadoo, 2018) as well as to an unrelated incident of an alleged murder of a farm worker by a farmer. Such a statement implies that although in this case the farm worker was not killed by a farmer, it often is the case. This texts also include the inflammatory statement “Outraged social media users said, ‘black people were being killed by white farmers’ and the incident has to be racially motivated” (Jadoo, 2018). The question arises whether it would not be sufficient for the media to say that there was confusion around the incident on social media, rather than including examples of misinformation, especially since the confusion around the incident was not due to a social media incident.

It is disconcerting that in this digital day and age whereby the push of a button one can adapt text and images to change misinformation to correct misportrayal, no one can be bothered, also that there is no checking mechanism to prevent this from happening again in future, and that ultimately this cannot necessarily be preempted by code of conducts, although hopefully fixed by an ombudsman.

5.3.5.6 The language of generalisation

An opinion piece by Jonathan Jansen (2018) on *TimesLIVE* serves as an example of how discourse may arguably further the race divide, even in an article arguably meant to prevent further conflict and division. The title “A good dose of humility from white people will advance the land debate” (Jansen, 2018) is not problematic nor untrue; however, from the article it becomes clear that Jansen is making broad generalisations based on his personal experience of specific events and persons. The arguably patronising terms of address through positive politeness, “Dear white brothers and sisters”, arguably

addressing all white South Africans, substantiates the generality of this text, in comparison to references to specific events and social media pages where “[I] noticed incredible stress, tension and anger on the part of white citizens”, and “I noticed that white friends and strangers had no idea about how to talk about land reform without getting angry” (Jansen, 2018).

In the subheading “But relax, you will not lose your land”, the modal “but” implies conditionality and can be perceived as an instruction with a political rhetorical fear factor. The pronouns “you” and “your” arguably refer more to farmers than any other white South Africans. Fear is repeated intertextually, for example in the text’s main photo of a smiling protester waving a placard with the words “Danny give us our land or else”, as well as by Jansen’s (2018) reference that “some of the Afrikaans newspapers carry scary headlines on the subject to boost their sales”. The supposed irony implied in Jansen’s headlines and introduction thus arguably becomes rather sardonic; however, to the detriment of race relations in the farmer discourse, I would argue, as everyone will not understand Jansen’s attempt at playing devil’s advocate, and what he writes might be taken at face value.

Jansen (2018) seems to approve of “farmers who share their land with workers who lived on those properties for decades ... they provide equipment and training, and assist in raising capital”. However, he argues “by taking an active and considered role in land redistribution yourself, you prevent government from doing this, under pressure, and with predictably negative consequences for all” (Jansen, 2018). The pronouns arguably refer to white farmers, alluding to the power struggle between political and economic elites, in which white farmers should accept domination by government in both spheres and thus increasingly becoming the Other. In this text, the farmer is thus portrayed as a colonial construct, and the black farmer thus excluded except for being a government land reform dependent.

Jansen’s (2018) opinion piece alludes to many truths, such as his suggestions for people in the land reform debate to refrain from “silly arguments”, “acknowledge(d) the past”, “listen to the other side and ... respond in a responsible way”, and “not underestimate the hurt and humiliation that reside in the hearts of black people because of the dispossession of their land”. The conclusion can be perceived as condescending and generalising: “You would do well to remember that, before you fly off the handle at the next debate on land reform” (Jansen, 2018). Although I would argue this is a necessary message for certain people, it is not clear whether these pronouns refer to all white people or to all white farmers or to only those people who “fly off at the handle”, but its foregrounding in the last sentence ties it back to the introductory address to all white people. It can thus be argued that through generalisation throughout this text, Jansen becomes guilty of exactly what he accuses (all) white people of – of not being sensitive to the Other in the land issue and of all the nuances involved.

5.3.6 Selection and representation – farmers and polarised opinions

In the mainstream media texts sampled, there seem to be different perspectives dominating, with different elites' versions of events foregrounded. The analysis generated the following subcategories: Trumped: A triumph for transformation; from racist and radical to rational and representative; and from extremists to outsiders.

5.3.6.1 Trumped: A triumph for transformation

A consensus in the sample was how a tweet by (then) President Donald Trump about land expropriation and murders of white farmers was portrayed, arguably de-emphasising the polarised opinion by constructing a dominating view against Trump's tweet (and by default against AfriForum's "white genocide" campaign) as misinformation, such as in news texts by *Mail & Guardian* (Kekana, 2018), *IOL* (Mbanjwa, Feketha, Mkhwanazi & Chetty, 2018, Mahr, 2018), *News24* (Mitchley, 2018b), *The Citizen* (Citizen reporter, 2018), *SowetanLIVE* (Jordaan, 2018, AFP, 2018) and *Netwerk24* (Du Preez, 2018b; *News24*, AFP, 2018), as well as an opinion piece on *IOL* (Mapenzauswa, 2018).

Trump tweeted: "I have asked Secretary of State @SecPompeo to closely study the South Africa land and farm seizures and expropriations and the large scale killing of farmers. 'South African Government is now seizing land from white farmers.' @TuckerCarlson @FoxNews" (Kekana, 2018). According to *Mail & Guardian* (Kekana, 2018), the tweet was in reaction to "fake news" on the "conservative political commentator" Tucker Carlson's *Tonight Show* on the American television channel Fox News. The tweet was published during the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit, therefore it can be argued that the reaction to this tweet, in mainstream news as well as on social media, became part of the positivist transformation discourse which dominated at the land summit, as well as in mainstream media reportage about the summit. In addition, it can be argued that the tweet as a discursive event might even have assisted in supporting this discourse. In a *Netwerk24* text, Schoeman (2018) says "Trump's tweet flew like a *bosloerie* over the first day and could not get a seat" at the summit. A *bosloerie* is the Afrikaans name for a Narina Trogon, a forest bird that "mostly remains elusive" (Phantom Forest, 2019).

Most of the texts only included government voice in reaction, some also AfriForum, but most did not include the farmer voice, in fact few even included a reference to farmers except for the tweet itself. In a text by *IOL* (Mapenzauswa, 2018) farmers were mentioned in the introductory paragraphs as: "The inference, while stated, was that Big Brother would come calling to mete out justice on behalf of the farmers who have found ready allies in Trump's white nationalist base". This portrayal

positions white farmers negatively and as responsible for seeking Trump as an ally, whereas no reference is made to AfriForum's involvement here. AfriForum is only mentioned and quoted in the second half of article for claiming credit for the tweet, which can be viewed as backgrounding to portray farmers as the wrongdoers. The international news agency AFP was used as source in two of the sampled texts that did include farmers voices. According to the *Netwerk24* text "Trump with his long hair should leave us alone, farmers say" (*News24*, AFP, 2018), "farmers strongly expressed themselves against" Trump at the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit, a generalisation that creates the impression that all or most farmers reacted in this way as no definite description is included. The author then refers to "the people" that AFP's journalist interviewed, who apparently all had the same message, namely that Trump should stick to his own business. Only five comments from farmers are then included, which may be viewed as not necessarily representative of all farmers, as also indicated in criticism in the readers' comment section of this text. The *SowetanLIVE* text "Farmers 'furious' about Trump land reform tweet" (AFP, 2018) can also be criticized for generalisation with the first line "South African farmers have demanded Donald Trump 'leave us the hell alone'", which is then directly link to the personal view of one South African farmer, Preline Swart, who can be constructed as speaking on behalf of "the people" who "were furious about Trump – and I think they still are". The author then goes on to say, "many farmers at [the] land summit rejected Trump's intervention" and link this to a seemingly unrelated quote of farmer Tshilidzi Matshidzula, on expropriation. Three more farmers are quoted about Trump, bringing the total to five; therefore, this is the second example of a text that alludes that AFP might in fact only have spoken to arguably five farmers. Even with this knowledge, the text arguably portrays all South African farmers as in accordance with these five farmers, a representation that is far from nuanced, and, likewise to the *Netwerk24* text, also reflected in criticism in the readers' comment section.

5.3.6.2 From racist and radical to rational and representative

In a *News24* text, Du Toit (2018) argues Trump's tweet was also moved to the fringe through a "no-holds-barred dialogue about land reform" following the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit. Polarising voices were thus arguably marginalised through a stronger parallel discourse of collaboration and a more nuanced farmer portrayal. Du Toit (2018) portrays radical voices as diminishing role players in farmer discourses, saying "the future will be determined by those occupying the rational middle ground". As an example, the journalist claims AfriForum also "planted themselves firmly on the fringe" (Du Toit, 2018) with regards to land expropriation without compensation. Other texts in the mainstream news media sample also mostly constructs AfriForum as outsiders, for example by *Mail & Guardian* (Kekana, 2018, Smit, 2018).

Together with this discourse, an additional discourse is noteworthy, that of voices vetoing AfriForum's racial-motivation argument about farm attacks, for example "Farm murders at '20-year low'" (Mbanjwa, 2018) by *IOL*, arguing that farm murder and farm attack statistics are not reliable or representative and open to different interpretations. In another example by *TimesLIVE* (Hosken, 2018b), farmers are constructed as represented by default in the "white genocide" narrative, with information "skewed to suit certain narratives" and "propoganda ... damaging to all South Africans".

Two more texts negate Australia's Home Affairs Minister, Peter Dutton's diplomatic offer to white South African farmers, one a text by *TimesLIVE*, "Thanks Bruce, but it's not for Aus, say SA farmers" (Collins, 2018). In the heading, word play arguably detracts from the truth that "SA farmers" is a misnomer and/or misrepresentation as only one South African farmer's voice is included in the text. The subheading "... but a South African farmer, who has already emigrated there, says he has no regrets" and the rest of the text juxtaposes these two opposites for sensational effect. The South African farmer voice included is that of cattle farmer Dan Kriek, who also is the CEO of Agri SA, and arguably thus a voice that can speak on behalf of certain farmers in South Africa. In addition, the voice of the "CEO of lobby group *AfriForum*, Kallie Kriel" (Collins, 2018) is also included, arguably constructed as also representative of certain South African farmers, although without a mandate, and arguably confirming a colonial farmer construct.

In a second text by *Mail & Guardian* which is written by an Australian journalist (Piccini, 2018), white farmers are effectively constructed as a synonym for all white South Africans as a colonial construct within the "white genocide" debate. "Beleaguered" (Piccini, 2018) white farmers in aid of rescue arguably have become the face for white supremacy in South Africa and are also represented thus in the Australian mainstream media. Piccini (2018) argues this representation draws on the "long history of equating civilisation with a global white identity", which is dangerous "in a world where the global colour line has disappeared".

5.3.6.3 From extremists to outsiders

In the *Netwerk24* text "EFF, AfriForum birds of the same feather" (De Lange, 2018a) the metaphor "birds of the same feather" – an equation of similarity – is a hyperbole in the context of the very different ideologies that these two organisations represent. However, it becomes a very powerful use of language when one considers the often-polarising consequences of both these organisations' discourses, explained in the first sentence as "the EFF's and AfriForum's of this world seem to be dead set on dividing us even more". In the conclusion of the text, the author employs another metaphor in her wish "may the extremists be derailed to become the lunatic fringe" (De Lange,

2018a), namely the Afrikaans word “randeiers” (the lunatic fringe). Directly translated the word means “side eggs” which in addition to negating the extremists’ importance, also alludes to their fragility, and their porousness – for the world often sees through their plans of so-called good intentions, which rather are divisive strategies, often aimed at gathering more support for their own cause.

The author successfully compares the divisive antics of the EFF and AfriForum (portrayed negatively) with the collaborative and transformative efforts of South African farmers (portrayed positively). The purpose of the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* land summit reported on in this text, was of making visible all farmers and collaboration between them. In the introductory text, the argument “we should rather learn from the farmers” (De Lange, 2018a), and the idiomatic expression “a farmer makes a plan” – “despite the government” (De Lange, 2018a), arguably represent all South African farmers.

The subheading “Biggest historic false notion of our time” (De Lange, 2018a) is a quote of Ernst Roets of AfriForum referring to the notion “that white people stole land”. The author says, “not everyone interprets history in the same way, but one thing we may never do is to ignore the evils of the past”. The pronoun “we” could here arguably refer to Roets, AfriForum, the readers of the publication, or to all South Africans. However, the familial construction in her subsequent comment “we dare not underestimate the pain that colonialism and then apartheid inflicted on our black brothers and sisters” could be read as having a condescending tone and alludes to this text as arguably written from a position where the balance of power is constructed from a continued colonial construct, of us and them, of positioning the publications’ readers as white and pro-AfriForum, and to the power of the superior white farmer and economic elite. In the plea in her conclusive paragraph, “let the farmers of Bela-Bea be the kind of people who help change our world” (De Lange, 2018a), one can thus argue the intended reading position, even after all the negation of polarising voices, is that these saviours are the white farmers.

In another *Netwerk24* text (De Lange, 2018c) by the same author, “Farmers’ views on talks between government and agricultural groups”, farmers are portrayed arguably more nuanced through four white voices of which at least three are actively involved in land reform. In the text they are critical both of government and of supremacist organisations. Farmer Rauri Alcock describes AfriForum as marginalised in the land reform debate, but he also argues that “we need the Malemas and AfriForums to push issues as far as possible in order to find solutions in the middle” (De Lange, 2018c). Alcock is positive about better relations between farmers and government, however, alludes to a supposed hidden agenda, namely that government need to prevent farmers from forming into a laager. This

Afrikaans idiomatic expression “laertrek” relates to a colonial farmer construct that in the South African context refers to “(in the past) a group of wagons that were put into a circle in order to protect people in the middle” (Laager, 2020a), specifically associated with the Voortrekkers and ‘Boere’. The expression is also connected to the expression “a laager mentality (= one that is not willing to accept new ideas)” (Laager, 2020a) and has come to also mean “a defensive position, policy, or attitude” (Laager, 2020b). -

The latter meanings arguably also are evident in a *News24* text by Du Toit (2018) with the subheading “Circling of wagons”, which is repeated in the text referring to AfriForum as not interested in anything but “the further circling of wagons”. However, I also found an alternative proposal for meaning making through “laertrek” from none other than Dr Dirk Hermann, managing director of the South African trade union Solidarity (Hermann, 2015), of which AfriForum is the civil rights partner. Hermann (2015) says about the negative presentation of “laer” [laager] and “laertrek” [forming into a laager] that the “power of the laager” does not have to be constructed negatively, as it could also be positive, which I would argue might relate to a more nuanced and arguably more acceptable 21st century interpretation. Herman (2015) historically connects the word laager with words such as “each other, strong, overcome, move (“trek”), move, new, place, future, faith and vow”. His interpretation of laager includes the following (Herman, 2015): that “laagers do not isolate, it strengthens you in order to participate and reach your destiny”, “by connecting people to each other”, “our different laagers within which we live ... language, culture, work, church, neighbourhood”, “every laager has each own unique purpose, but all have one thing in common, and that is to protect you”. I would thus argue that from a less colonial perspective, the Agri SA and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit could be described as a positive “laertrek” of different role players from across the land reform spectrum, including white and black farmers as well as government representatives such as the Deputy President.

5.3.7 Summary

This chapter was structured around the CDA model of Van Dijk (1998b:61-63).

Firstly, the context of discourse was examined with two main discourses identified, namely of fear and collaboration. On the one hand, the focus of the coverage was the perceived threat of land expropriation to farmers, with negation of fear by government voices. On the other hand, a context of collaboration was visible in various land reform discourses which often challenged the stereotypical colonial farmer construct.

In the second section, the discussion turned to hegemonic struggles between farmers and other role players in the media and in society, alluding to a knowledge/power relationship both economic and political. A subtext in the debate on land reform is politicians' voices confirming that farmers are valuable and that collaboration between farmers and government is important. Another subtext is the value of farmers to the media as part of an economic elite (white farmers), and as close to the political elite (black farmers).

Thirdly, the investigation centered on Us and Them in the portrayal of farmers in the sampled media. The discussion focused on farmer identity, which draws on a legacy of conflicting discourses. Discourses of colonialism and apartheid arguably still marginalise African farmers as inferior. Post-apartheid/post-colonial discourse positions land reform as a prerequisite for creating successful black farmers, arguably Othering white farmers as land thieves. Thus, the traditional separation between white (Western) elite and black (African) elite is still visible in the sampled texts; however, a 21st century discourse of collaboration also challenges this positioning.

Fourthly, this chapter examined recurrent themes, topics, and strategies that developed in the portrayal of farmers in coverage of the land reform debate, and specifically expropriation without compensation. Six themes that were circulated by the publications in the sample are black success; a 'boer' is a farmer; land thieves; the land owner farmer stereotype; the "brutal farmer" stereotype; and the language of generalisation. Although certain texts still reflect stereotypical portrayal of farmers, the sample also include examples where publications re-imagined the farmer by questioning the presupposed and the implied.

The fifth and last stage of the presentation of findings investigated discursive strategies in the selection and representation of farmer coverage in the sampled media during that period. Both news articles, editorials and opinion pieces were considered, and certain discursive categories developed. Findings were that farmer discourse were often selected for prominent coverage when they included the following as discursive markers: political interests (such as when high-profile role players are involved) and polarised views (such as extremists aiming to portray farmers in a certain manner to further their own agendas).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The contribution of this exploratory study lies in its empirical knowledge of the under-researched field of the portrayal of the farmer in the commercial mainstream news media in South Africa. Furthermore, this study contributed to more insight into the critical discourse moment of land expropriation without compensation. This study also specifically explored how the South African commercial mainstream news media discursively construct farmers as stereotyped and/or nuanced. As indicated and predicted by the theoretical discussion, views about Others might slowly be changing after more than 20 years of democracy in South Africa. Different, countering discourses were identified from a CDA of the sampled texts. In the next section, I give a short overview of the different chapters of this study. This final chapter concludes with a discussion of the research findings of this study.

6.2 Chapter summaries

6.2.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

In the first chapter, the rationale for this exploratory study was explained as establishing the importance of a nuanced portrayal of farmers in the commercial mainstream news media in South Africa, a society characterised by inequality, polarisation and conflict. Attention was paid to the origin of the colonial farmer construct as well as the possibility of changes in discourse to reflect a new 21st century African farmer construct. Criticism of the dualist nature of established farmer identities in South Africa was discussed. Furthermore, the results of a preliminary literature review were included to illustrate the need for this exploratory study to fulfil a gap in current media research in South Africa. The aim of the study was set out as exploring how the farmer is portrayed in certain prominent commercial South African mainstream news publications over a 12 month-period in 2018. This chapter also introduced the theoretical framework and methodology for this study. In addition, the chapter set out the structure for this thesis.

6.2.2 Chapter 2: Literature review

In the second chapter, I reviewed the available literature on farmer portrayal in the media. Gaps in existing research on farmer portrayal in the South African media were identified to show that this exploratory study will make a valuable contribution to the academic field. The review of literature showed that no study has focused on the farmer in the commercial South African mainstream news

media specifically, however, certain studies on new media portrayal of land reform touched on farmer portrayal. I reflected on how findings of similar studies wider afield, in Africa as well as in other countries, could provide parallels for this study. The literature review revealed that farmers worldwide are often portrayed without rather than with nuances. Furthermore, certain South African journalists and commentators argue that stereotypical portrayal of farmers are still prevalent in the country's media. This chapter also discussed current issues related to the commercial mainstream news media in South Africa as well as of relevant roles of the media in a nascent democracy.

6.2.3 Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

In the third chapter, I described the theoretical framework which includes the discourse theory of CDA, informed by the Foucaultian concept of representation as discourse, plus normative theories about the ideal role of the media. This chapter also discussed the concept of the critical discourse moment which refers to eventful periods that influence knowledge about a topic. The integration of these different theoretical approaches and concepts direct and contextualise the findings of this study. Foucault viewed discourse as producing knowledge through language. By combining all these theoretical concepts, I was thus able to describe how the commercial mainstream South African news media in its portrayal of the farmer use language to uphold certain ideologies. In other words, the power of discourse to construct certain knowledge about farmers was investigated, as well as the possible consequences of this portrayal.

6.2.4 Chapter 4: Methodology

In the fourth chapter I explained the methodology of this study in detail, namely CDA based on the model of Van Dijk. This study relied on a qualitative empirical research design to analyse the portrayal of the farmer in a sample from the commercial mainstream South African news media. I gathered data through purposive sampling of texts to understand how the farmer is portrayed in a broad section of the mainstream news media. I further explained how I employed the model of Van Dijk as a basis in which Fairclough's linguistic tools were integrated, with Van Dijk's five steps to organise the findings according to themes that emerged from the CDA.

6.2.5 Chapter 5: Analysis and discussion

The fifth chapter contains the CDA of samples from prominent commercial mainstream South African news media publications. This chapter presented the findings of this exploratory study according to the five-step model of Van Dijk. These five steps were used to identify main discourses in the selected publications. These were discourses and counter-discourses of fear and collaboration;

the importance of farmers to government, politicians and the media; Othering of farmers; a colonial versus an African farmer construct; farmers and stereotypes; and farmers and polarised opinions.

In the next section the findings discussed in the previous chapter are used to address the research questions of this study.

6.3 Research findings and discussion

This chapter is guided by the one general and four specific research questions formulated in Chapter One. The four specific research questions will be addressed first and in their original numeric order. The general research question will follow in conclusion.

As was outlined in Chapter four and five, a total sample of 72 texts are included in the analysis (19 from *Netwerk24* and related outlets, 12 from *News24* and related outlets, 10 from *TimesLive* and/or *Sunday Times*, 9 from *IOL* and related outlets, 8 from *SowetanLIVE* and/or *Sowetan*, 9 from *Mail & Guardian*, 6 from *The Citizen*).

The first specific research question answered by this study is:

6.3.1 How is the discourse about farmers reflected in these publications through the use of language?

In the specific discourses analysed in my sample, the farmer is voiced through both positive and negative use of language, in indirect references as well as direct quotations. In the discourse of fear (and the dispel of fear), farmers, especially white land-owning farmers, are portrayed as Outsiders, who only has outsider knowledge constructed on biased assumptions. Therefore, language of power is employed in the portrayal of farmers, for example with certain words in headings, such as pacified, reassured, urged and told. The dispel of fear discourse is a power/knowledge game in Foucaultian terms, where the powerful political elite can be seen as being more knowledgeable and using the media as a propaganda platform to legitimately control Others. The continuous dispel of fear of retribution against white farmers gives more power to the political elite in relation to the economic elite. This discourse continues to position the white farmer as a colonial construct and the reason for the current abject situation of land inequality. Farmers are portrayed as powerless victims that need reassurance and to be convinced of a certain status quo, namely no retribution to rectify land inequality and privilege; however, within this counter-discourse, farmers arguably still are stigmatised as land thieves. Through the contradiction of the implied status quo, farmers are still positioned as being wrong in their understanding of land reform, and thus as Outsiders.

In the counter-discourse of collaboration, a variety of voices corroborate a more nuanced farmer construction, and thus the language employed in the portrayal of farmers challenges the colonial farmer construct, for example the use of words and phrases like debunking the myth, showing ubuntu, will/can make it work, magic, Codesa moment, Woodstock moment, help, learn to, new hope, wants to collaborate, warm welcome, and working together. Journalists should however be cautious of how the continuance of a colonial farmer construct can keep racial divisions alive – even within collaboration discourse. One such example is writing from an elitist perspective and the use of language with relational value, including ignorant descriptions of certain people from a white perspective, such as when referring to farm workers with possessive pronouns, which calls up colonial constructs of ownership and slavery. In the sample, especially the *Agri SA* and *Landbouweekblad* Land Summit brought about nuanced representation of a variety of farmers, with different farmers’ perspectives included in reportage. However, for example in *The Citizen* and *Netwerk24/Rapport*, journalists used such possessive pronouns in indirect quotes, although farmers themselves did not.

One could argue that the different polarised opinions in the discourse on farmers and land reform reflects a balance of forces – on the one hand an attempt by certain groups to hold onto power, hegemony, and even stereotypical portrayal of farmers, on the other hand, the debate promotes dialogue about different perceptions. The colonial and apartheid constructed dichotomy of South African farmer identity is embedded in society. The word farmer in the media seldom means to represent all South African farmers and is often used to represent only a certain group, depending on the different publications’ news selection and portrayal. Sometimes racial denominations are used, which is an unfortunate inheritance. Often either only commercial (as mostly white) or only small-scale (as mostly black) farmers are represented in text, or these voices are represented first, with the seemingly less important farmers’ views backgrounded. The use of the Afrikaans word ‘boer’ (and sometimes ‘Boer’) in English is problematic, but in the samples analysed, there seem to be a more nuanced understanding and portrayal of a ‘boer’ as being a farmer first.

The second specific research question answered by this study is:

6.3.2 How did these publications’ reporting reflect efforts to portray farmers with nuances?

The sample included several examples of profile articles focusing specifically on successful collaboration between different role players such as commercial and new farmers. The discourse of collaboration also sometimes comes to the fore as a counter-narrative in the discourse of fear, for example in texts where publications include farmers’ voices in addition to official government voices.

In the sampled texts, a new, more nuanced farmer of the 21st century construct comes to light, including the portrayal of successful black farmers and of cooperating white farmers. Black farmers are given a voice to tell their own stories of success, which counters their stereotypical representation as inferior to white farmers. White farmers' empowerment efforts out of their own doing are made visible, countering the stereotype of white farmers as against transformation. In this discourse, farmers, both black and white, can thus be constructed as challenging their assumed Othering.

An important effort by publications is where news articles about important events, such as the *Landbouweekblad* and Agri SA conference, were also followed up by profile articles about farmer attendees, especially black or new farmers, or farmers involved in collaborative empowerment projects. Some articles were written by journalists visiting farms and even included photographs taken by the publication, which in current newsroom environments with limited staff and more reliance on telephonic or email interviews shows considerable investment from the publications. These post-summit media texts also support the argument that if, and when, farmers participate in discourses, such as at high profile events, they will be included in media representation. Another example is a *Mail & Guardian* story that featured female farmer voices by interviewing five women, not only at public land hearings, but also making an effort to visit some of these women at a communal farm.

A concrete example of an effort to portray farmers with nuances, is the translation of an influential Afrikaans farmer's open letter to President Ramaphosa into English by *The Citizen*. Access due to language exclusivity often still is a hurdle in South Africa, however, this small act of translation not only makes this text accessible to more people, but also represents the power of language to build knowledge. In fact, if more Afrikaans stories about farmers could be translated into English, many more stereotypes about white farmers would arguably be challenged.

The inclusion of the voices of pro-farmer advocates also contribute to new perceptions about farmers. One example is Ivor Price – whether as the interviewee of a profile article or as the writer of an opinion article. His views specifically about white farmers arguably portray them as more nuanced. On *Netwerk24* this message reaches only a limited, Afrikaans audience, and not the wider South African society who arguably holds stereotypes about white farmers, and translation and inclusion on the company's English platforms might be worth considering. Price personally does have considerable wider influence, for example through his own social media as well as through his own English agricultural media platform created specifically in reaction to the gap in the media offering about farmers' stories.

Some of the publications sampled extend their role beyond publishing in fulfilling a normative role as facilitators of dialogue. In this case, *Rapport* and *City Press*, as well as *Business Report*, and *Netwerk24*'s sister publication *Landbouweekblad* (although in its capacity as agricultural media) hosted events about land (and thus farmers) in South Africa. I agree with farmer Nick Serfontein, who praised the *City Press* and *Rapport* Land Indaba for bringing out in the open stories that nobody was aware of, that “every success story, no matter how small, makes a massive difference”.

A nuanced representation calls for the inclusion of many different voices. Botha's *Netwerk24/Rapport* text *Skoppensboer* arguably succeeds in its message that although we cannot change the past, and even if we are still looking through different lenses back into the past, this is part of changing the future. New ways of doing and thinking should find platforms in our mainstream media, such as the *News24/City Press* account of Peter's visit to the Nampo agricultural show and the use of an Africanised metaphor of a “kraal”, for example rather than a colonial metaphor of a “laer”.

However, the findings of this exploratory study call for more cross-cultural, -language and -race trailblazers, such as Peter visiting Nampo, *The Citizen* translating Serfontein and *Rapport* and *City Press* creating platforms for telling stories of success, in order to break down the same-old mould that we have been (and still are) indoctrinated with through politics as well as through the media.

The third specific research question answered by this study is:

6.3.3 What are these publications' contributions to a certain perspective of farmers?

My CDA illustrated that there is no one collective of farmers portrayed in the sample, since different narratives construct farmers differently. What becomes clear from this sample, is that sometimes a diversity of farmers is recognised; however, in certain texts farmers are still dominantly represented as a colonial construct. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the general truth such discourse tries to reestablish, is preconceived Us and Them notions of superiority (white/commercial/successful/land-owning/big-farm-size farmers) and inferiority (African/black/small-holder/subsistence/women/emerging farmers).

Furthermore, publications often contribute to a certain perspective by positioning all farmers of a certain group as being and thinking alike. When Trump tweeted about perceived threats against white South African farmers, the mainstream media in this sample quickly jumped on the bandwagon, mostly leading with the political elite voice in reaction, many omitting the farmer voice, thus in essence constructing farmers as in accordance with Trump's accusations. Furthermore, *IOL* positioned farmers instead of AfriForum as “having found allies in Trump's white nationalist base”. Where

farmers' comments on this controversial issue were included, headings such as "... say SA farmers" by *Netwerk24* and "Farmers furious about ..." by *SowetanLIVE* may be perceived as constructing the views of one or two or five as representative of all farmers of a certain group. Another example is "Farmers' views on ..." by *TimesLive* with farmers commenting on emigration to Australia. In addition, publications should consider how their reportage of the views of organisations such as AfriForum, or Agri SA, who admittedly has a mandate to represent their members, can be constructed as representative of all farmers, or of all farmers of a certain group. Another example is a *SowetanLIVE* text on the *Landbouweekblad* and Agri SA Land Summit which omitted the farmer's voice, rather seeking sensation by speaking to a former apartheid minister to give his views, arguably on behalf of farmers. Such dominant meanings represent the unequal nature of South Africa's farming societies and their access to media representation, as well as the power of the elite's voices, resulting in farmers being represented by voices by whom they would not necessarily want to be represented by.

I also analysed coverage of the Tarlton incident in which a farmer was erroneously portrayed as a murderer, which arguably support Corrigan's (2018) point about a "brutal farmer" stereotype. In the sample, I found examples of corrections, but within these corrected texts, I still found certain misinformation, for example by *Mail & Guardian* and *SowetanLIVE*, namely screenshots of social media posts blaming the farmer as the murderer. In one text by *Mail & Guardian* the wrongful portrayal of a farmer as the murderer was not corrected at all, although other changes have been made to the text, and even though *Mail & Guardian* also published another article about the incorrect portrayal. This is a good example of how a publication can spread misinformation and create a certain perspective about farmers as this article has been viewed more than 1 000 times since it was published in 2018.

Colonial cultural constructions continue to characterise uneven racialised power relations, even in the light of examples of farmers' actual experiences of new relations that counter these stereotypical narratives. Stories about black success in farming seems to become more visible in certain publications, also specifically about black women farmers. However, claims about being one of the first black South African farmers (especially if the reason for such a claim is not specifically defined), reflects a new stereotype still echoing the colonial farmer construct.

Although alternative discourses about farmers are still emerging, they can be powerful in countering stereotypes and breaking down barriers for less hegemonic representation. Superficial reference to the existing stereotypes, or hardship of farmers because of stereotypes serve no purpose in media reportage. Journalists should reflect more with in-depth questioning of stereotypes, such as in an

example by *Mail & Guardian* addressing the complexity of the land reform situation by contrasting the stereotype that blacks cannot farm with the real reasons for challenges facing black farmers, namely lack of government support, capital and bank loans, title deeds and efficient equipment.

The fourth and last specific research question answered by this study is:

6.3.4 How do the discourses about farmers in these publications relate to the ideological position of these publications?

The mainstream media has often been criticised for being overly critical of government, with accusations of perpetuating continued stereotypes of black incompetence whilst still giving preferential treatment to white economic elite. From a neo-liberal ideological perspective, all the publications except for the *Mail & Guardian* are owned by big business which may allude to institutional bias in closer scrutiny of government than of private corporations in South African society. In the sample, none of the publications were overtly extremely critical of government, however, there arguably is an unsaid truth being established about government's failure to support black farmers with the correct measures.

Although the publications in the sample may not overtly portray the farmer as a colonial construct, media is often covertly still influenced by the heritage of our race-based society when it comes to news values. On the one hand, *IOL* might view nothing wrong in constructing a discourse of fear by foregrounding a harrowing old photo of Zimbabwean land occupation. On the other hand, *Netwerk24/Rapport* might justify arguing that today's white land owners did not steal their land by putting all blame on the apartheid government and in the same breath positioning (many) white farmers as the unsung heroes of true empowerment. From a Foucaultian view, these discourses are aimed at retention of power, namely, to guide, determine, socialise and subject what audiences know, think and do (Fourie, 1996:167). Therefore, it is important, also for journalists and editors in a young democracy in a polarised society, to understand that "we need to analyse the way we think about things and determine whether our thinking is not the result of other people's power struggles and power games" (Fourie, 1996:167). One also might consider that stories about successful collaboration between black and white farmers do not necessarily support the dominant political discourse in which victimised people should take their rightly place in agriculture through black empowerment – however, all of these stories still need to be told in order to portray farmers with nuances.

I can, therefore, conclude that the news and realities created by these publications were directly influenced by their ideological positioning, even if using subtle devices to achieve this.

Finally, the general research question must therefore be answered to meet the general research objective of this study (as set out in Chapter 1):

6.3.5 What do the discourses about farmers in the selected commercial mainstream South African news media news publications reveal about the publications' role in constructing a certain representation of farmers for their readers?

The sampled media is playing an important role in making visible alternative farmer identities and a more nuanced representation of farmers than the stereotypical colonial construct. The counter-narrative of collaboration found in the sampled publications show examples of recontextualisation, for example through black farmer success and of collaboration with other role players such as white commercial farmers. This positioning indeed changes the portrayal of farmers from a colonial construct and hold a promising re-imagining of who the farmer in South Africa is.

However, the farmer is also still discursively reinforced as an Other in certain of the sampled South African commercial mainstream news media publications, in different measures for different groupings of farmers, such as (mostly white) commercial farmers and (mostly black) smaller-scale farmers. Members of the media should thus employ critical self-examination to prevent judgmental assumptions and preempt bias. The voices of the powerful political elite are often given preference, however, certain media are not critical enough of government's plans and policies with regards to support for farmers, and not asking the right questions about the failure of implementation of land reform programmes.

Especially because of commercialisation and audience fragmentation, one will only ever get the fuller picture of the farmer in the 21st century if one reads a variety of South African commercial mainstream news media. Unfortunately, this also means that the positive stories of a changing farmer identity construction that the media choose to tell often only reach the already converted on either side of the spectrum.

I grew up on a farm as one of a farmer's six children, yet no-one ever considered even one of us five daughters becoming, or even wanting to become, a farmer – and the media images of farmers we grew up with did not represent us as future farmers either. For South Africans to make sense of our changing society, and for our children who will have to adapt and collaborate even more to survive in a divided, shallow and opinionated world, a more nuanced media representation is required, one that is less stereotypical, less based on assumptions, and more on learning and new meaning-making.

In conclusion, I argue this exploratory study provides insight into the portrayal of the 21st century farmer through a critical understanding of language, text and discourse in the commercial South African mainstream news media, and that ultimately the findings of this exploratory study argue for telling more, and more nuanced, stories of a greater diversity of South African farmers as essential in shaping a less polarised 21st century South African society.

In the next and final section, I give recommendations for future studies based on limitations of my study as well as opportunities identified.

6.4 Recommendations

While a limited sample was used for this exploratory study, I believe its research focus creates an opportunity for further debate and arguably a framework for further academic study in an under-researched field.

My recommendation for further studies would firstly include interviews with journalists and editors, as well as with individual farmers, about their perceptions of farmer discourse and representation in the South African mainstream news media.

Secondly, whilst this exploratory study only presents a snapshot in time of an on-going phenomenon, I would argue that there is a need for a study of the portrayal of the farmer in the South African mainstream news media over a longer time period, and to include more discourse moments, for example the portrayal of farmers in the farm murder and farm attacks debate.

Thirdly, it would be interesting to do a comparative study of portrayal of farmers by the South African mainstream news media versus their portrayal by South African lifestyle, documentary and agricultural media that recently started embracing a vast diversity of content about farmers, such as the television programmes *Megaboere*, *Nisboere*, *Landbouweekliks*, *African Farming*, *Ons Boere*, *ons Inspirasie*, *Boer maak 'n plan*, and *Vir die Liefde van die Land*.

References

- Abdullah, M.J. 2017. South Africa's farm murder statistics are more political than accurate. Mail & Guardian, 30 October 2017. Available at <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-10-30-south-africas-farm-murder-statistics-are-more-political-than-accurate> [Accessed 18 October 2019].
- AfriForum, 2020. Who is AfriForum? AfriForum homepage. Available at: www.afriforum.co.za/en [Accessed 25 July 2020].
- Agri SA. 2018a. Inaccurate reporting damages farmers' image. Agri SA homepage. 9 January 2018. Available at <https://www.agrisa.co.za/news/ebf35d4e3af85fa6a6f30bc2a249f96b> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Agri SA. 2018b. The Agri SA 2018 transformation report. Agri SA homepage. Available at: <https://www.agrisa.co.za/projects> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Andrew, M., Ainslie, A., and Shackleton, C., 2003. Land use and livelihoods. Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape. Available at: http://repository.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10566/4416/elarsa_op_8_land_use_and_livelihoods.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Arena Holdings. 2020a. *Sowetan*. Arena Holdings homepage, 2020. Available at: <http://adroom.arena.africa/advertise/readership/newspapers/sowetan/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Arena Holdings. 2020b. *Sunday Times*. Arena Holdings homepage, 2020. Available at: <http://adroom.arena.africa/advertise/readership/newspapers/sunday-times/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Babbie, 2008. *The basics of social research*. Belmont: Thomson Higher Education.
- Babbie, E. 2010. *The practice of social research*. 12th edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Barker, C. & Jane, E.A. 2016. *Cultural studies: theory and practice*. 5th edition. London: SAGE.
- Bernstein, A. Ed. 2005. *Land reform in South Africa: A 21st century perspective*. Johannesburg: The Centre for Development and Enterprise. Available at: <https://www.cde.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Land-reform-in-South-Africa-A-21st-century-perspective-CDE-Report.pdf> [Accessed 30 May 2019].

- Beukes, A. 2012. 'The greasy pole of dehumanisation': Language and violence in South Africa. *Language Matters* 43(2):128-145.
- Binswanger, H.P. & Deininger, K. 1993. South African land policy: The legacy of history and current options, *World Development* 21(9):1451-1475. Available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/0305750X9390127U> [Accessed 20 January 2021].
- Bock, B.B. & Shortall, S. Eds. 2006. *Rural gender relations: Issues and case studies*. Cambridge: CABI Publishing.
- Bornman, E. 2013. Citizenship, nation-building and diversity: What is the role of the media in all this? *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 39(4):432-448.
- Botma, G.J. 2018. Loerbroer en biegbank: Die uitwysing van rassisme deur die postapartheid-Suid-Afrikaanse media [Spyfly and confessional: The fight against racism in the post-apartheid South African media]. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 58(4-1):736-751.
- Botma, G.J. 2016. "Koos sê...": 'n Kritiese diskoersanalise van die metakapitaal van 'n invloedryke Suid-Afrikaanse mediamagnaat ["Koos says...": A critical discourse analysis of the meta-capital of a prominent South African media tycoon]. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 56(1):153-168.
- Botma, G.J. 2013. Die spies van die nasie: die demokratiese rol van die populêre media en avant-garde kuns in Suid-Afrika. [The spear of the nation: the democratic role of the popular media and avant-garde art in South Africa.] *LitNet Akademies*. 26 March 2013. Available at: <https://www.litnet.co.za/die-spies-van-die-nasie-die-demokratiese-rol-van-die-populre-media-en-avant-garde-kuns-in/> [Accessed 24 August 2019].
- Botma, G.J. 2011. Going back to the crossroads: Visions of a democratic media future at the dawn of the new South Africa. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32(2):75-89.
- Botma, G.J. 2010. Lightning strikes twice: The 2007 Rugby World Cup and memories of a South African rainbow nation, *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 36(1):1-19.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. & Newbold, C. 2003. *Approaches to media: A reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Brand South Africa, 2013. A guide to South African newspapers. Brand South Africa homepage, 12 September 2013. Available at <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/media-facts/a-guide-to-south-african-newspapers> [Accessed 20 January 2020].
- Breytenbach Centre. 2020. Ons geskiedenis [Our history]. Breytenbach Sentrum homepage. Available at <https://breytenbachsentrum.co.za/oor-ons/ons-geskiedenis/> [Accessed 20 January 2020].
- Brümmer, W. 2019a. Geagte president, dís hoekom plaasmoorde tel. [Dear president, this is why farm murders count.] Netwerk24 [online], 26 June 2019. Available at <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/geagte-president-dis-hoekom-jy-nie-durf-swyg-nie-20190625> [Accessed 24 August 2019]
- Brümmer, W. 2019b. Dís hoekom die president nie durf swyg nie. [That is why the president does not dare to keep silent.] *Die Burger By*, 29 June 2019:6-7.
- Brümmer, W. 2019c. “Nie alle boere in sonde ontvang en gebore nie” [“Not all farmers are received and born in sin”]. *Netwerk24*. 26 November 2019. Available at <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/nie-alle-boere-in-sonde-ontvang-en-gebore-nie-20191124> [Accessed 24 January 2020].
- Bundy, C. 1972. The emergence and decline of a South African peasantry. *African Affairs*, 71(285): 369-388.
- Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy (BFAP), 2018. [BFAP Baseline Agricultural Outlook 2018-2027](#). BFAP Reports 279774. Available at <http://www.bfap.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/BFAPBaseline-2018.pdf> [Accessed 24 August 2019]
- Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. 2003. Cross-cultural representation of ‘otherness’ in media discourse. In: Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. Eds. *Critical discourse analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp.272-296.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*. 2020a. “An elephant in the room” [Online]. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/an-elephant-in-the-room> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus*. 2020b. “White elephant” [Online]. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/white-elephant> [Accessed 31 October 2020].

- Caquot-Baggett, M. & Annes, A. 2016. L'Amour est dans le pré: cultural representations and social hierarchisation of farmers. *Modern & Contemporary France* 24(1): 35-50.
- Carpentier, N., Lie, R. and Servaes, J. 2003. Community media: Muting the democratic media discourse? *Continuum* 17(1):52-68.
- Cartmell II, D.D., Dyer, J.E. & Birkenholz, R.J. 2001. Attitudes of Arkansas daily newspaper editors toward agriculture. Paper presented at the 28th Annual National Agricultural Education Research Conference, New Orleans, LA, 12 December 2001. Pp.445-458.
- Carvalho, A. 2008. Media(ted) discourse and society. *Journalism Studies* 9(2):161-177.
- Chari, T. 2013. Media framing of land reform in Zimbabwe. In: Moyo, S. & Chambati, W. Eds. *Beyond White Settler Capitalism: Zimbabwe's Agrarian Reform*. Dakar: CODESRIA Books. Pp.291-330.
- Chilton, P. 1987. Metaphor, euphemism, and the militarization of language. *Current Research on Peace and Violence* 10:7-19.
- Coetzee, A. 2000. 'n Hele os vir 'n ou broodmes. *Grond en die plaasnarratief sedert 1595*. [A whole ox for an old breadknife, Land and the farm narrative since 1595]. Pretoria: Van Schaik / Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau.
- Corrigan, T. 2018. The "brutal farmer" stereotype. *Politicsweb* [online], 18 January. Available at: <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/the-brutal-farmer-stereotype> [Accessed 26 June 2019].
- Cousins, B. Ed. 2000. At the crossroads. Land and agrarian reform in South Africa into the 21st century. Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape. Available at: http://repository.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10566/4334/at_the_crossroads_land_agrarian_reform_1999.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [Accessed 16 August 2019].
- Cousins, B. 2016. Land reform in South Africa is sinking. Can it be saved? Nelson Mandela Foundation [online], May 2016. Available at: https://www.nelsonmandela.org/uploads/files//Land_law_and_leadership_-_paper_2.pdf [Accessed 20 June 2019].
- Cousins, B. & Hall, R. 2017. South Africa is still way behind the curve on transforming land ownership. *The Conversation Africa* [online], 13 November 2017. Available at:

<https://theconversation.com/south-africa-is-still-way-behind-the-curve-on-transforming-land-ownership-87110> [Accessed 20 June 2019].

- Daniels, G. 2020. Book Extract: Power and Loss in South African Journalism: News in the age of social media. *Daily Maverick*. Available at: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-08-24-power-and-loss-in-south-african-journalism-news-in-the-age-of-social-media/>
- Davies, W. 1990. *We cry for our land: farm workers in South Africa*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- De Lange, L. 2017. Who owns SA's land. *City Press*, 29 October 2017. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/who-owns-sas-land-20171028> [Accessed 20 June 2019].
- De Fleur, M.L. & Dennis, E.E. 1994. *Understanding mass communication. A liberal arts perspective*. 5th edition. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin.
- Department of Agriculture. 2001. The strategic plan for South African agriculture. Department of Agriculture homepage. Available at: <https://www.nda.agric.za/docs/sectorplan/sectorplanE.htm> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Dlakavu, S. 2014. Young black farmers in South Africa reclaiming their space: Chiti Makwetu. *Daily Maverick* [online], 13 January 2014. Available at <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2014-01-13-young-black-farmers-in-south-africa-reclaiming-their-space-chiti-makwetu/> [Accessed 26 June 2019].
- Downey, H., Threlkeld, G. & Warburton, J. 2013. How are ageing farmers constructed in the draft Murray Darling basin plan and immediate media reports? *Rural Society* 23(1):87-100.
- Du Plooy, G.M. 2009. *Communication research: Techniques, methods and applications*. Cape Town: Juta.
- EFF. 2020. EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters). EFF Online. Available at: <https://effonline.org/> [Accessed 16 August 2020].
- El-Sharkawy, A. 2017. What is critical discourse analysis (CDA)? Unpublished paper read at the 2nd Literary Linguistics Conference, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, Germany, 4-6 October 2017. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311713796_What_is_Critical_Discourse_Analysis_CDA [Accessed 16 August 2019].

- Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. 2012. *Political discourse analysis. A method for advanced students*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 1998. Political discourse in the media: An analytical framework. In: Bell, A. & Garrett, P. Eds. *Approaches to media discourses*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 143-262.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. Intertextuality in critical discourse analysis. *Linguistics and Education* 4(3-4): 269-293.
- Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Farmer. 2019a. In: Cambridge dictionary. Available at: Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/farmer> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Farmer. 2019b. In: Merriam-Webster.com. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/farmer> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Farmer. 2019c. In: Oxford English dictionary. Available at: <https://www-oed-com.ez.sun.ac.za/view/Entry/68247?rskey=h1UQcf&result=2#eid> [Accessed 4 July 2019].
- Fig, D. 2018. South Africa needs to reverse corporate capture of agricultural policy. *The Conversation Africa* [online], 28 May 2018. Available at <https://theconversation.com/south-africa-needs-to-reverse-corporate-capture-of-agricultural-policy-96661> [Accessed 20 June 2019].
- Finlay, A. Ed. 2018. State of the Newsroom 2018: structured/unstructured. *Wits Journalism* [online]. Available at: www.journalism.co.za [Accessed 24 June 2019].
- Food for Mzansi*. 2020a. *Food for Mzansi* homepage. Available at: <https://www.foodformzansi.co.za/food-for-mzansi-story/> [Accessed 13 July 2020].
- Food for Mzansi*. 2020b. Government kicks 80-year-old Limpopo farmer in the teeth. *Food for Mzansi*, 4 November 2020. Available at: <https://www.foodformzansi.co.za/government-kicks-80-year-old-limpopo-farmer-in-the-teeth/> [Accessed 13 November 2020].
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The archeology of knowledge*. Tr. A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Fourie, P.J. Ed. 2007. *Media studies – Volume 1: Media history, media and society*. 2nd Edition. Cape Town: Juta.

- Fourie, P.J. Ed. 1996. *Introduction to communication: Communication and the production of meaning*. Cape Town: Juta & Co.
- Fredericks, R. 2019. #EntrepreneurMonth: *Food for Mzansi*, saluting the unsung heroes of SA agriculture. *BizCommunity*. 3 December 2019. Available at <https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/358/198526.html> [Accessed 13 July 2020].
- Gamson, W. 1992. *Talking politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gardner, E. 2017. Farmer or farmer's wife? Tackling gender stereotypes in agriculture. *Food processing technology* [online], 31 July 2017. Available at: <https://www.foodprocessing-technology.com/features/featurefarmer-or-farmers-wife-tackling-gender-stereotypes-in-agriculture-5886019/> [Accessed 24 September 2019].
- Genis, A. 2018a. Cyril moet boere die kuns afvra [Cyril must try to find out a secret from farmers]. *Landbou.com* [online]. <https://www.netwerk24.com/landbou/Nuus/cyрил-moet-boere-die-kuns-afvra-20180927> [Accessed 29 May 2019].
- Genis, A. 2018b. "Ek's 'n boer en klaar" [I am a farmer and that is it]. *Netwerk24*. 20 Augustus 2018. Available at <https://www.netwerk24.com/landbou/Bedrywe/Bedryfsake/eks-n-boer-en-klaar-20180813> [Accessed 13 July 2020].
- Genis, A.J. 2015. Accumulation and differentiation: the dynamics of change in the large-scale commercial farming sector of South Africa. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of the Western Cape, Bellville. Available at <http://etd.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/handle/11394/4673> [Accessed 29 October 2020].
- Genis, A.J. 2006. Land reform in the news: An analysis of how certain South African newspapers covered land reform before and after the 2005 National Land Summit. Unpublished Master's dissertation, University of the Western Cape, Bellville. [Accessed 29 October 2020].
- Germov, J., Williams, L. & Frey, M. 2010. Portrayal of the slow food movement in the Australian print media: Conviviality, localism and romanticism. *Journal of Sociology* 47(1): 89–106.
- Guelke, L. 2003. The tragedy of privatisation: Some environmental consequences of the Dutch invasion of Khoikhoi South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal* 85(2):90-98.
- Giliomee, H. & Mbenga, B. 2007. *New history of South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Goatly, A. 2007. *Washing the brain - metaphor and hidden ideology. Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Govenden, P. 2019. Token transformation? A critical political economy of the media analysis of ownership and content diversity in South Africa's print media. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Available at https://www.academia.edu/39986989/Token_transformation_A_critical_political_economy_of_the_media_analysis_of_ownership_and_content_diversity_in_South_Africas_print_media [Accessed 13 July 2020].
- Gqola, P. 2001. Defining people: Analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the New South Africa. *Transformation*, 47:94-106.
- Greyling, J., Vink, N. & Mabaya, E. 2015. South Africa's Agricultural Sector Twenty Years After Democracy (1994 to 2013). *Professional Agricultural Workers Journal* 3(1):1-14.
- Greyling, J. 2020. Ontmoet Andries van der Poll – met vertroue in die hoofstroom. [Meet Andries van der Poll – with confidence in the mainstream]. SA Grain homepage. Available at <https://sagrainmag.co.za/2020/02/25/ontmoet-andries-van-der-poll-met-vertroue-in-die-hoofstroom-2019-graan-sa-absa-john-deere-financial-nuwe-era-kommersiele-boer-van-die-jaar/> [Accessed 13 July 2020].
- Hagins, S.A. 2001. *Associated Press* wire service coverage of agricultural issues: A content analysis. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Texas Tech University. Available at: <https://ttuir.tdl.org/bitstream/handle/2346/13656/31295018497809.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 29 May 2019].
- Hall, S. 1973. The determinations of news photographs. In Cohen, S. & Young, J. Eds. *The manufacture of news: Deviance, social problems and the mass media*. London: Constable. Pp. 226–243.
- Hall, S., Evans, J. & Nixon, S. Eds. 2013. *Representation*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hammersley, M. 1996. On the foundations of critical discourse analysis. *Occasional Paper 42*, Centre for Language in Education, University of Southampton.
- Harber, A. 2014. Accountability and the media. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 65(1) 206-221.
- Hendricks, F. 2001. The land question. In Coetzee, J.K., Graaff, J., Hendricks, F. and Wood, G. *Development, theory, policy and practice*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Herbst, E. 2018. How the *Cape Times* demonizes farmers. *Rational Standard* [online], 28 December 2018. Available at: <https://rationalstandard.com/how-the-cape-times-demonizes-farmers/> [Accessed 26 June 2019].
- Hermann, D. 2015. Die krag van die laer [The power of the laager]. Day of the Vow speech by Dr Dirk Hermann, managing director of Solidarity at Hooggelegen on 16 December 2015. *Maroela Media*, 22 Desember 2015. Available at: <https://maroelamedia.co.za/debat/rubrieke/die-krag-van-die-laer/> [Accessed 20 October 2020].
- Herselman, M. 2020. Boere het baie in gemeen, sê Price [Farmers have a lot in common, says Price]. *Netwerk24*, 14 Maart 2020. <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/boere-het-baie-in-gemeen-se-price-20200314> [Accessed 26 June 2020].
- Huckin, T. 2002. Critical discourse analysis and the discourse of condescension. In: Barton, E. & Stygall, G. Eds. 2002. *Discourse studies in composition*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Pp.1-29. Available at http://wrconf08.writing.ucsb.edu/Pdf_Articles/Huckin_Article.pdf [Accessed 26 June 2019].
- Independent Media. 2020. Editorial team. Independent Media [online]. Available at: <https://www.independentmedia.co.za/our-people/editorial-team/> [Accessed 10 October 2020].
- Independent Online (IOL)*. 2019. About us. Available at: <https://www.independentmedia.co.za/our-company/about-us/> [Accessed 31 August 2019].
- IOL*, 2020. About *IOL*. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/about-iol> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- IOL* Press Code. 2020. The Independent Online Press Code. *IOL*. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/press-code> [Accessed 5 October 2020].
- Jäger, S. & Maier, F. 2016. Analysing discourses and dispositives: A Foucauldian approach to theory and methodology. In: Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. Eds. *Methods of critical discourse studies*. London: SAGE.
- Jansen, J. 2017. Even in death, South Africans are racially divided. *TimesLIVE*, 2 November 2017. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/ideas/2017-11-02-even-in-death-south-africans-are-racially-divided/> [Accessed 31 August 2019].
- Johnston, A. 2014. *South Africa: inventing the nation*. London: Bloomsbury.

- Johnstone, B. 2008. *Discourse analysis*. 2nd Edition. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Jordan, B. & Hyman, A. 2018. Farming minister axes his director-general Mike Mlengana again. *SowetanLIVE*, 19 June 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-06-19-farming-minister-axes-his-director-general-mike-mlengana-again/> [Accessed 31 August 2020].
- Joubert I., Hartell C. & Lombard K., 2016. Eds. *Navorsing: 'n Gids vir die beginnervorsers*. [Research: A guide for the beginner researcher.] Pretoria: Van Schaik Uitgewers.
- Kariuki, S.M. 2004. Creating the black commercial farmers in South Africa. ASC Working Paper. Leiden: African Studies Centre. Available at: <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/486/01PUB0000001752.pdf?sequence=1> [Accessed 30 June 2019].
- Khumalo, A. 2017. What the Boers can teach us on SA. *BusinessLIVE*, 21 May 2017. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/business/2017-05-21-what-the-boers-can-teach-us-on-sa/> [Accessed 31 August 2020].
- Kirsten, J.F. 2017. Reflections on 25 years of engagement with the land question in South Africa. November 2017. Inaugural lecture, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Available at: <http://blogs.sun.ac.za/inaugural-lectures/files/2019/05/InauguralLectureProfJFKirsten.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2019].
- Kirsten, J.F. & Sihlobo, W. 2019. Is South African agriculture really dominated by big commercial farms? Evidence suggests not. *News24* [online], 27 February 2019. Available at <https://www.news24.com/Analysis/is-south-african-agriculture-really-dominated-by-big-commercial-farms-evidence-suggests-not-20190227> [Accessed 31 August 2019].
- Kirsten, J. F. & Van Zyl, J. 1998. Defining small-scale farmers in the South African context. *Agrekon* 37(4):551-562.
- Krüger, F. 2017. What should journalism do in a new democracy? *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 43(2):23-38.
- Kupe, T. 2014. Media diversity. In: Seery, U. Ed. *Media landscape 2014: Celebrating 20 years of South African media*. Pretoria: Department of Communications. Available at: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/sa-info/media-landscape2014> [Accessed 29 September 2019].

- Laager, 2020a. In: Oxford Learners Dictionaries. Available at: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/laager> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Laager, 2020b. In: Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/laager> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- La Cock, M. 2018. Merkwaaardige boere, buitengewone stories. [Remarkable farmers, exceptional stories]. *Afgri* home page, 23 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.afgri.co.za/category/landbouweekliks/> [Accessed 29 September 2018].
- Ledwaba, L. 2018b. Black farmers fall in the furrows. *Mail & Guardian*, 17 August 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-17-00-black-farmers-fall-in-the-furrows/> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Leshilo, T. 2020. Journalism makes blunders but still feeds democracy: an insider's view. *The Conversation*, 17 September 2020. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/journalism-makes-blunders-but-still-feeds-democracy-an-insiders-view-146364> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Liepins, R. 1996. Reading agricultural power: media as sites and processes in the construction of meaning. *New Zealand Geographer* 52(2):3-10.
- Liepins, R. 1998. The gendering of farming and agricultural politics: A matter of discourse and power, *The Australian Geographer* 29(3):371-388.
- Louw, E. 2001. *The media and cultural production*. London: Sage.
- Lundy, L.K., Ruth, A.M & Park, T.D. 2007. Entertainment and agriculture: an examination of the impact of entertainment media on perceptions of agriculture. *Journal of Applied Communications* 91(1):65-79.
- Luther, J., Pheiffer, F. & Gouws, R.H. Eds. 2015. *HAT aanlyn. Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*. 6th ed. Cape Town: Pearson. Available at <https://longman-hat-co-za.ez.sun.ac.za/?m=d> [Accessed 5 August 2019].
- Mabaya, E., Tihanyi, K., Karaan, M. & Van Rooyen, J. Eds. 2011. Case studies of emerging farmers and agribusinesses in South Africa. Stellenbosch: AFRICAN SUNMeDIA. Available at: <https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/101802> [Accessed 30 May 2019].

- Mail & Guardian*, 2020a. About us. *Mail & Guardian*. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/about-us/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Mail & Guardian*, 2020b. *Mail & Guardian* under new ownership. *Mail & Guardian*, 12 December 2017. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-12-12-00-mail-guardian-under-new-ownership/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Mail & Guardian*. 2020c. Editorial Code of Ethics. *Mail & Guardian*, October 2010. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/ethics-and-social-media-policy/> [Accessed 5 October 2020].
- Mainstream media, 2019. In: Cambridge dictionary. Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mainstream-media> [Accessed 24 August 2019].
- Maré, F. 2020. Letter from the editor: The yin and yang of South African agriculture. *Veeplaas*, November: 2.
- Masweneng, K. 2019. Roelf Meyer returns to unite black and white farmers. *TimesLIVE*, 17 July 2019. Available at: <https://select.timeslive.co.za/news/2019-07-16-roelf-meyer-returns-to-unite-black-and-white-farmers/> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- McGlynn, C.M. 2014. Agricultural communication in a changing media environment: a case study of the dairy farmers of Canada. Unpublished master's dissertation. Canada: University of Ottawa. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10393/31531> [Accessed 10 August 2018].
- McLachlan, J.N. 2019. History of the dispossession of the rights in land of pastoral indigenous communities in the Cape Colony from 1652 to 1910. *Fundamina* 25(1):100-130.
- McNair, B. 2009. Journalism and democracy. In: Wahl-Jorgensen, K. & Hanitzsch, T. Eds. *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. 2010. *McQuail's mass communication theory*. 6th edition. London: SAGE.
- McQuail, D. 2013. *Journalism and society*. London: SAGE.
- Media24. 2020. About Media24. Available at: <https://www.media24.com/about-us/> [Accessed 10 September 2020].
- Merriam, S.B. 2009. *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Meyer, N., Price, I & Louwrens, K. 2019. *For the love of the land: 'n onderhoud met Ivor Price en Kobus Louwrens*. [*For the love of the land: an interview with Ivor Price and Kobus*

- Louwrens.] 13 December 2019. *LitNet*. <https://www.litnet.co.za/for-the-love-of-the-land-n-onderhoud-met-ivor-price-en-kobus-louwrens/> [Accessed 31 May 2020].
- Mobara, L. & Retief, J. 2018. Causing unnecessary public harm. In: Finlay, A. Ed. 2018. State of the Newsroom 2018: structured/unstructured. *Wits Journalism* [online]. Available at: www.journalism.co.za [Accessed 24 June 2019].
- Mokoena, M. 2018. Ed. Communications. In: Mokoena, M. Ed. South Africa Yearbook 2017/18. Pretoria: Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). Available at: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/yearbook/5-Communications2018.pdf> [Accessed 28 September 2019].
- Mooney, A. & Evans, B. 2015. *Language, society & power: an introduction*. 4th edition. New York: Routledge.
- Mouton, J. 1996. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Mouton, J. 2001. *How to succeed in your Master's & Doctoral Studies*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Moshenberg, D. 2013. The story of South African farming is a women's story. *Africa is a country* [online], 27 September 2013. Available at: <https://africasacountry.com/2013/09/the-story-of-south-african-farming-is-a-womens-story> [Accessed 3 August 2020].
- Motsuenyane, S. & Ntshabele, P. 2018. We must debunk the myth that black people cannot farm. *City Press* [online], 1 June 2018. Available at: <https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/we-must-debunk-the-myth-that-black-people-cannot-farm-20180601> [Accessed 24 June 2019].
- Muswede, T. 2018. South African press, land reform and public opinion: Implications of prejudiced editorials on the quality of land discourse. *Journal of Public Administration* 53(2.1):602-614.
- Mutanda, D. 2012. The local media and Zimbabwe's land reform program. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 14(3):262-279.
- Netwerk24. 2020. Kontak ons [Contact us]. *Netwerk24*. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Bladsye/Kontak-Ons> [Accessed 10 October 2020].
- News24. 2020. About us. *News24*, 3 July 2009. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/SiteElements/Footer/About-Us-20090703-4> [Accessed 10 October 2020].

- Newman, N. 2019. *Digital news report: Journalism, media, and technology trends and predictions 2019*. Reuters Institute. 1 January 2019. Available at https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR_2019_FINAL_1.pdf
- Ntsebeza, L. 2018. Op-Ed: How ANC changed gear on land reform. *Daily Maverick*, 11 March 2018. Available at <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-03-11-op-ed-how-anc-changed-gear-on-land-reform/> [Accessed 22 February 2020].
- Odendaal, B. 2019. Bernard Odendaal: Skoppensboer. *Versindaba* [online]. Available at: <http://versindaba.co.za/2009/11/19/skoppensboer/> [Accessed 30.10.2019].
- O'Farrell, C. 2020. Michel Foucault: key concepts. *Foucault news: News and resources on French thinker Michel Foucault (1926-1984)* [online]. Available at <https://michel-foucault.com/key-concepts/> [Accessed 24 July 2020].
- Ogessa, C.M. & Sife, A.S. 2017. Newspaper coverage of agricultural information in Tanzania. *University of Dar es Salaam Library Journal* 12(1):12-26.
- Ojebode, A. 2006. Nigerian mass media representation of women in agriculture and agribusiness: a case of status mis-conferral. *Journal of Communication Studies* 5(1-2):1-14.
- Okorie, N. & Oyedepo, T. 2011. Newspaper reportage and its effect towards promoting agricultural development in Nigeria. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* 3(2):27-32.
- Oladele, O.I. & Boago, C. 2011. Content analysis of agricultural news in Botswana newspapers. *Journal of Human Ecology* 36(3):173-177.
- Olakunle, F. 2015. Sources of information as an essential correlate in agricultural news reportage in Nigerian dailies. *New Media and Mass Communication* 41:52-56.
- Omar, Y.A. 2014. Evolving media policy of the ANC: Time to go back to the drawing board? In: Seery, U. Ed. *Media landscape 2014: Celebrating 20 years of South African media*. Pretoria: Department of Communications. Available at: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/sa-info/media-landscape2014> [Accessed 29 September 2019].
- O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., Montgomery, M. & Fiske, J. 1994. *Key concepts in communication and cultural studies*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

- Pastoralist. 2020. In: Cambridge dictionary. Available at:
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/pastoralist> [Accessed 3 January 2020].
- Peoples, S.J. 2006. Farm women: diverse encounters with discourse and agency. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Available at:
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b6d0/5d949e9c0cdcebe39938923e6b9b97833a27.pdf?ga=2.84297433.17821661.1569330897-1420612388.1561842391> [Accessed 24 September 2019].
- Phillips, L. 2020 No response from agri department on Mlengana's resignation. *Farmer's Weekly*, 15 July 2020. Available at: <https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/agri-news/south-africa/no-response-from-agri-department-on-mlenganas-resignation/> [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Plaut, M. 2018. Media Freedom in South Africa. *The Round Table* 107(2):151-162.
- Press Council South Africa, 2020. The Press Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media. Press Council homepage. Available at:
<https://www.presscouncil.org.za/ContentPage?code=PRESSCODE> [Accessed 5 October 2020].
- President of the Republic of South Africa. 2013. Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Amendment Act, 2013 (Act no. 46 of 2013). *Government Gazette* (37271:1-14, 27 January 2014). Available at:
https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/37271act46of2013.pdf
[Accessed 28 October 2020].
- Pretorius, C. & Froneman, J.D. 2018. *Vrye Weekblad* se gebruik van Boer as prys- en skeldnaam in 'n kulturele tussenruimte [*Vrye Weekblad's* use of the term Boer to praise and berate in a cultural borderland]. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 58(4-1). Available at:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2224-7912/2018/v58n4-1a9> [Accessed 29 July 2020].
- Price, I. & Louwrens, K. 2019. *For the love of the land: Being a farmer in South Africa today*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Price, I. 2018a. 'Let's debunk the myth that black people can't farm'. *Food for Mzansi* [online], 3 September 2018. Available at <https://www.foodformzansi.co.za/lets-debunk-myth-black-farmers/> [Accessed 20 June 2019].

- Price, I. 2018b. Mening: Bou met boere [Opinion: Build with farmers]. *Netwerk24 Kuier*, 31 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Kuier/mening-bou-met-boere-20180831> [Accessed 5 September 2018].
- Reid, J. 2008. Representation defined. In: Fourie, P.J. Ed. *Media studies – Volume 2: Policy, management and media representation*. 2nd Edition. Cape Town: Juta. Pp.197-226.
- Reynolds, C. 2019. Building theory from media ideology: Coding for power in journalistic discourse. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 43(1):47-69.
- Richardson, J.E. 2007. *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Rodny-Gumede, Y. 2017. Questioning the media and democracy relationship: The case of South Africa. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 43(2):10-22.
- Ross, R. 1999. *A concise history of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roets, E. 2017. Kill the Boer. A brief study on the impact of politics and hate speech on the safety of the South African farmers. AfriForum, 2017. Available at: <https://www.afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Kill-the-farmer.pdf> [Accessed 20 July 2020].
- Roets, E. 2018. A critical evaluation of the mainstream news media's reporting on incidents of violence on South African farms. AfriForum.com. Available at: <https://www.afriforum.co.za/en/complicity-a-critical-evaluation-of-the-mainstream-news-medias-reporting-on-incidents-of-violence-on-south-african-farms/> [Accessed 26 June 2019].
- Roper, C., Newman, N. & Schulz, A. 2019. *Reuters Institute digital news report 2019 South Africa supplementary report*. Available from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/South_Africa_DNR_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 31 October 2020].
- Rumney, R. 2014. Twenty years of SA media ownership (1994-2014). In: Seery, U. Ed. *Media landscape 2014: Celebrating 20 years of South African media*. Pretoria: Department of Communications. Available at: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/sa-info/media-landscape2014> [Accessed 29 September 2019].

- Ruth, A.M., Lundy, L.K., & Park, T.D. 2005. Glitz, glamour, and the farm: Portrayal of agriculture as the simple life. *Journal of Applied Communications* 89(4):21-37.
- Rutherford, B. 2005. The rough contours of land in Zimbabwe. *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 29(2):103-115.
- SA History Online. 2019a. When, why and where the first African farmers settled in Southern Africa. SA History Online, 27 August 2019. Available at: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/when-why-and-where-first-african-farmers-settled-southern-africa> [Accessed 29 July 2020].
- SA Media. 2020a. *Cape Argus* – Daily Cape News. South African Media homepage. Available at: <https://www.southafricanmedia.co.za/print/cape-argus/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- SA Media. 2020b. 2020. *The Sowetan*. South African Media homepage. Available at: <https://www.southafricanmedia.co.za/print/the-sowetan/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- SA Media. 2020c. *Rapport* – South Africa's Afrikaans Weekly Newspaper. South African Media homepage. Available at: <https://www.southafricanmedia.co.za/print/rapport/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Saunders, C., Akers, C., Haygood, J. & Lawver, D. 2003. World wide web coverage of agricultural issues: A content analysis. Paper presented to the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists Agricultural Communications Section, Mobile, Alabama. February 2003. Available at: <https://agrilife.org/saas2/archived-papers-and-presentations/2010-paper-presentations-and-papers-from-previous-years/proceedings-from-the-2003-meeting-in-mobile-alabama/world-wide-web-coverage-of-agricultural-issues-a-content-analysis/> [Accessed 31 October 2019].
- Seymour, S., Lowe, P., Ward, N., & Clark, J. 1997. Environmental 'others' and 'elites': Rural pollution and changing power relations in the countryside. In: Milbourne, P. Ed. *Revealing rural 'others': Representation, power and identity in the British countryside*. Pinter, London, pp. 57-74.
- Skoppensboer. 2019. *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*. WAT online. <http://www.woordeboek.co.za.ez.sun.ac.za/> [Accessed 31 October 2019].
- Sonderling, S. 2009. Media, language and discourse. In: Fourie, P.J. Ed. *Media studies – Volume 3: Media content and media audiences*. Cape Town: Juta. Pp.83-115.

- SowetanLIVE*, 2020. About *SowetanLIVE*. *SowetanLIVE*. Available at:
<https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/pages/about-us/> [Accessed 10 September 2020].
- Statistics South Africa. 2016. Community Survey 2016, Agricultural households, Report No. 03-01-05. Stats SA website, 2016. Available at: <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-01-05/03-01-052016.pdf> [Accessed 5 July 2019].
- Steenveld, L. 2004. Transforming the media: A cultural approach. *Critical Arts* 18(1): 92–115.
- The Citizen*. 2020. About us. *The Citizen* homepage. Available at <https://citizen.co.za/about-us/> [Accessed 28 September 2020].
- The Space Station. 2020. City Press. The Space Station homepage. Available at:
<https://www.thespacestation.co.za/portfolio/city-press/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- TimesLIVE*. 2020a. About us. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/pages/about-us/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- TimesLIVE*. 2020b. Contact *TimesLIVE* and the *Sunday Times*. Available at:
<https://www.timeslive.co.za/pages/contact-us/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Umejei, E. 2018. We still have lots to learn about how the media covered state capture. In Finlay, A. Ed. 2018. State of the Newsroom 2018: structured/unstructured. *Wits Journalism* [online]. Available at: www.journalism.co.za [Accessed 24 June 2019].
- Van Aswegen, H.J. 1989. *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tot 1854*. Pretoria: Academica, Human & Rousseau.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1983. Discourse Analysis: its development and application to the structure of news. In: *Journal of Communication* 33(2):20-43.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1993. Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society* 4(2): 249-283.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1998a. *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1998b. Opinions and ideologies in the press. In: Bell, A. & Garrett, P. Eds. *Approaches to media discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 21-63.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 2001. Critical discourse analysis. In: Tannen, D., Schiffrin, D. & Hamilton, H. Eds. *Handbook of discourse analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 352-371.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 2009. News, discourse, and ideology. In: Wahl-Jorgensen, K. & Hanitzsch, T. Eds. *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge.

- Van Dijk, T.A. 2013. CDA is NOT a method of critical discourse analysis. Available at <http://www.edisoportal.org/debate/115-cda-not-method-critical-discourse-analysis> [Accessed 28 October 2019].
- Van Dyk, F.R. 2020. Resensie: For the love of the land, saamgestel deur Ivor Price en Kobus Louwrens [Review: For the love of the land, compiled by Ivor Price and Kobus Louwrens]. *LitNet*. 15 January 2020. <https://www.litnet.co.za/resensie-for-the-love-of-the-land-saamgestel-deur-ivor-price-en-kobus-louwrens/> [Accessed 31 May 2020].
- Van Zyl, D. 2000. Afstand en vereenselwiging: Perspektiewe op die veranderende betekenis van boer en Boer in die Afrikaanse poësie. *Literator* 21(3):1-21.
- Venter, I. 2018. Regstelling: Konsitusionele hof se bevinding oor 'slaan die boer'. [Correction: Constitutional Court's ruling on 'hit the farmer'.] *Netwerk24*, 13 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Hof/konstitusionele-hof-bevind-struggle-lied-is-nie-rassisties-20180913> [Accessed 20 September 2018].
- Verwey, C. & Quayle, M. 2012. Whiteness, racism, and Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa. *African Affairs* 111(445): 551–575.
- Verwoerd, M. 2018. Stop stereotyping farmers. *News24* [online], 26 September 2018. Available at: <https://news24.com/Columnists/MelanieVerwoerd/stop-stereotyping-farmers-20180926> [accessed 24 June 2019].
- Vestergaard, M. 2001. Who's got the map? The negotiation of Afrikaner identities in post-apartheid South Africa. *Daedalus* 130(1):19-44.
- Viall, J., James, W., & Gerwel, J. 2011. *Grape. Stories of the vineyards in South Africa. From slavery to BEE, 1652-2011*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Visser, L.M. 2014. Absence as narrational trope in the fictionalised transliteration of experience: a discussion of Dominique Botha's False River. Unpublished Masters dissertation, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. December 2014. Available at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/37437105.pdf> [Accessed 29 November 2020].
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. & Hanitzsch, T. 2009. *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Wardle, C. & Derakhshan, H. 2017. Information disorder toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking. *First Draft News* [online], 27 September 2017. Available at

<https://firstdraftnews.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/PREMS-162317-GBR-2018-Report-de%CC%81sinformation-1.pdf?x74214> [Accessed 31 October 2019].

- Wasserman, H. 2005. Talking of change: Constructing social identities in South African media debates. *Social Identities* 11(1):75-85.
- Wasserman, H. 2008. Media and the construction of identity. In: Fourie, P.J. Ed. 2008. *Media studies – Volume 2: Policy, management and media representation*. 2nd Edition. Cape Town: Juta. Pp.243-276.
- Wasserman, H. 2017. South Africa's media should beware of being the voice of only some. *The Conversation Africa* [online], 19 October 2017. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/south-africas-media-should-beware-of-being-the-voice-of-only-some-85911> [Accessed 25 July 2020].
- Wasserman, H. 2019. Relevance, resistance, resilience: Journalism's challenges in a global world. *Journalism* 20(1):229-232.
- Wasserman, H. 2020. The state of South African media: A space to contest democracy. *Publizistick* 65:451-465.
- Wasserman, H., Bosch, T. & Chuma, W. 2018:383. Communication from above and below: Media, protest and democracy. *Politikon* 45(3):368-386.
- Wasserman, H. & De Beer, A.S. 2005. Which public? Whose interest? The South African media and its role during the first ten years of democracy. *Critical Arts* 19(1-2):36-51.
- Whitaker, B. K. & Dyer, J. E. 2000. Identifying sources of bias in agricultural news reporting. *Journal of Agricultural Education* 41(4):125-133.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1996. Discourse and interpretation: Conjectures and refutations. *Language and Literature* 5:57-69.
- Wright, J.B. 1977. Hunters, herders and early farmers in South Africa. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 49:19-36.
- Wright, J. 2017. Southern Africa before Colonial Times. Oxford Research Encyclopedia, African History, July 2017. Available at: <https://oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-92> [Accessed 23 November 2020].

- Wyngaard, B. 2018. Rubrieke: Grondonteiening: 'n ander perspektief [Editorials: Land expropriation: another perspective]. *LitNet*, 26 March 2018. Available at: <https://www.litnet.co.za/grondonteiening-n-ander-perspektief/> [Accessed 20 August 2020].
- Yin, R.K. 2003. *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Young, G. 2017. South African land reform as peacebuilding: integrating perspectives from social identity theory and symbolic politics in a peacebuilding conceptual framework. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Available at: <https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/102826> [Accessed 1 July 2019].
- Young, G. 2018. Land reform debate: what's missing according to South African farmers. *The Conversation Africa* [online], 26 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/land-reform-debate-south-african-farmers/> [Accessed 20 June 2019].
- Yusuf, S.F.G., Krul, K. & Marufu, G. 2016. Representation of agricultural issues in South African newspapers: a content analysis. *Journal of Communication* 7(2):287-295.

List of articles included in CDA

- AFP, 2018. Farmers 'furious' about Trump land reform tweet. *SowetanLIVE*, 26 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-08-23-trumps-tweet-on-land-expropriation-gets-vetoed/>
- Botha, D. 2018. Skoppensboer. [Jack of spades.] *Netwerk24*, 9 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/skoppensboer-20180909>
- Burgess, A. 2018a. Wit, swart boere gepaai oor grond. [White, black farmers pacified about land]. *Netwerk24*, 8 November 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/wit-swart-boere-gepaai-oor-grond-20181107>
- Burgess, A. 2018b. Tyd om die krokodil in die gesig te slaan en te swem. [Time to punch the crocodile in the face and learn to swim.] *Netwerk24*, 16 November 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/tyd-om-die-krokodil-in-die-gesig-te-slaan-en-te-swem-20181116>
- Child, K. 2018a. David Mabuza tells farmers to trust government on land reform. *TimesLIVE*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-08-23-david-mabuza-tells-farmers-to-trust-government-on-land-reform/>
- Child, K. 2018b. Goatcha! Grand plan for rural farmers works a treat. *TimesLIVE*, 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://select.timeslive.co.za/news/2018-09-10-goatcha-grand-plan-for-rural-farmers-works-a-treat/>
- Citizen. 2018. White farmer writes plea to Ramaphosa to let him help black farmers. *The Citizen*. 25 July 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/talking-point/1986469/white-farmer-writes-plea-to-ramaphosa-to-let-him-help-black-farmers/>
- Citizen reporter, 2018. Ramaphosa tells Trump: Keep your America. Stay out of our issues. *The Citizen*, 28 August 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/2001547/ramaphosa-tells-trump-keep-your-america-stay-out-of-our-issues/>
- Collins, F. 2018. Thanks Bruce, but it's not for Aus, say SA farmers. *TimesLIVE*, 22 March 2018. Available at: <https://select.timeslive.co.za/news/2018-03-22-thanks-bruce-but-its-not-for-aus-say-sa-farmers/>

- Cowan, K. 2018. Tarlton tractor shooting was not racially motivated says security company. *SowetanLIVE*, 9 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-01-09-tarlton-tractor-shooting-was-not-racially-motivated-security-company/>
- De Lange, L. 2018a. EFF en AfriForum is voëls van eenderse vere [EFF and AfriForum are birds of a feather.] *Netwerk24*, 12 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Menings/eff-en-afriforum-is-voels-van-eenderse-vere-20180911>
- De Lange, L. 2018b. Ons gaan dié ding maak werk, sê boer. [We will make this thing work, says farmer.] *Netwerk24*, 2 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Algemeen/ons-gaan-die-ding-maak-werk-se-boer-20180902>
- De Lange, L. 2018c. Boere sê oor regeringslui en landbougroepe wat praat. [Farmers' views on talks between government and agricultural groups.] *Netwerk24*, 26 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/boere-se-oor-regeringslui-en-landbougroepe-wat-praat-20180825>
- De Lange, L. & Pelsler, W. 2018. "Hou op grond gee aan luiers!" ["Stop giving land to the lazy!"] *Netwerk24*, 26 Augustus 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/hou-op-grond-gee-aan-luies-20180826>
- Du Plessis, E. 2018. The magic of the land reform process. *News24*, 24 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/columnists/guestcolumn/the-magic-of-the-land-reform-process-20180824>
- Du Preez, M. 2018a. Land reform's Codesa moment. *News24*, 28 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/land-reforms-codesa-moment-20180828>
- Du Preez, M. 2018b. Max du Preez: Hou op met vrees boer. [Max du Preez: Stop farming with fear.] *Netwerk24*, 28 Augustus 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Menings/max-du-preez-hou-op-met-vrees-boer-20180828>
- Du Toit, 2018. The spectacular unraveling of AfriForum. *News24*, 7 September 2018. Available at: https://www.news24.com/Columnists/Pieter_du_Toit/the-spectacular-unraveling-of-afriforum-20180907

- Fengu, M. 2018. Land: How black and white can make it work. *News24*, 26 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/land-how-black-and-white-can-make-it-work-20180826>
- Hosken, G. 2018a. Farmers, it's not about race and we're listening. *TimesLIVE*, 18 June 2018. Available at: <https://select.timeslive.co.za/news/2018-06-18-its-not-about-race-and-we-are-listening-agric-head-tells-farmers/>
- Hosken, G. 2018b. Genocide myth busters vow the separate white from wrong. *TimesLIVE*, 10 May 2018. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-05-10-genocide-myth-busters-vow-to-separate-white-from-wrong/>
- Jadoo, Y. 2018. "It's not farmer who killed man". *The Citizen* [online], 9 January 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1776340/its-not-farmer-who-killed-man/>
- Jansen, J. 2018. A good dose of humility from white people will advance the land debate. *TimesLIVE*, 15 March 2018. Available at: <https://select.timeslive.co.za/ideas/2018-03-15-a-good-dose-of-humility-from-white-people-will-advance-the-land-debate/>
- Jordaan, N. Trump's tweet on land expropriation gets vetoed. *SowetanLIVE*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-08-23-donald-trumps-tweet-on-land-expropriation-gets-vetoed/>
- Kekana, M. 2018. Under pressure Donald Trump falls for fake news about South African whites. *Mail & Guardian* [online], 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-23-under-pressure-donald-trump-falls-for-fake-news-about-south-african-whites>
- Kgosana, R. 2018a. Trust us on land, Mabuza urges farmers at Limpopo summit. *The Citizen*, 24 August 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1999741/trust-us-on-land-mabuza-urges-farmers-at-limpopo-summit/>
- Kgosana, R. 2018b. Farmer shows ubuntu, gives land to his workers. *The Citizen*, 25 August 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/2000176/farmer-shows-ubuntu-gives-land-to-his-workers/>
- Kriel, K. 2018. Kallie Kriel: Boer eerder met die feite. [Kallie Kriel: Rather farm with facts.] *Netwerk24*, 29 Augustus 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Menings/boer-eerder-met-die-feite-20180829>
- La Vita, M. 2018A. Ivor Price: Stadsjapie tussen die boere [Ivor Price: Townie among the farmers]. *Netwerk24*. 6 April 2018. Available at:

<https://www.netwerk24.com/landbou/Landbouweekliks/ivor-price-stadsjapie-tussen-die-boere-20180406>

La Vita, M. 2018b. “Die boere kan ons red” [“The farmers can save us”]. *Netwerk24*, 29 June 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Profiele/die-boere-kan-ons-red-20180628>

Ledwaba, K. 2018a. Vegetable garden grows into cash. *SowetanLIVE*, 20 May 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-05-20-vegetable-garden-grows-into-cash/>

Ledwaba, L. 2018b. Black farmers fall in the furrows. *Mail & Guardian*, 17 August 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-17-00-black-farmers-fall-in-the-furrows/>

Mahr, K. 2018. “This is our South Africa”: Trump's “disrespectful” land reform comment slammed. *IOL*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/this-is-our-south-africa-trumps-disrespectful-land-reform-comment-slammed-16706853>

Mail & Guardian. 2018. Worker shot dead by farm owner for allegedly stealing tractor. *Mail & Guardian*, 8 January 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-01-08-farm-worker-shot-dead-near-krugersdorp-for-allegedly-stealing-tractor/> [Accessed 29 October 2019].

Makhafola, G. Mabuza: Stop spreading lies on SA land reform. *IOL*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mabuza-stop-spreading-lies-on-sa-land-reform-16703319>

Mapenzauswa, S. 2018. Opinion: South Africa to Trump: ‘Stay out’. But at what cost? *IOL*, 31 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/opinion/opinion-south-africa-to-trump-stay-out-but-at-what-cost-16822864>

Maughan, K. 2018. Analysis: Black farmer sues govt for land it promised him. *TimesLIVE*, 8 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-08-08-analysis--black-farmer-sues-govt-for-land-it-promised-him/>

Mbanjwa, B. 2018. Farm murders at “20-year low”. *IOL/The Mercury* [online], 4 June 2018. <https://www.iol.co.za/mercury/farm-murders-at-20-year-low-15300037>

Mbanjwa, B., Feketha, S., Mkhwanazi, S. & Chetty, K. 2018. Govt acts on Trump tweet. *IOL*, 24 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/mercury/news/govt-acts-on-trump-tweet-16720347>

- Meyer, D. 2018. Meet the farmer who hopped from hope to hops. *TimesLIVE*, 30 April 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-04-30-meet-the-farmer-who-hopped-from-hope-to-hops/>
- Mitchley, A. 2018a. Mabuza's address on land expropriation without compensation receives a warm welcome from the agricultural sector. *News24*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/mabuzas-address-on-land-expropriation-without-compensation-receives-a-warm-welcome-from-the-agricultural-sector-20180823>
- Mitchley, A. 2018b. Deputy President steps in, puts SA farmers at ease after Trump's land expropriation comments. *News24*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/deputy-president-steps-in-puts-sa-farmers-at-ease-after-trumps-land-expropriation-comments-20180823>
- Modjadji, N. 2018a. ANC vows to stop farm evictions. *SowetanLIVE*, 22 May 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-05-22-anc-vows-to-stop-farm-evictions/>
- Modjadji, N. 2018b. ANC moves to reassure farmers on land grabs. *SowetanLIVE*, 24 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-08-24-anc-moves-to-reassure-farmers-on-land-grabs/>
- Motsuenyane, S. & Ntshabele, P. 2018. We must debunk the myth that black people cannot farm. *News24/City Press* [online], 1 June 2018. Available at: <https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/we-must-debunk-the-myth-that-black-people-cannot-farm-20180601>
- Ndaba, B. 2018. #LandExpropriation: Key food producers' land is "safe". *IOL*, 16 June 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/landexpropriation-key-food-producers-land-is-safe-15503564>
- News24*, AFP. 2018. Trump met sy lang hare moet ons uitlos, sê boere. [Trump with his long hair should leave us alone, farmers say]. *Netwerk24*, 27 Augustus 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/trump-met-sy-lang-hare-moet-ons-uitlos-se-boere-20180827>
- Ngubane, N. 2018. Obstacles facing a young black farmer in South Africa. *TimesLIVE*, 13 April 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-04-13-obstacles-facing-a-young-black-farmer-in-south-africa-a-personal-story/>

- Ngwenya, K. 2018. Limpopo farmer waited 16 years for his land – and now he has had enough. *News24/Drum*, 30 November 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/drum/news/limpopo-farmer-waited-16-years-for-his-land-and-now-he-has-had-enough-20181130>
- Nyanda, S. 2018. 24-year-old egg farmer Mbalentle Sipengane sets sights on retail market. *SowetanLIVE*, 10 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-08-10-24-year-old-egg-farmer-mbalentle-sipengane-sets-sights-on-retail-market/>
- Nyoka, N. 2018a. Agri SA lambasts police for inaccurate reporting on farm worker murder. *News24*, 9 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/agri-sa-lambasts-police-for-inaccurate-reporting-on-farm-worker-murder-20180109>
- Nyoka, N. 2018b. Agri SA lambasts police for inaccurate reporting on farm worker murder. *Mail & Guardian*, 9 January 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-01-09-agri-sa-lambasts-police-for-inaccurate-reporting-on-farm-worker-murder/>
- Oakes, D. 2018. Land issue is rooted in history of dispossession. *IOL/Cape Argus*, 5 March 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/land-issue-is-rooted-in-history-of-dispossession-13599052>
- Pather, R. 2018. A black farmer pleads with parliament to leave the constitution alone. *Mail & Guardian*, 4 September 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-09-04-a-black-farmer-pleads-with-parliament-to-leave-the-constitution-alone/>
- Paterson, Mark. 2018. Opinion: Make land reforms priority to right wrongs of the past. *IOL/ Cape Argus*, 18 April 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/make-land-reforms-priority-to-right-wrongs-of-the-past-14511263>
- Pelser, W. 2018a. Grond: Nóú praat almal. [Land: NOW everybody is talking.] *Netwerk24*, 26 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/grond-nou-praat-almal-20180826>
- Pelser, W. 2018b. Watter wit mense het die grond gesteel? [Which white people stole the land?] *Netwerk24*, 7 October 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Menings/waldimar-pelser-watter-wit-mense-het-die-grond-gesteel-20181007>

- Peter, Z. 2018. Boogeying with the boere: What farmers think about land expropriation. *News24*, 29 May 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/News/boogeying-with-the-boere-what-farmers-think-about-land-expropriation-20180529>
- Piccini, J. 2018. Opinion: Peter Dutton's 'fast track' for white farmers is a throwback to a racist history. *Mail & Guardian*, 20 March 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-03-20-peter-duttons-fast-track-for-white-farmers-is-a-throwback-to-a-racist-history/>
- Pijoo, I. 2018. Worker shot dead by farm owner for allegedly stealing tractor. *Mail & Guardian*, 8 January 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-01-08-farm-worker-shot-dead-near-krugersdorp-for-allegedly-stealing-tractor/> [Accessed 29 October 2019].
- Pijoo, I., Pitt, C. & De Villiers, J. 2018. UPDATE: Farm worker shot dead near Krugersdorp for allegedly stealing tractor. *News24*, 8 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/farm-worker-shot-dead-near-krugersdorp-for-allegedly-stealing-tractor-20180108> [Accessed 29 October 2019].
- Price, I. 2018. Menings: Waak daarteen om boere vir wolwe te gooi. [Opinions: Guard against throwing farmers to the wolves]. *Netwerk24*, 19 Maart 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Menings/waak-daarteen-om-boere-vir-wolwe-te-gooi-20180319>
- Rapport*, 2018. Rapport sê: Rede om versigtig optimisties te wees. [Rapport says: "Land: Reason to be cautiously optimistic.] *Netwerk24/Rapport*, 26 Augustus 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Kommentaar/rapport-se-grond-rede-om-versigtig-optimisties-te-wees-20180826>
- Schoeman, L. 2018. Kyk: Boere se Woodstock-oomblik by Bela-Bela. [Watch: Farmers' Woodstock moment at Bela-Bela.] *Netwerk24*, 28 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/kyk-boere-se-woodstock-oomblik-by-bela-bela-20180827>
- Serfontein, N. 2018. Land summit instills new hope for agriculture in South Africa. *News24/City Press*, 10 October 2018. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/land-summit-instills-new-hope-for-agriculture-in-south-africa-20181010>
- Smit, S. 2018. AfriForum decries SA farm murders down under. *Mail & Guardian* [online], 15 October 2018. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-10-15-afriforum-decries-sa-farm-murders-down-under>

- SowetanLIVE*, 2018. Security officer accused of killing alleged tractor thief. *SowetanLIVE*, 8 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-01-08-security-officer-accused-of-killing-alleged-tractor-thief/>
- The Citizen*, 2018. White farmer writes plea to Ramaphosa to let him help black farmers. *The Citizen*, 25 July 2018. Available at: <https://citizen.co.za/talking-point/1986469/white-farmer-writes-plea-to-ramaphosa-to-let-him-help-black-farmers/>
- TimesLIVE*. 2018. In full: “Trust us”: What David Mabuza told farmers at the AgriSA land summit. *TimesLIVE*, 23 August 2018. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2018-08-23-in-full--trust-us-what-david-mabuza-told-farmers-at-the-agrisa-land-summit/>
- Vallie, Z. 2018. Paul Mashatile – There will be no land grabs! Vallie, Z. *IOL/BusinessReport*, 31 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/paul-mashatile-there-will-be-no-land-grabs-13026539>
- Van der Walt, S. 2018a. Grond: Cyril skop vir kantlyn.[Land: Cyril kicks for touch]. *Netwerk24*, 1 Julie 2018. Available at: <https://www.netwerk24.com/Stemme/Aktueel/grond-cyрил-skop-vir-kantlyn-20180701>
- Van der Walt, S. 2018b. Regering “wil met kommersiële boere saamwerk”. [Government “WANTS to collaborate with commercial farmers”]. *Netwerk24*, 24 Augustus 2018. <https://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Politiek/regering-wil-met-kommersiele-boere-saamwerk-20180824>