

**A comparative analysis of the coverage of  
the South African electrical energy crisis  
during the period 2005-2010 by Cape Town  
newspapers**

by  
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## Abstract

Electrical energy has become an indispensable part of the modern world, supporting industries and economic systems. Any disruption of supply is felt immediately in all spheres of life. The operation of a power system is a complex process involving rotating machines that may fail from time even though they are maintained regularly. The overhead transmission system is likewise prone to faults caused by environmental factors such as pollution and lightning. Power authorities therefore operate their systems in such a way that they have sufficient reserve capacity available to allow for contingencies. In the last decade of the previous century a condition developed, for various reasons, that the reserve margin was too small in the South African electricity supply system. At the end of 2005, a spate of failures occurred at Koeberg power station and later in 2007 serious coal supply problems developed at the large power stations in Mpumalanga, aggravating the situation.

This research project focuses on the complexity of the task of the reporter when reporting on occurrences such as these. It is required to convey the factual situation to the readers, avoiding alarmism and sensationalism. At the same time the reporter also has a role to play in educating the readers. It was a difficult task, seeing that the reporters were not necessarily versed in the technical field. They therefore had to rely on Eskom's spokespersons.

In this project newspaper clippings of various Western Cape newspapers containing the word *Eskom* were analysed. The method of analysis was content analysis. Firstly the quantitative content analysis was used to obtain distribution of articles over the period and among newspapers. Thereafter the topics covered and the types of article were obtained for the various newspapers and years. Next articles for 2006 and 2008 were investigated using qualitative content analysis. Certain attributes in the articles were detected manually and a profile was obtained for each newspaper for each year period.

Questionnaires were sent to reporters responsible for some of the articles and to a technical expert who was consulted regularly by the news reporters.

It was found that the number of articles and style of presentation vary among the newspapers. There is evidence of framing of Eskom as incompetent.

## Opsomming

Elektriese energie het 'n onontbeerlike deel van die moderne wêreld geword wat nywerhede en ekonomiese stelsels ondersteun. Enige onderbreking van toevoer word onmiddellik in alle lewensfere gevoel. Die werking van 'n kragstelsel is 'n komplekse proses met roterende masjiene en ander toerusting wat onderworpe aan falings is, selfs al word dit in stand gehou. Die oorhoofse transmissiestelsel is ook onderworpe aan foute wat deur omgewingsfaktore soos besoedeling en weerlig veroorsaak word. Kragvoorsieners bedryf daarom hul stelsels so dat hulle voldoende reserwekapasiteit het om toe te laat vir gebeurlikhede. In die laaste dekade van die vorige eeu het die toestand, om verskeie redes, ontwikkel dat die reserwemarge in die Suid-Afrikaanse stelsel te klein geword het. Teen die einde van 2005 het 'n reeks falings by Koeberg kragstasie plaasgevind en later in 2007 het ernstige steenkoolvoorsieningsprobleme by die groot kragstasies in Mpumalanga ontstaan en dus die situasie vererger.

Hierdie navorsingsprojek fokus op die kompleksiteit van die taak van die verslaggewer as oor sulke gebeure verslag gedoen word. Dit word vereis om die feitelike situasie oor te dra sonder alarmisme en sensasie. Terselfdertyd moet die verslaggewer ook 'n rol speel om die lesers op te voed. Dit is 'n moeilike taak daar die verslaggewers nie noodwendig belese in die tegniese vakgebied is nie. Hulle moes dus staatmaak op Eskom se spreekbuise.

In hierdie projek is koerantuitknipsels van verskeie Wes-Kaapse koerante wat die woord *Eskom* bevat, ontleed. Die metode wat gebruik is, is inhoudsanalise. Eerstens is kwantitatiewe inhoudsanalise gebruik om die verspreiding van artikels oor die tydperk en tussen die koerante te verkry. Daarna is die onderwerpe wat gedek is verkry vir die onderskeie koerante en jare. Vervolgens is artikels van 2006 en 2008 ondersoek deur kwalitatiewe inhoudsanalise te doen. Sekere kenmerke is in die artikels opgespoor en 'n profiel is verkry vir elke koerant en elke jaarperiode.

Vraelyste is aan verslaggewers wat sommige artikels geskryf het en ook aan 'n tegniese deskundige wat gereeld deur verslaggewers genader is, gestuur.

Dit is bevind dat die getal artikels en die styl van aanbieding wissel tussen die koerante. Daar is ook tekens van raming van Eskom as onbekwaam.

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# 1 Introduction

Electrical energy has become an indispensable part of the modern world, supporting industries and economic systems. Any disruption of supply is felt immediately in all spheres of life. The operation of a power system is a complex process involving rotating machines that may fail from time even though they are maintained regularly. The overhead transmission system is likewise prone to faults caused by environmental factors such as pollution and lightning. Power authorities therefore operate their systems in such a way that they have sufficient reserve capacity available to allow for contingencies. In the last decade of the previous century a condition developed, for various reasons, that the reserve margin was too small in the South African electricity supply system. This resulted in a series of interruptions early in the new millennium.

In this chapter the historical development of electrical power systems globally is first summarised, stressing the importance of electrical energy stressed with some comments on scenarios for the future. Thereafter the history of electric power in South Africa is reviewed.

The South African electricity crisis of the period 2005 – 2010 is discussed and the chapter is concluded with an overview of the contents of the thesis.

## ***1.1 The importance of electrical energy***

In Greek mythology, Prometheus a champion of mankind known for his wily intelligence, stole fire from Zeus and gave it to mortals. Zeus punished him for his crime by having him bound to a rock where a great eagle ate his liver every day only to have it grow back to be eaten again the next day. It has been said that the Prometheus myth is presently being re-enacted with the over-exploitation of Earth's resources by mankind, who having overstepped his mark, is now being punished by the gods.

Once upon a time humans lived in utopian balance with nature, initially only eating plants and fruit, later hunting wild animals and sometimes falling prey to them. At some stage their intellect enabled them to invent techniques and equipment to simplify their everyday lives: lighting a fire, making stone tools, and creating the bow and arrow, the plough, the lever and the wheel. Later they would harness the forces of nature to replace muscle power; using wind and water power for tasks such as grinding seeds and driving saw mills. In 1759 James Watt noticed that steam from a kettle could be used to cause rotation of a wheel, similar to a water wheel, setting the stage for the Industrial Revolution to commence.

Fuel in the form of wood or coal (fossilised wood) was used in boilers to produce power for flour mills, saw mills and cotton-weaving machines. It was also during this time that Michael Faraday (1789-1867) and others observed that electricity is generated when a

magnet moves past a copper wire. Mechanical power, produced by steam, can be used to generate electricity. The reverse process was also demonstrated: electric current flowing in a copper wire near a magnet experiences a mechanical force. Everything was now in place for the use of electrical transmission networks: electricity, generated in regions with abundant coal is transmitted over high voltage lines to centres where it was used to drive electric motors and supply heating and electric lights. In countries such as the USA, dams and hydro-electric power stations were constructed instead of coal fired power stations.

The advantages of these developments included employment, which led to vibrant economies, the elimination of smoke from chimneys and the use of electric lights, electric stoves and heaters. Apparently, the associated negative effects were not realised at that stage, but included: air pollution near power stations, although often in areas remote from residential areas, acid rain, damage to the environment near coal mines, water pollution and last but not least, global warming. Further disadvantages are the exploitation of workers and the use of child labour.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were initially confined to Great Britain, Central Europe and the USA. South Africa was also subjected to industrialisation at an early stage, with the discovery of diamonds and gold so that Kimberley had street lights only shortly after New York. (Conradie & Messerschmidt: 2000:12). The developments had a huge impact on the well-being of the industrialised nations, and, aided by developments in science, medicine and notably the availability of pure water, resulted in a general increase in life expectancy. These advantages were unfortunately not shared by all nations and all sections of the community and for these people electricity has become a symbol of a better lifestyle. Locally this desire is manifested by the "Electricity for All" slogan of the ANC. Another factor that impacts on the global energy sources is the fact that, after the Second World War large scale industrialisation took place in Eastern countries, China being the latest example.

Can such development continue unabated? In the fifties and sixties of the last century the so-called "population explosion" was the main concern globally. In a research paper Theodore Steck pointed out that, in both developed and undeveloped nations, the number of births is cancelled out by an approximately equal number of deaths. The reason for this is that in undeveloped communities tradition favours a high birth rate, while the high mortality is caused by the absence of medical care. In developed communities both the birth and death rates are low due to the effects of industrialisation, medical science and birth control. However, during the transition from undeveloped to developed, traditions still play a role while medical services become available, resulting in a high birth rate and diminished mortality, i.e. population growth. It would seem that South Africa falls into the latter category. According to the United Nations the world population growth rate reached its peak of 20 per thousand in 1970 and has since declined to the present 11 per thousand (Steck, 2010). In

countries with established energy consumers the main concern is not the population growth but the exorbitant per capita energy usage. Another concern is the awakening of countries such as China, India and Africa whose citizens yearns for an American lifestyle and in the process take up their share of the global energy sources.

According to the IMF the world economy will grow at a predicted rate of 4.5 per cent in 2011 (IMF Survey online, 2011). Such growth is necessary to ensure an acceptable standard of living for everyone. However financial growth must be underpinned by growth of available energy. Where will this energy be coming from? In 2007 the main sources of energy for electricity generation were oil (5%), coal (42%), gas (21%), nuclear (14%), renewable (solar, wind, hydro) (18%) (EIA 2010). Oil, gas and coal are non-renewable sources in the sense that they are fossil materials which were formed long ago and will run out some or other time. These three are also known as culprits with regard to global warming. Uranium sources are also limited but only relatively small quantities are used. Nuclear power is regarded with distrust in many countries, a sentiment reinforced by the Chernobyl, Three Mile Island and more recent Fukushima incidents – even though countries such as France rely heavily on nuclear power and their safety record is excellent.

The other sources are renewable in the sense that they cannot be depleted: the sun will shine again, the wind will blow and it will rain again. Some African rivers, notably the Congo River, have considerable potential for new hydroelectric schemes. However, political stability remains elusive. If developed successfully, these schemes could supply power over high voltage power lines to South Africa and even to Europe. Nowadays, harnessing of the wind and solar radiation is high on the agenda. However, it remains to be seen if these sources can supply the large constant base load, required by industry. At present this function is served by coal-fired or nuclear power stations. The recent disasters at Japanese nuclear plants, following the earthquake and tsunami, will strengthen the anti-nuclear lobby and will impede the construction of new nuclear power stations.

How much energy are we using presently and how much do we need in future? It is interesting to compare the per capita power consumption of various countries. The installed generating capacity and the population data (Photius Population 2007 Country Ranks, 2009) can be used as an indication of the dependence on electrical energy. In Table 1.1 the installed capacity per capita is calculated, using the data from the website mentioned above. The table only includes domestic and industrial electrical energy and excludes other sources such as petroleum used for transport.

The table clearly shows the unequal division of the energy pie. Interestingly, South Africa compares favourably with the Western nations of Europe. Despite their massive generating capacity China still has some way to go. It is further clear that Mother Earth will have difficulty in providing sufficient resources to bring everyone up to the level of the

Western nations. The Western nations, including South Africa, benefited, during this period from cheaply mined coal and hydropower.

**Table 1.1: Installed generating capacity per capita for various countries (2007)**

Country	Installed generating capacity (gigawatts)	Population (millions)	Watt per capita
Switzerland	19.2	7	2541
UK	84.5	60	1390
RSA	42.7	43	971
China	715.5	1321	541
Egypt	22.6	80	281
India	15.9	1129	14
Uganda	0.3	30	10

What about the road ahead? There are at least three reasons why the outlook is on the dark side.

Firstly, even at a growth rate of 3% half a Koeberg must be built annually. The implications of continued exponential growth are terrifying. One can imagine a scenario with no room for people among all the wind farms, solar farms, nuclear power stations and power lines. Even if eco-friendly options are used, it will be difficult to meet the required rate of expansion in a sustainable way. No matter how great the need for energy, most people has the 'Not in my backyard, please' attitude. The message is quite clear: We will have to reduce our energy consumption. In Switzerland there is a movement afoot to reduce their hourly energy consumption (including all forms of energy, averaged over a year) from the present 5000 watt to 2000 in 2050 (2000-watt-society, 2011).

Secondly, as mentioned above, the number of energy users will increase not only due to the population growth, but also due to the millions that are desperate to improve their living standards. The only way to achieve this is by utilising energy resources. During the heyday of the growth of the South African economy the installed generating capacity increased from 4000 MW in 1960 to 40000 MW in 1990 – a tenfold growth in 30 years.

Thirdly, a large portion of the generating transmission and distribution system shows signs of ageing. This came about by the tremendous expansion of networks during the sixties and seventies, worldwide, necessitating replacement in these days. Less capital will thus be available for expansion.

Doomsayers contend that we have already reached the point of no return and that Planet Earth will eventually turn to a state of desolation without any technology, allowing

nature to take over again. Let's hope that they are too pessimistic, forgetting the human capacity to adopt and to come forward with ingenious solutions. An optimistic view is that the engineers and scientists that could put a man on the moon and that designed computers and cell phones will come forth with renewable solutions and even imitate the sun's fusion process. Hopefully we will see the writing on the wall and curtail our energy usage drastically.

In a report published by the WWF in 2011 an optimistic scenario is sketched: by 2050 our energy needs will be 15% lower than today through saving and then all our energy requirements will be supplied from renewable sources (WWF, 2011).

## ***1.2 Electrical energy in South Africa (Conradie & Messerschmidt, 2000)<sup>1</sup>***

As mentioned above, the discovery of diamonds and gold resulted in the early industrialization of South Africa, almost at the same time as the Western nations. Kimberley had electric streetlights in 1882 while London still had gas lighting. The first power grids were originally run by municipalities, but later private firms, such as the Rand Central Electric Works Limited, built and operated their own power stations. The first coal-fired power station was built by a German firm and was opened in 1897 and received an official visit from President Kruger. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) power generation came to a standstill.

After peace was declared, mining operations were recommenced and coal was mined at Witbank. There was a need for more power stations and an interesting contest developed between the proponents of a coal-fired power station at Vereeniging, led by among others Sammy Marks, and those of a hydro scheme at the Victoria Falls. The latter option was supported by Cecil John Rhodes who showed a great interest in the hydro scheme at the Niagara Falls in the USA. The choice fell on coal due to the problem to transmit power over the long distance from the Zambezi to the Witwatersrand. A consortium, the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Company (VFP), was formed, consisting of the two factions. The operations of the VFP were constituted in the Transvaal Power Act of 1910. The first Chief Engineer of the VFP was Dr Bernard Price, who also later became its CEO in 1936. The VFP was responsible for the erection of various power stations, among others Vereeniging Power Station with an initial capacity of 43 MW in 1912. At the same time an 80 kV high voltage power line was built from Vereeniging to the Rand mines, the first of its type in an area with a high incidence of lightning.

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<sup>1</sup> Information in this section is largely obtained from Conradie & Messerschmidt

Hendrik Johannes van der Bijl was a brilliant South African scientist who graduated in 1908 at the Victoria College, the forerunner of the University of Stellenbosch, with distinctions in Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics. He continued his studies with research on electron physics in Germany, and was appointed in a research position at the Technical Institute Dresden. After a meeting with Robert Millikan<sup>2</sup>, he accepted a position with Western Electric in New York, contributing to the development of the vacuum tube. He abandoned a promising career as researcher in America to heed a call by General Smuts to accept a position as scientific advisor of the South African government. His tasks included the establishment of an electricity supply network and a steel industry. One of his responsibilities was the drafting of the Electricity Act of 1922. At the end of his contract, he was coerced to stay on in South Africa and became the first chairman of the Electricity Supply Commission (later called Escom/Evkom and Eskom). In terms of the Electricity Act, Eskom had to deliver electricity at cost and was exempted from tax. Initially the firm generated capital by the issuing of debentures, but later it entered into state-guaranteed loans. There was also provision for a redemption fund and a reserve fund to cater for extensions.

Initially, Eskom refused permission for the VFP to build a new power station at Witbank, but later reached an agreement whereby Eskom would supply the capital while the VFP was responsible for the construction, maintenance and operation of the station. The power station was completed in 1935, having an installed capacity of 128 MW. One of the first 132 kV high voltage lines in the world in a region with a high lightning density was built between Witbank and Brakpan.

The growth of the electricity grid continued during the thirties and forties, despite the Depression and the Second World War. Van der Bijl was appointed as Director General of War Supplies with cabinet status and Eskom was actively involved in the war effort.

Thanks to the generous state subsidy, Eskom was in a position to buy out the VFP in 1948 for an amount of 14.5 million pounds. Immediately after the war, especially as the Free State goldfields were developed, South Africa experienced power shortages, reminiscent of today. In June 1949, in cooperation with the mines, monthly quotas were introduced and a moratorium was placed on new extensions. Planning of extensions to the network commenced immediately. Meanwhile the National Party came into power in 1948.

During the decade 1950 – 1960, the installed capacity grew from 1500 MW tot 4000 MW, reaching 13000 MW by 1970, 23000 MW by 1980 and 40000 MW by 1990. The installed capacity thus increased tenfold from 1960 to 1990. The main reason for the present

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<sup>2</sup> Robert A. Millikan (22 March 1868 – 19 December 1953), an American experimental physicist, and Nobel laureate in physics for his measurement of the charge on the electron and for his work on the photoelectric effect

power crisis becomes apparent if it is noted that the installed capacity in 2005 was only 43000 MW.

One of the highlights in Eskom's history was the implementation of the country-wide 400 kV power network in the sixties and seventies. The Western and Eastern Cape, erstwhile Transvaal and Natal were now interconnected, making the power generated in the coal-fired stations in the north available for the rest of the country. A saga with international financial and political repercussions was the construction of the 1420 km long +533 / -533 kV high voltage direct current power line between Pretoria and Mozambique to carry the power of the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric power station, erected from 1969 onwards. This was a "world first", using solid-state high voltage AC/DC converters. This project presented severe technical and logistic challenges, but in 1975 the first power flowed along the line. The route of the line traversed remote war zones. Following the independence of Mozambique in 1974, the resistance movement Renamo sabotaged the line repeatedly, interrupting supply. The whole project had to be overhauled and modernised between 1995 en 1998. During the present crisis, the power imported via these lines is an important role player.

The decision in 1974 to build a nuclear power station at Koeberg was the beginning of another saga. Although nuclear power was more expensive than coal power, it eliminated the transport of coal from the north. In retrospect it appears that the decision was influenced by political and military factors. A case in point was where, in order to obtain the consent of the United States for the supply of nuclear fuel for Koeberg, the South African government agreed to start with negotiations on the independence of South West Africa (Namibia) (Conradie & Messerschmidt: 206). The first unit at Koeberg started operating in 1984. Looking back, considering pollution and global warming, it appears that the decision to build a nuclear power station was the right one.

During the late seventies and early eighties, Eskom built several "six pack" power stations (each with six 600 MW units), being some of the largest and most innovative projects in the world in the Eastern Transvaal. Teething troubles at these stations affected the reliability of the network from time to time. On Friday 5 December 1975, the network collapsed when the line protection at De Aar malfunctioned. The Cape was isolated from the rest of the country and widespread power cuts occurred. After this incident gas turbines were installed at Acacia to provide peaking power. Further problems at the new power stations led to another spate of widespread power interruptions in November 1983 when simultaneous faults at several power stations occurred.

In September 1981 the Highveld was hit by an unusual snowstorm and the coalbunkers and conveyor belts became clogged. This, together with the increased power consumption due to the cold weather, caused widespread interruptions of supply. In contrast, the summer of 1982 was so dry that the dams feeding the power stations were

reaching dangerously low levels. An emergency plan was implemented, using pumps, to reverse the direction of flow of the Vaal River to divert water to the Grootdraai Dam near Standerton. In 1984 another scandal hit Eskom when the Assistant Chief Accountant embezzled 8 million rand, later leading to his arrest.

Eskom has often been in the firing line, similar to the situation today. In 1977, like nowadays, it wanted to increase tariffs and was heavily criticised in an investigation by the Board of Trade and Industry. Because of this Eskom introduced some organisational changes, but it still found it difficult to keep the lights burning.

All these problems, especially those relating to finances, lead to the appointment of a commission chaired by Dr. W.J. de Villiers. The commission recommended various financial and organisational changes. Some of the recommendations were that Eskom abandons the no-profit principle and that the redemption and reserve funds be closed. Financing of project was to be through approved international loans. Another outcome of the report was the appointment in 1985 of the businessman, Mr John Maree, having experience in the mining sector and Armscor. Shortly hereafter P.W. Botha made his infamous Rubicon speech, leaving South Africa and Eskom in a difficult position in international markets. Maree was responsible for the new Eskom (previously Escom/Evkom), but it was more than just a name change. Supported by the General Manager, Ian McRae, an experienced engineer, the Eskom personnel were reduced within one year 66 000 to 60 000 while the sale of electricity increased. (In 2000 Eskom had only 34000 workers). One of the problems caused by the previous management was the over-optimistic growth forecasts. Orders for generating equipment for more than 17 000 MW were already on the books. During the first half of the 1980's the country's growth rate was 5.1%, in the second half it diminished to less than die 4% , and in the first half of the 1990's it was only 2.4%. It was decided to continue with certain new projects and to close down or to "mothball" older and less efficient power stations. Construction continued of Matimba near Ellisras, Kendal near Witbank and Majuba, near Volksrust. The first two stations were unique in that they used dry cooling towers to save water, with Matimba the largest of its type in the world. At the completion of Majuba it was discovered that the coal of the mine adjacent to the station could not be used as planned as it contained too much dolerite. Coal had to be transported by rail from Ogies near Witbank. Completion of Majuba took 14 years. As the new stations were completed, Eskom had a surplus of power and engaged in aggressive marketing for industrial, agricultural and domestic use, a case in point being campaign that started in 1990 at Orange Farm.

After democratisation in 1994 Reuel Khoza became CEO of Eskom with Allen Morgan, a Stellenbosch engineering graduate the Chairman.. Electrification became the main slogan with the RDP mission "to provide the world's lowest cost electricity for growth

and prosperity". Reaching these goals was facilitated by curtailing the capital extension programme. Eskom's BEE goal was to fill 50% of all managerial, professional and supervisory posts with black persons, starting at 9% in 1994.

In 1998 the Eskom Amendment Act was promulgated, stating that the ownership of Eskom's equity vests in the State. This Act evidently had far reaching consequences as it strengthened the role of the State, especially concerning policy and expansion planning.

It appears that the cutting back on expansion and the democratisation process of the nineties started to take its toll shortly after the turn of the century. The re-commissioning of the mothballed power stations turned out to be more difficult than expected. The government of the day had other priorities and fruitless attempts to privatise Eskom delayed the necessary expansions. Just as the economy showed signs of recovery, it was choked by the shortage of electric power. By the turn of the century the reserve margin has consequently been whittled down to dangerously low values.

### ***1.3 The South African electrical energy supply crisis (2005-2010)***

As indicated above, electricity supply is under pressure worldwide and more so at the turn of the century, especially in South Africa where a special set of circumstances prevailed. After an oversupply of electricity in the 1990s the realities of an upturn in the economy, ageing equipment, the absence of an electricity-supply expansion programme and the aftermath of the democratisation process became apparent. A spate of interruptions of power supply occurred during 2005 - 2007 and it was the task of the media, including newspapers, to report on the occurrences and to attempt to explain the reasons and extent of the problems at hand. Blame was immediately apportioned to Eskom, the national power utility, although it later transpired that government policy also played a part. Later the crisis deepened and Eskom introduced load shedding, seriously affecting the public and industries.

Under normal conditions electricity is supplied to the Western Cape by the two units of Koeberg Power Station (50%) as well as from power stations in Mpumalanga via the Eskom transmission network (50%). If one of the Koeberg units is switched off, 75% of the power must come from the North with the one machine at Koeberg and the peaking generation (Gariiep and Vanderkloof Hydropower Stations, Palmiet Pumped Storage Power Station and the gas turbines) supplying the rest of the load. If both the Koeberg machines are off, the full load of the Western Cape can not be supplied and certain customers must be switched off (load shedding) (NERSA, 2006).

A summary of the main events is given in Appendix A. The first major disruption event occurred in November 2005 when a high voltage electrical circuit breaker malfunctioned. On the next day a fault on an inland transmission line caused unit 2 of

Koeberg to shut down. Later the same month a wildfire under a power line disrupted the power system and again caused tripping of unit 2 at the power station. A further routine shutdown of unit 2 in that month was due to a chemical unbalance in the reactor.

The most serious incident took place on 25 December 2005 when unit 1 tripped due to a metallic object ('the bolt') that was left in the machine during maintenance, causing serious damage to the generator. Eventually a 200 tonnes replacement rotor was sourced in France and the unit was only re-energized in May 2006. During this period, loss of unit 2 would seriously disrupt power supply in the Western Cape. Two such incidents occurred during February 2006; both linked to unusual pollution and high humidity events on the transmission system.

NERSA investigated the seven incidents that occurred during 2005-2006 and concluded: "The events indicate trends that are a cause for concern. For example, the protection system is the 'intelligence' and 'brain' of the power system, yet most of these events resulted from the incorrect operation or application of this 'intelligence'. The protection systems should be able, amongst other functions, to isolate the faulty part from the network in the quickest time possible." They also criticised Eskom for not adequately maintaining the components of the transmission system (NERSA, 2006). NERSA refrained from investigating the 'bolt' incident, as it was the subject of a separate investigation. In an Eskom Executive Report this incident was blamed to Eskom and Rotek personnel not adhering to the 'cleanliness' regulations. This resulted in foreign metallic material being left in the rotating machine during maintenance. The bolt that was found in the machine was not necessarily the cause of the damage (Rodseth, Nicholls & Mthombeni, 2006).

After unit 1 was returned to service, unit 2 was shut down for a period of two months for regular maintenance and refuelling. During this period Eskom resorted to load shedding. During the period 2007 – 2010 eight further shutdowns occurred at Koeberg due to refuelling or minor system problems. Power supply remained under pressure for the whole country. One notable problem was the poor quality of coal supplied to the power stations in the north. One specific problem was that of 'wet coal' due to extraordinarily heavy rains. These problems resulted in unpopular scheduled load shedding.

In order to address the short-term shortfall in energy supply Eskom announced subsidies for the installation of solar heaters and the rollout of energy saving compact fluorescent (CFL) light bulbs. New open cycle gas turbine peaking power stations were also built at Atlantis and Mossel Bay. On the long term it was decided to build new large coal-fired power stations in the North. In order to finance new projects, Eskom attempted to raise foreign loans and proposed tariff increases. Further an aggressive demand-side management programme (DSM) was launched, involving contracts with large consumers.

During this period Eskom also experienced management problems. At the beginning of this period Thulani Gcabashe was the CEO, but he was replaced by Jacob Maroga in 2007 who resigned in 2009 after the coal supply debacle and was replaced by Brian Dames in 2010. From time to time concern was raised over exorbitant salary increases and bonuses of Eskom management in the light of proposed tariff increases.

In April 2010 the South African government issued the Integrated Resource Plan (IRP2), outlining the plans for energy sources up to 2030 (Department of Energy, 2011). Under the IRP new generation capacity added to the mix until 2030 will be made up of coal at 15%, nuclear at 23%, imported hydro at 6%, closed-cycle gas turbine (CCGT) at 6%, open-cycle gas turbines at 9% and renewable energy at 42%. This means that by 2030 the energy share of coal power will be reduced from the current 90% to 65%, nuclear energy will increase from 5% to 20%, renewable energy will increase from 0% to 9%, imported hydro remains at 5% and CCGT rises from 0% to 1%. The IRP document will be reviewed every two years.

#### **1.4 Problem statement**

The events surrounding the energy crisis described above received a considerable amount of coverage in the national press. This research project focuses on the complexity of the task of the reporter when reporting on such occurrences. The newspapers were required to convey the factual situation to the readers, avoiding alarmism, sensationalism and negativism. At the same time the reporter, although not an expert in the field of power supply, also has a role to play in educating the readers concerning the complexity of the technology of power supply. By comparing the reporting by several Cape Town newspapers, the following research question will be considered: What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 - 2010?

#### **1.5 Summary of contents of thesis**

The background to global and local electricity supply is given in Chapter one, including an overview of the electricity supply crisis experienced in the period 2005-2010. The chapter also includes a problem statement and a summary of the thesis contents.

A literature survey is presented in Chapter 2, focussing on the role of the media and a review of research methods.

Chapter 3 deals with practical implementation of the methods chosen: quantitative content analysis, qualitative content analysis and field research.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the data obtained from the quantitative and qualitative content analyses. The monthly distribution of the articles and differences between

the newspapers regarding topics covered the types of feature and authors are compared quantitatively. Style and emphasis of the articles of the newspapers are compared qualitatively.

In chapter 5 the main findings are analysed and discussed and chapter 6 presents conclusions and recommendations.

## 2 Literature review

When investigating the role of the media during an eventful time such as the energy crisis, it is necessary to consider the theoretical background existing in literature. The literature is also surveyed regarding relevant research methods and case studies.

### 2.1 *The role of the media*

The task of the media is to convey the reality of events and social conditions to the audience. McQuail (2005:69) quotes Lasswell as explaining the transmission model of communication as “Who says what to whom, through what channel and with what effect?” This is a simplistic version of the communication process in terms of the positivist paradigm and immediately conjures up the mirror metaphor, involving a sender (the mirror), a message (the scene), a channel (vision) and the receivers (viewers).

McQuail (2005:69) mentions the modification of the transmission model by Westley and MacLean whereby events and opinions in society are selected by a communicator (the journalist) for transmission. This last model has characteristics of the gatekeeper and signpost metaphors.

Other models of communication are the ritual model, the publicity model and the reception model. The reception model deviates from the linear transmission model and highlights the fact that the dispersed receivers of the message attach meanings to the message different from the intended one (McQuail 2005:72). The reception of the message not only depends on symbolism (semiotics) of the message, but also on the experience and outlook and knowledge frameworks of the receivers.

Closely linked herewith are the *effect theories*, describing the way the media influence public thinking and behaviour, reviewed in his book by Fourie (2007: 232-247). He distinguishes between *short-term* and *long-term* theories. From the perspective of the present project the relevant short-term theories are the *hypodermic needle theory* and the *two-step theory*. Fourie reiterates the 1994 findings by De Fleur and Dennis that “six decades of research revealed an overall picture of weak [short-term] effects” of the media changing human thinking and behaviour (Fourie 2007: 237).

Fourie summarises various long-term theories, among which *stereotype theory*, *agenda-setting theory* and *framing theory* are relevant within the present context. *Stereotyping* reinforces existing patterns of attitudes and behaviour towards specific individuals, groups and institutions (Fourie 2007: 244). In accordance with the *agenda-setting theory* excessive news coverage influences the public awareness of the significance

of an issue. *Framing*, on the other hand, has to do with the way the media portrays a person or organization by only focussing on the negative (or positive) attributes of the subject.

Altheide (1996:9-11) makes the important point that newspapers (and TV newscasts) are organizational products and that understanding the process “how they are put together” (deadlines, etc.) is important for researchers. He also discounts the hypodermic needle (bullet) theory in preference to the reception model and states: “But why, then, study documents? If one is not interested in the immediate impact (bullet) on an audience member?” He explains: “Interest is not primarily in the immediate impact of messages on some audience member, but rather two aspects of the document: (a) the document process, context, and significance and (b) how the document helps define the situation and clarify the meaning for the audience member” (*ibid*: 12).

Kasperson *et al* (1988) investigated the social amplification of risk and proposed a conceptual framework. Although the objectivity of their research can be questioned as it was sponsored by the Nevada Nuclear Waste Office, it provides some insight into the way messages are perceived by the public. They contrast the technical concept of risk that can be mathematically described as a probability with the way the public perceive the risk after it has been processed (amplified) by the news media, activist social organizations, social groups and personal networks of peer groups. The authors refer to the over-reaction after the Three Mile Island nuclear incident and to an incident where the market of French cheeses plummeted due to a bacteria scare. These cases are reminiscent of the recent Fukushima and German *E. coli* outbreak.

## **2.2 Theoretical background of the main research methods**

The five main research methods in journalism and mass media research are historical research, field research, survey research, content analysis and experimental research (Du Plooy 1997: x). Historical research and field research can be considered the most important ones as the last three include aspects of field research. Whereas historical research involves itself with a study of records of people that lived in the past, field research is performed in the present, “at the place where it is happening” (Pitout 1997: 105).

### **2.2.1 Historical research**

Phil Graham (July 18, 1915 – August 3, 1963), American publisher and co-owner of *The Washington Post* once said “Journalism is the first rough draft of history”. All news articles, including those describing the power crisis, therefore qualify as ‘history’. An interesting further question is, When does history end; yesterday or ten years ago? In a survey by BBC history magazine experts provided widely differing answers. One way out of the

controversy to refer to the recent past as contemporary history (BBC history magazine). An Internet History of the United Kingdom features events up to May 2010 (Citizendium). The historical research method will be used to probe its history as background to the present crisis.

One of the questions that confront researchers in communication is: What drives history? There are three theories (Sonderling 1997: 91). The cyclical view of history contends that history repeats itself: the same plot with different actors. In terms of the providential view of history, it is shaped by divine intervention and follows a predestined path. The most modern theory is that of the progress view of history, trusting human capabilities to improve living conditions of the human race gradually. Recent concerns regarding climate change and global warming seem to challenge this theory. Diamond (2005:23) lists practical lessons from societies that ended up destroying themselves.

Once collected, the data must be analysed, interpreted within the relevant social context. Analysis involves methods such as quantitative research methods, discourse analysis and content analysis. During interpretation the questions why and how are answered. Explanations attempt to reconstruct the past, based on available data (Sonderling 1997:101).

In this investigation the historical research method was used in Chapter 1 to probe the historical background of the energy supply crisis. In addition, the newspaper reports that give an account of the energy crisis may be considered as contemporary historical documents. In agreement with the role of the media sketched in section 2.1, Eldridge (1993: 8) alludes to the difficulties in interpreting these documents as follows:

If as the adage has it, journalism is the first draft of history, then we can appreciate that, as with history, selection and interpretation will take place and we are not dealing with a world of unassailable facts but with provisional accounts. Moreover, to put it formally, the epistemological status on which these accounts are based can vary. We as audience will not necessarily be aware of this.

### **2.2.2 Field research**

In contrast with historical research, field research is performed by the researcher observing the behaviour of a group of participants in their natural environment (Pitout 1997: 104). The researcher has recourse to a number of research techniques, classed into two groups: fundamental and supplementary. The fundamental group comprises field observations and in-depth interviews, while the supplementary group includes questionnaires, audio-visual recordings, focus groups, case studies and ethnographic research.

The data-collection techniques used in field observations include field notes, audiotape recordings, personal diaries and private and public documents, such as newspapers. Analysis of the collected data is often done, using content analysis. The main limitation of field research, in general, is the fact that it is usually based on small samples. The results should therefore not be considered definitive, but rather used as a guideline.

Within the context of the present investigation field research is used to obtain feedback from journalists on how they experienced reporting on the energy crisis. A self-administered questionnaire was compiled to be sent by e-mail to the respondents, using open-ended questions. The responses to the questionnaire were interpreted by the author.

### **2.2.3 Content analysis**

What is content analysis? Wigston (1997:152) gives a definition of content analysis (by Berelson 1952) as “the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest<sup>3</sup> content of communication”. This definition appears to emphasise the quantitative nature of content analysis, ‘manifest’ implying a physical count. However, as Wigston points out, content analysis focuses on the intention and the interpretation of the message. In this regard the latent (underlying) meaning is also relevant and highlights the qualitative nature of the process (ibid: 155). The main steps in performing content analysis are formulating a research question or hypothesis, selecting a population, selecting a unit of analysis, coding of the data and drawing conclusions (ibid: 156).

The historical division into quantitative and qualitative research perspectives within social sciences is also reflected in content analysis. Whereas the quantitative research method uses numerical counts or measures and statistical methods, the qualitative method makes use of general observations, interviews and verbal descriptions (Priest 1996: 250). Qualitative researchers are interested in answering ‘why’-questions and are not prepared simply to accept the quantitative answers (McBride & Schostak: 1995).

Krippendorff (2004:18) criticises Berelson’s original definition on its insistence that it is “objective” and “systematic”. He provides the following definition: “Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. He also prefers an approach that includes both quantitative and qualitative principles and does not support a strict division between quantitative and qualitative techniques.

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<sup>3</sup> Manifest: readily perceived by the eye or the understanding; evident; obvious; apparent; plain: *a manifest error* (Dictionary.com)

The modern tendency is a confluence of the two approaches and that they should complement each other (Du Plooy 2001: 40). In this thesis the data will be analysed, employing a combination of the two methods, the so-called triangulation<sup>4</sup> method.

### **2.2.3.1 Quantitative content analysis**

As indicated above, the quantitative method depends on numerical counts, i.e. manifest coding (Wigston 1997:159). Prior to the coding process certain rules or protocols are drafted to allow processing of the text. The number of reports containing a specific word or phrase within a period could be counted. Likewise the number of occurrences of specific words in a text could be counted. After statistical analysis of the data certain conclusions can be drawn. The inferences made in quantitative content analysis are usually inductive<sup>5</sup>.

### **2.2.3.2 Qualitative content analysis**

The main difference between the qualitative and quantitative methods occurs during the coding process. Here latent coding, a more subjective approach will be used, interpreting the meaning within a message. In this process it is required to make value judgements and insight is required (ibid).

Altheide (1996: 16) contrasts quantitative content analysis with ethnographic (qualitative) content analysis. He states, "Unlike in quantitative content analysis, in which the protocol is the instrument, the investigator is continually central in ethnographic content analysis, although protocols may be used in later phases of the research."

## **2.2.4 Content analysis studies in the literature**

Content analysis remains one of the most popular research methods in the social sciences. A search on the Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost) database for peer-reviewed journal articles, having the phrase *content analysis* in the title during the period January 2000 to August 2011, produced 794 items. Changing the search criteria to *content analysis* in the title AND *media* in the text yielded 242 articles for the same period. The subjects covered often include gender, politics, sex and advertising media issues.

Thayer *et al* (2007) explain the basics of content analysis in order to promote its use in technical communication research. They demonstrated the use of the method by analysing the "About Us" English-language web sites of universities in various countries and found that the style of the web sites of Inner Circle (United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New-Zealand) is more formal than those from the Outer Circle

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<sup>4</sup> The term 'triangulation' is a metaphor, based on a navigational technique whereby the position of a ship is determined by picking up its position from the signals from two sources (beacons)

<sup>5</sup> Research infers either from examination of several instances to a law (*induction*) or from a law to individual instances (*deduction*) (Jensen 2002: 259) Wimmer & Dominick (1991:46).

(Bangladesh, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia).

Adkins Covert & Wasburn (2007) conducted a content analysis of the coverage of domestic social issues by *Time* and *Newsweek* over the period 1975 – 2000. The issues considered were Crime, Environment, Gender and Poverty. They found an “impressive consistency” in the coverage over this period, and no significant ideological (liberal/conservative) bias.

Grobe (2002) did a content analysis of 258 articles in a major Oregon based newspaper, *The Oregonian*, on the coverage of the Y2K computer virus. He refers to the social amplification of risk as described by Kasperson et al (1988), pointing out the role of the media in heightening particular Y2K messages.

Other issues investigated using content analysis are coverage of Romania (1985-1997) by *The New York Times* (Hickman & Trapp: 1999), US News coverage of Mexico (Johnson et al: 2009) and marginalization devices in US press coverage of the Iraq war protests (Dardis 2006).

The use of content analysis to improve the identification of media frames is discussed in a comprehensive paper by Matthes & Kohring (2008). They summarise the main methods whereby similar elements are organised into groups, thus identifying frames. He points out that these methods suffer regarding validity and reliability – quantitative methods may be more reliable than qualitative methods but not necessarily more valid. They proposed a method whereby the frame is split up into its separate frame elements, which are coded in content analysis. Thereafter cluster analysis is performed, grouping the elements together in a specific pattern (frame), common for the group of articles studied.

They base their method of identifying frame elements on the definition given by Entman (1993):

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular *problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described.”

On this basis frame elements include a problem definition, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation and a treatment recommendation. The authors then proceed to apply the method to investigate the framing of biotechnology in *The New York Times* for two periods 1992-1996 and 1997-2001. They found that from 1992 to 1996 the paper presented biotechnology in three frames: *Economic Prospect, Genetic Identity* and *Research Benefit*. During the next interval (1997-2000), three additional frames emerged in addition to the previous three: *Biomedical Prospects, Biomedical Research* and *Agri-Food: Pros & Cons*.

### **2.3 Chapter summary**

In this chapter the literature was surveyed regarding the role of the media in society and the theoretical background of the research methods. Some detail was provided on research methods that are used in this project, including content analysis. Various case studies were presented from the literature.

### **3 Practical implementation of the research methods**

To answer the research question, “What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 - 2010?” a selection of newsprint, containing the word “Eskom”, from Cape Town based newspapers was analysed, using content analysis. For further assistance to answer the research question field research was employed and a questionnaire was sent to relevant reporters and also to a technical expert.

This section describes the selection process. It was first intended to use a selection of keywords, such as “electricity crisis” or “electricity”, but it was found that the word “Eskom” was most effective in identifying the relevant articles.

#### **3.1 Content analysis**

##### **3.1.1 Choice of period**

The period 2005 – 2010 was chosen as the first significant power interruptions started towards the end of 2005. Power cuts, operational and managerial problems have continued up to the present, but it appears that the situation improved during 2010. The chosen period therefore represents a well-defined episode.

This period was chosen for the quantitative content analysis. For the qualitative content analysis two-year long periods were chosen: 2006 and 2008. The year 2006 marks the apex of the problems at Koeberg power station that started towards the end of 2005. Power supply problems, mainly caused by poorly-managed coal supplies at the major power stations typify 2008.

##### **3.1.2 Choice of population**

As mentioned above, the selected criterion was the occurrence of the word Eskom in an article of newsprint in the following Cape Town based publications:

*Business Report*, a supplement appearing in the daily newspapers of the Independent Group

*Die Burger*, a Media 24 daily morning newspaper.

*Sake 24*, a supplement appearing in the Afrikaans daily newspapers of the Media 24 group.

*Cape Argus*, an Independent Group daily newspaper.

*Cape Times*, an Independent Group a newspaper appearing daily, excluding Saturdays.

For the content analysis the database of newspaper clippings under SA Media (Sabinet) was accessed via the University library services. The newspaper articles obtained after the search for the keyword Eskom were filtered and the following were left out:

Text messages and short comments from readers;  
Articles with strong political commentary;  
Some articles dealing with finances and economic policy; and  
Other articles not considered relevant to the research question.

Details of the articles consulted are given in Appendix B. The data for the quantitative content analysis are given in Tables B1 to B6 and for qualitative content analysis in Tables B7 and B8.

### **3.1.3 Criteria used in quantitative content analysis**

#### Article subject categories:

The selected articles were firstly classed into one of the following subject categories:

#### *Education*

This category includes all articles dealing with education regarding electrical power and safety aspects.

#### *Save*

This category deals with the need to save electricity, suggestions and calls for reduced usage.

#### *Tariffs*

Articles dealing with proposals to increase electricity tariffs fall in this category.

#### *Expansion*

This category includes articles dealing with plans to increase electricity generation and supply.

#### *Management*

Articles dealing with the performance of the Eskom management fall in this category.

#### *Power cuts*

These articles cover the interruption of the electricity supply, blackouts and load shedding fall in this category.

#### *Renewable*

This category includes articles dealing with renewable energy sources and also aspects relating to the environment such as global warming.

#### *Nuclear-pro*

Articles taking a positive or neutral position towards nuclear power are included in this category.

#### *Nuclear-anti*

This category includes articles having a negative position regarding nuclear power.

In the case where an article could fall into two or more categories, an informed judgement was made.

Article type categories:

The articles were divided in terms of the type of article:

*Editorial*

This category mainly includes editorials by the editor, giving the newspaper's stance on the issue.

*Column*

These articles are regular contributions, often written by the same person.

*Cartoon*

Cartoons are graphical (usually humorous) comments on issues.

*Report*

This category includes all hard news stories.

### **3.1.4 Criteria used in qualitative content analysis**

As mentioned earlier, qualitative content analysis is applied to newspaper articles containing the word "Eskom" for the two year periods 2006 and 2008. A selection was made from the articles used in section 2.2 in the quantitative content analysis, concentrating on articles that reported on power supply problems. Articles dealing with managerial issues, tariff and industrial action were ignored. The following categories were considered:

Headline style:

*Headline emotive*

The headings that were grouped in this class were considered to convey one more of the following emotions: despair, ridicule, anger or fear. In this case metaphors using the words "night" and "dark" were often used. Putting these headings into this category does not necessarily imply that there was no justification for their use.

Typical examples are: "ESKOM HAS BEEN CAUGHT WITH ITS PANTS DOWN", "ESKOM IN DUISTER" (Eskom in the dark), "DIS NOU NAG IN DIE KAAP" (It is now night in the Cape), "HERE WE BLOW AGAIN", "NOG NAG VIR ESKOM" (Still night for Eskom) and "NUCLEAR FALLOUT".

*Headline cautioning*

This type of heading conveys a message warning about the crisis without any bias. Typical examples are the following: "KRISISTYD VAN 90 DAE VIR DIE WES-KAAP" (Time of crisis of 90 days for the Western Cape), "SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT THE CRISIS?" "NEW CUTS LOOM AS ESKOM RACE AGAINST TIME" and "RANTSOENE DIE BESTE UITWEG" (Rations the best way out.)

### *Headline neutral*

These headings convey matter-of-fact statements about events or statements by persons. Typical examples are: “ESKOM POWER FAILURES NO CRISIS, SAYS MBEKI”, “REGULATOR 'TO SLAM ESKOM FOR NEGLIGENCE’”, “ENERGY CRISIS 'HAS ROOTS IN RESTRUCTURING OF ESKOM’”, “ESKOM KOOP 45 MILJOEN TON EKSTRA STEENKOOL” (Eskom buys 45 million ton extra coal), “SAS DRAKENSBERG BRING LIG MET KOSBARE VRAG” (SAS Drakensberg brings light with valuable load).

### Headline size:

Headlines were classed according to size as follows:

Large Headline Font: larger than 56 pt

Medium Headline Font: between 25 and 50 pt

Small Headline Font: smaller than 20 pt

### Report contents:

Similar to the headlines the contents of the articles can also be grouped into those that are emotive and those with a more neutral approach.

### *Contents emotive*

This category of report tends to reinforce feelings of despair and dissatisfaction among the public without contributing to a better understanding of the situation. In the report “Winter power misery looms – Users told to cut demand” (*Cape Argus*, 15/03/2006) wherein the effects of the “broken generator” are discussed, the following is stated: “...the government ..refused to give assurances that electricity blackouts were at an end.” This is a typical example of this category. Another report “Bout toe nie die rede vir die kragkrisis nie” (Bolt, after all, not the reason for the power crisis, *Die Burger*, 14/09/2006) gives very little new information, but reinforces the notion of Eskom’s general incompetence.

Cartoons, by their nature, often fall in this category. In *Cape Times* of 17/08/2006 a cartoon by Zapiro portrays the Koeberg Maintenance Team as buffoons/ baboons messing about at the nuclear plant. Fred Mouton, in *Die Burger* of 16/05/2006, pokes fun with the seemingly good idea of switching off hot water geysers during peak times. An editorial in the same issue of *Die Burger* (“Ekskuus”, Pardon me) compares this well-established peak reduction measure with being watched by Big Brother.

### *Contents neutral/ matter-of-fact*

These reports give a fair account of events, based on available information.

### *Contents positive*

These reports highlight positive aspects.

### Accountability:

*Judgemental: Eskom to blame*

These reports blame Eskom for the crisis.

*Judgemental: Government to blame*

These reports put the blame for the crisis on the Government.

*Blame population increase/ growth*

According to these reports population growth is a cause for the increased demand and the energy crisis.

Effects:

*Highlights financial loss*

These reports stress the effect of the energy crisis on the economy.

*Highlights Environment Electricity saving*

These reports refer to energy-saving measures or the adverse effect of increased energy-usage on the environment.

Technical content and consultation

*Reasonable Technical explanation*

In these reports a plausible technical explanation is given for events.

*Spokesperson quoted verbatim*

Most reporters depend heavily on information received from Eskom, Government or other spokespersons.

*Anonymous source*

Some reporters quote anonymous sources.

*Expert quoted*

Quite often reporters have to resort to experts for advice on technical matters.

### **3.2 Field research**

During the energy crisis the South African news media were presented with a difficult subject to report on. When the South African power system was stretched to its limits generation and transmission equipment failed, causing extensive power outages and leaving parts of the country in the dark. The journalists had to report on the situation without having the necessary background. At the same time the power utility was not very forthcoming in explaining the position.

It was therefore decided to approach the reporters who were responsible for reports on the crisis. A questionnaire, shown in Table 3.1, was drawn up and sent to the ten most prolific reporters while stressing the voluntary nature of the investigation. Completed questionnaires were returned by four of the journalists. This was considered acceptable as the four represent a good cross-section of the various newspapers and experience of the reporters.

**Table 3.1: Questionnaire sent out to reporters**

<b>Questionnaire on the Eskom energy crisis (2005 – 2008)</b>	
<p>It is understandable that newspaper reporters are sometimes required to report on technical events and issues beyond their field of knowledge. A typical example is the Eskom energy crisis that the country has experienced during the past few years. The purpose of this investigation is to establish how reporters experienced the situation.</p> <p>Kindly supply answers/ comments where possible.</p>	
<p>Name of reporter:                      Affiliation:                      Highest qualification:                      Science as matric subject: Yes/ No                      Reporter category (e.g. science/ general/ crime/ economics):                      Time span of your career as reporter:</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What specific difficulties did you encounter in reporting on the crisis?</li> <li>2. How would you describe Eskom's role in the crisis?</li> <li>3. How would you describe the government's role in the crisis?</li> <li>4. How did you experience the Eskom spokespersons and press releases?</li> <li>5. How often did you make use of technical experts? Were they easy to get hold of? Name the experts consulted.</li> <li>6. Rate the challenges of reporting on the energy crisis on a scale of 1 to 10 (1: easy, 10: difficult)</li> <li>7. Did you have an inkling of a looming crisis before it started?</li> <li>8. In your opinion, what was the root cause of the crisis?</li> <li>9. Did you have the notion expressed in (8) at the beginning of the crisis or did it develop over time?</li> <li>10. When reporting on the crisis, what was your main aim? (Mark more than one, if necessary):                         <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-To report on the fact that the event happened</li> <li>-To explain the causes of/ background to the event</li> <li>-To report on how the event affected people</li> <li>-To point out an optimistic scenario</li> <li>-To point out a pessimistic scenario</li> </ul> </li> <li>11. How would you respond to the following statement: "Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin."</li> </ol>	

Further the questionnaire, shown in Table 3.2, was sent to a technical expert that was often used by reporters. He responded to the questionnaire.

**Table 3.2: Questionnaire sent to technical expert**

1. How did you experience your contact with journalists? Did you get the idea that they were well-informed?
2. Were you happy with the way your opinion was conveyed in the press? Were you selectively quoted or misquoted sometimes?
3. What is your opinion of the way the 2006 – 2008 crises were reported in the press?
4. How should newspapers organise themselves to be able to report on future events of a similar nature?
5. I sent a questionnaire to some journalists and also asked their opinions the following statement:  
*"Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin."* How would you respond to that statement?
6. Do you think the way Eskom was portrayed as "buffoons running a nuclear power station" (typically in cartoons, inter alia by Zapiro) was fair?

### **3.3 Chapter Summary**

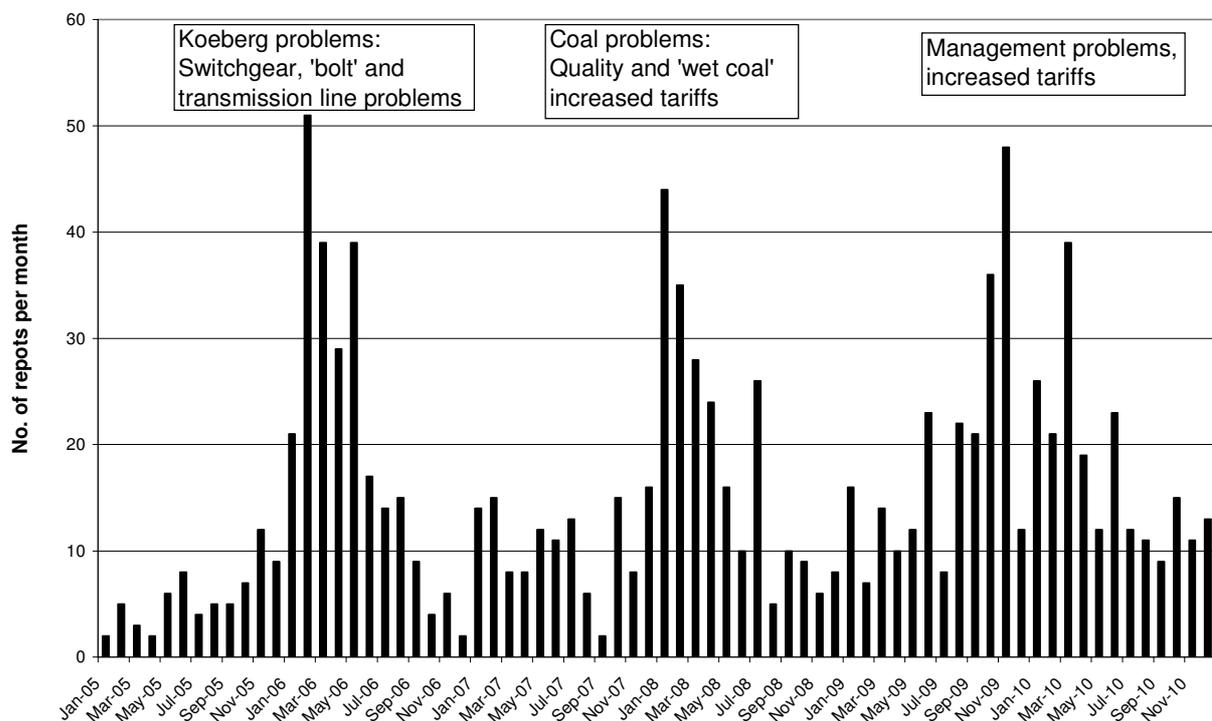
In this chapter an outline was given of the research methods that will be used in this thesis. The main approach is quantitative and qualitative content analysis, but field research will also be employed by way of questionnaires sent to reporters and a technical expert.

## 4 Analysis of research results

In this chapter the results obtained by applying content analysis and field research are analysed with a view to answer the research question: “What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 – 2010?”

### 4.1 Analysis obtained from quantitative content analysis

The results of the search for articles published monthly during the period 2005 – 2010, containing *Eskom* are given in Figure 1. It will be noted that the variation of the data is related to the events outlined in section 1.3.

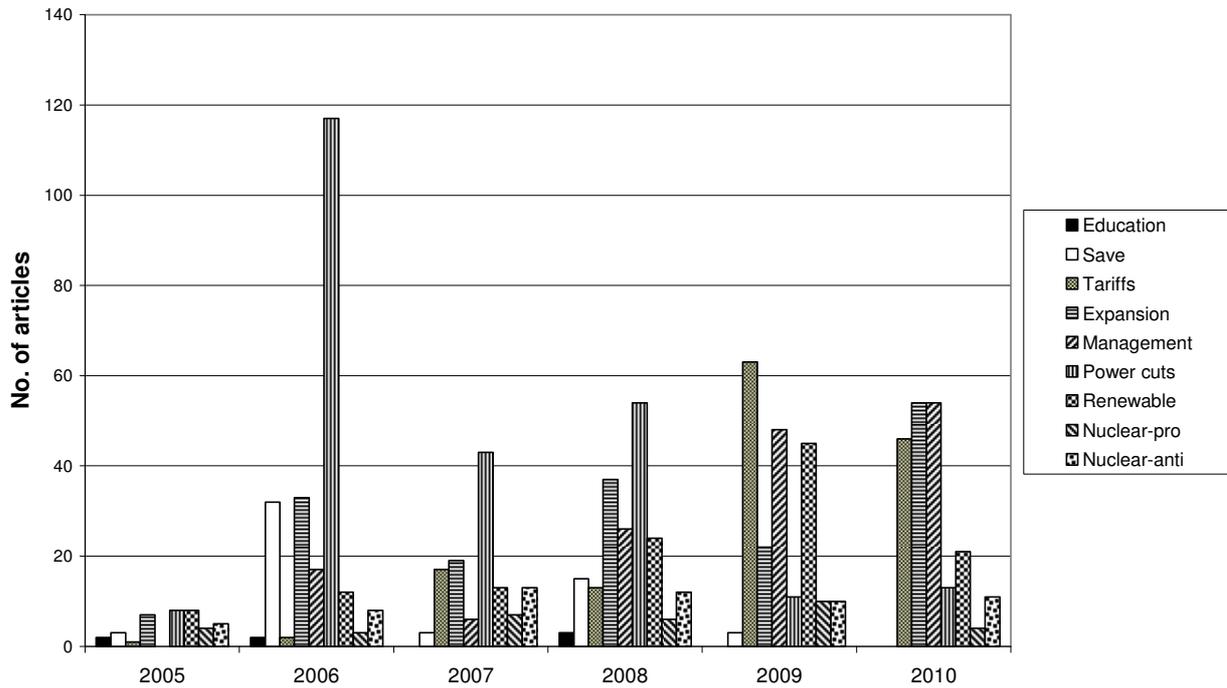


**Figure 1 Monthly distribution of articles containing 'Eskom' for period 2005 – 2010 (1103 articles)**

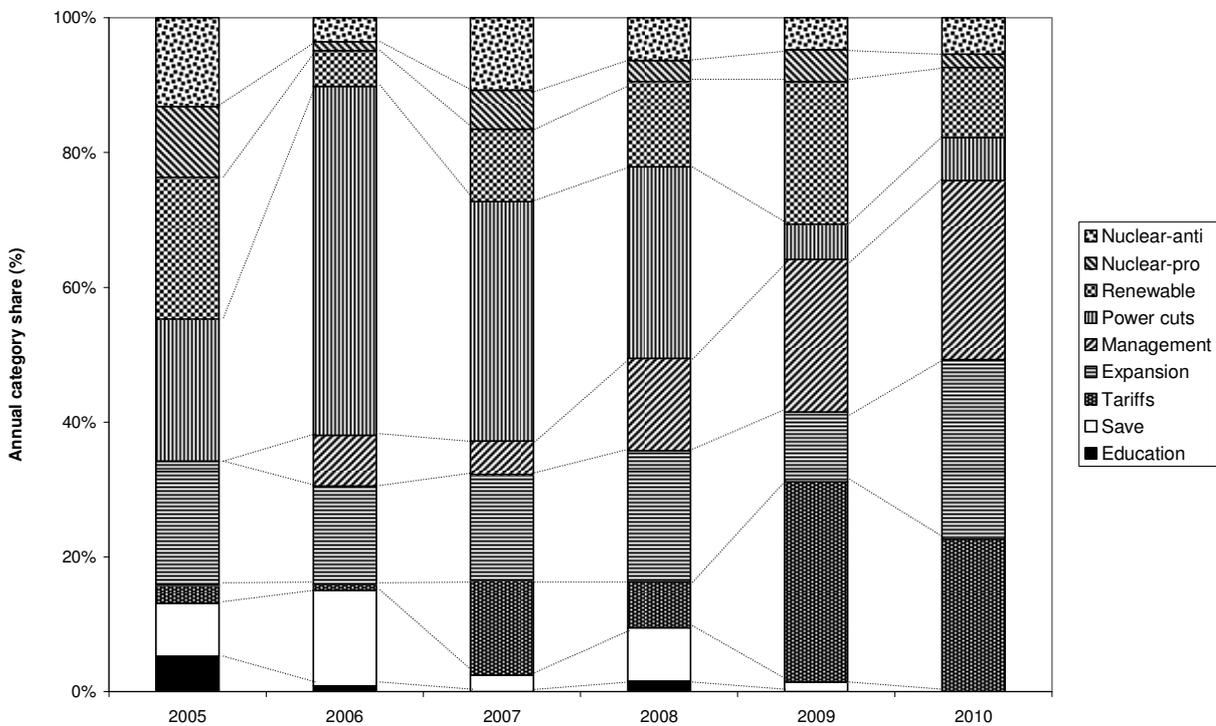
#### 4.1.1 Variation of topics covered during period of investigation

The reason for the fluctuations becomes clear when the topics covered in the various years are considered as shown in Figure 2. Whereas Eskom received very little attention during 2005 there was an upsurge in the number of articles towards the beginning of 2006. As shown in Figure 2, the majority of these articles dealt with the interruptions of supply due to the problems at Koeberg. This, together with management and tariff concerns, remained high on the agenda up to 2008. During 2009 and 2010 the main concerns were tariff increases and the performance of Eskom's management. The data of

Figure 2 are represented differently in Figure 3, giving each category as a percentage of the total number of researched articles for that year.



**Figure 2: Topics covered in the articles of Figure 1**



**Figure 3: Categories covered annually as percentage of total number of annual articles**

An analysis of the data in Figures 2 and 3 reveal the following regarding the distribution of the researched articles among the various categories:

### *Education and electricity saving*

These two categories received a surprisingly small amount of attention, despite the seriousness of the energy situation. Some of these reports dealt with suggestions by Eskom to save energy (e.g. energy-saving light bulbs) or hints to reduce energy consumption. In 2006 and 2008 these reports appear to have been stimulated by the interruptions of supply. One surprising fact is the poor correlation with reporting on higher tariffs. In 2009 and 2010 this category has dwindled to insignificant levels.

### *Tariffs*

The price of electricity in South Africa has been low for many years and, in the light of difficulties to raise finances for new projects, Eskom, at various stages, proposed steep tariff increases. These proposals first required the approval of Nersa, causing a flood of articles before and after Nersa's decision. This category shows steady growth from year to year, both in actual numbers and as percentages of the yearly number of articles. The highest figures occurred in 2009.

### *Expansion plans*

This subject received relatively little attention during 2005, but after 2006 there has been a realisation of the lack of capacity. A large proportion of these articles dealt with the lack of foresight by Eskom and the government in not planning extra generating capacity. Other articles dealt with plans by Eskom to alleviate the situation. The number of articles dealing with this category was consistently the second highest every year with the exception of 2009.

### *Management*

The Eskom management that have been in office during the crisis have (perhaps unfairly) been blamed for the interruptions of supply. This resulted in articles dealing with Eskom's management to rise steadily from zero in 2005 to significant numbers in 2010. Thulani Gcabashe was replaced by Jacob Maroga in 2007. Issues regarding the remuneration and bonuses of Eskom top management received high priority in these articles.

### *Power cuts*

Figure 2 shows that the bulk of the articles in the period 2006 – 2008 dealt with this category with a maximum of 60% occurring in 2006. In 2009 and 2010 the number of articles in this category subsided to lower levels. This trend is confirmed in the percentages of Figure 3, except that 20% of the total number of articles in 2005 dealt with supply problems. The total number of papers of that year was a small number.

### *Renewable energy and the environment*

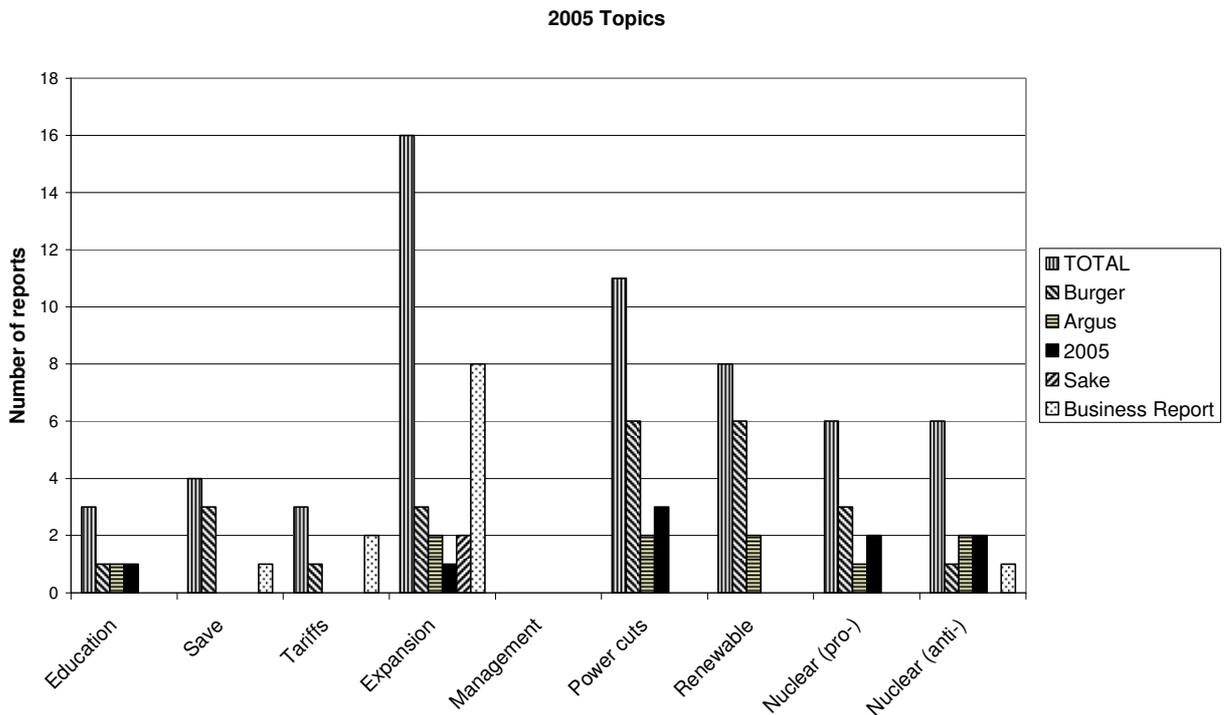
The data in Figures 2 and 3 shows that the number of articles dealing with renewable energy remains relatively low, both in actual numbers and as a percentage, with the exception of a peak in 2009.

*Pro- and anti-nuclear energy*

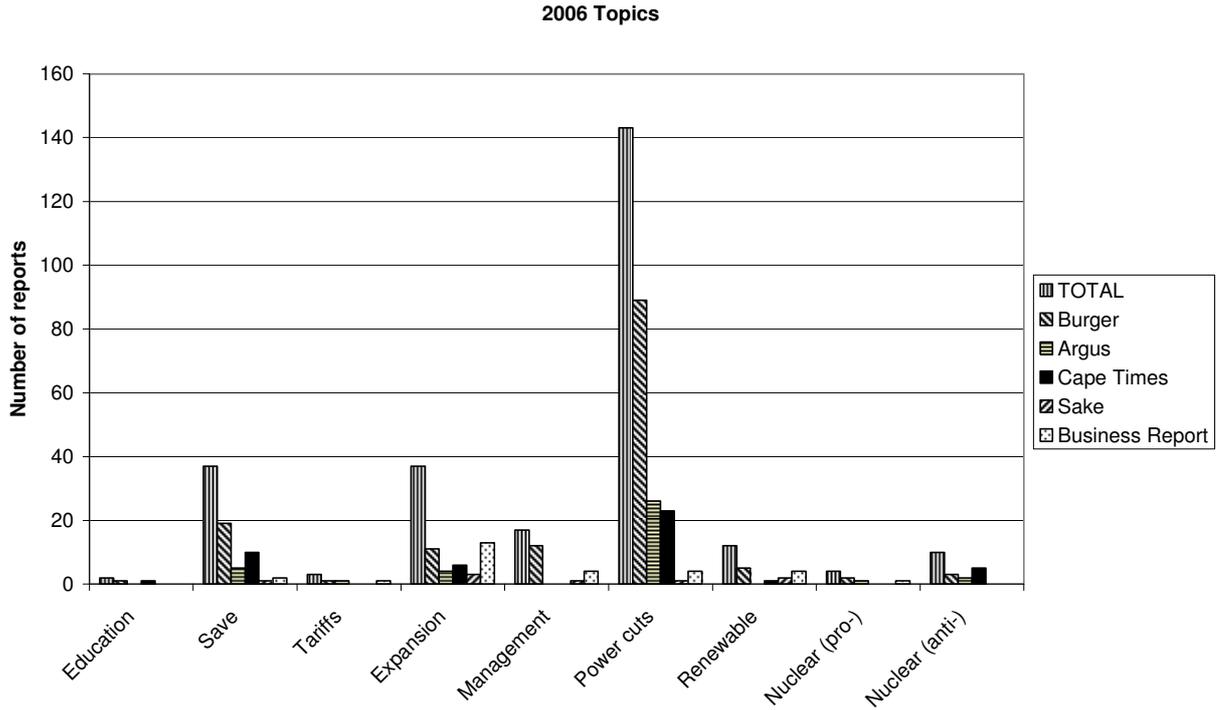
The ratio of the number of articles favouring nuclear energy to those against it remained balanced with the bias towards the anti-group. Proponents saw nuclear energy and specifically the pebble bed modular reactor (PBMR) as an environmentally friendly (from a global warming perspective) solution for the energy supply crisis. Others, notably action groups such as Earthlife Africa, opposed nuclear power referring to possible catastrophes and the issue of nuclear waste.

**4.1.2 Analysis of the variation of the topics covered by the various newspapers during the period of investigation**

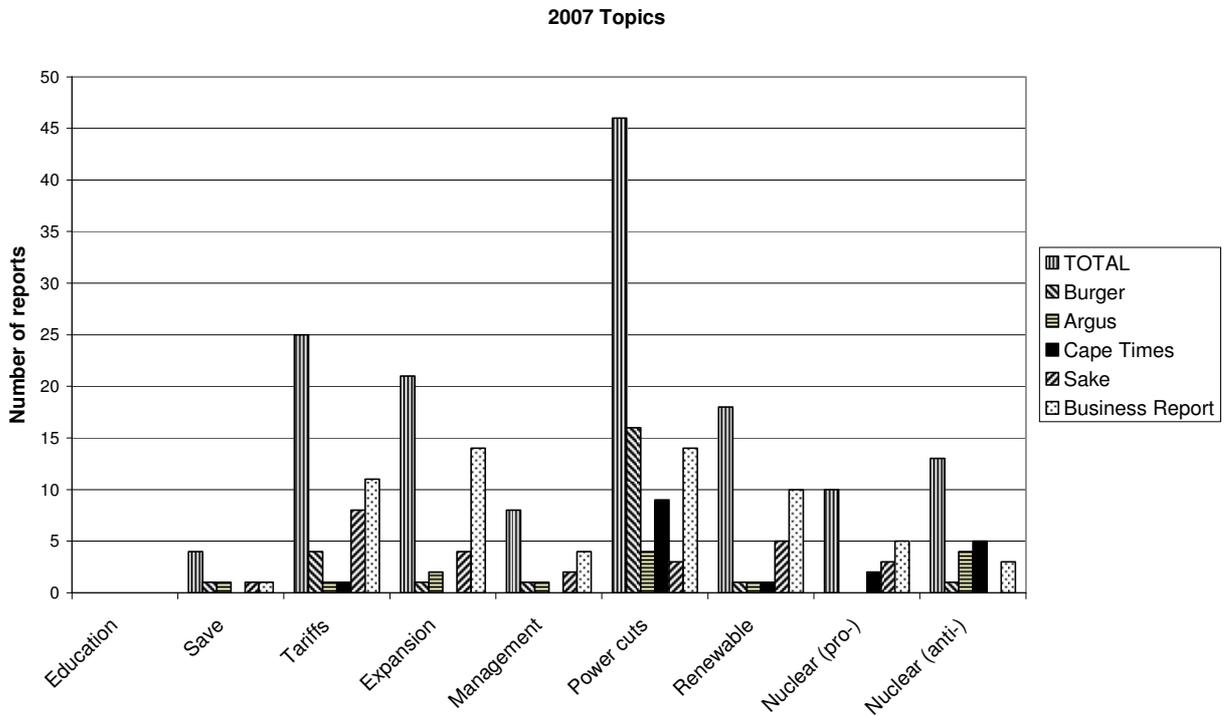
In this section the yearly distribution of the categories of articles among the various newspapers is considered. The data giving the actual numbers for the support of the actual topics on a yearly basis is shown in Figures 4 to 9. It should be noted that the total number of articles was low in 2005.



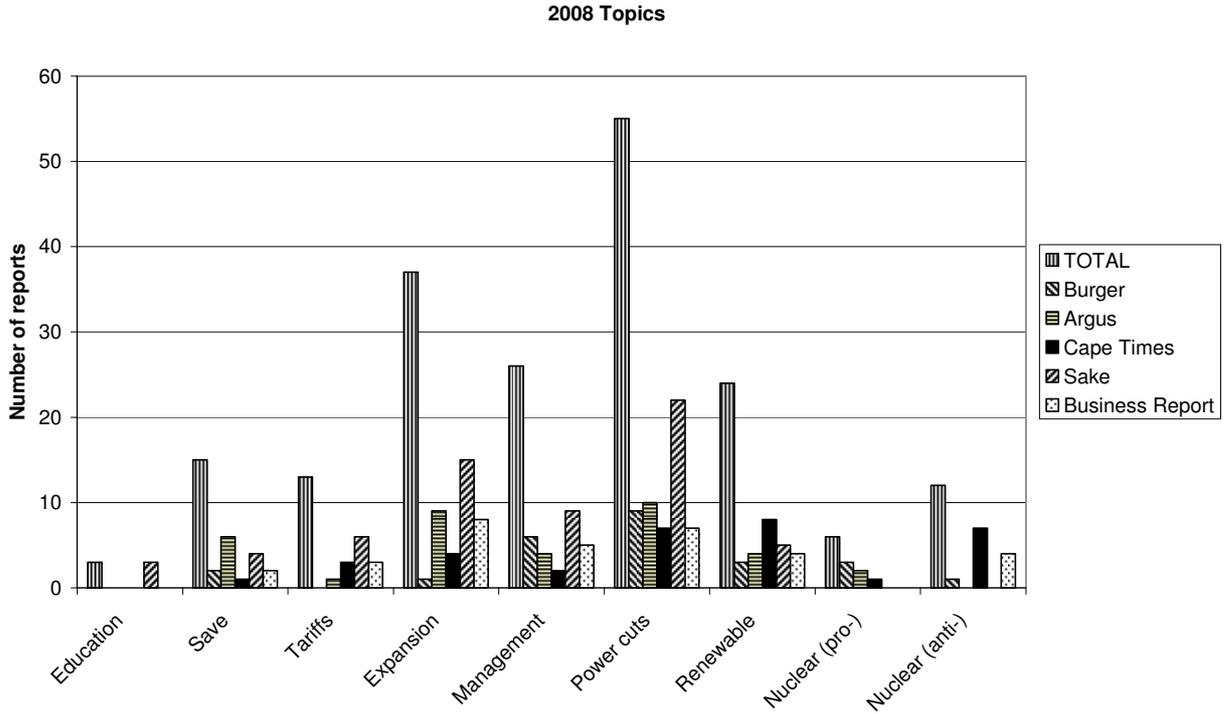
**Figure 4: Topics covered in 2005**



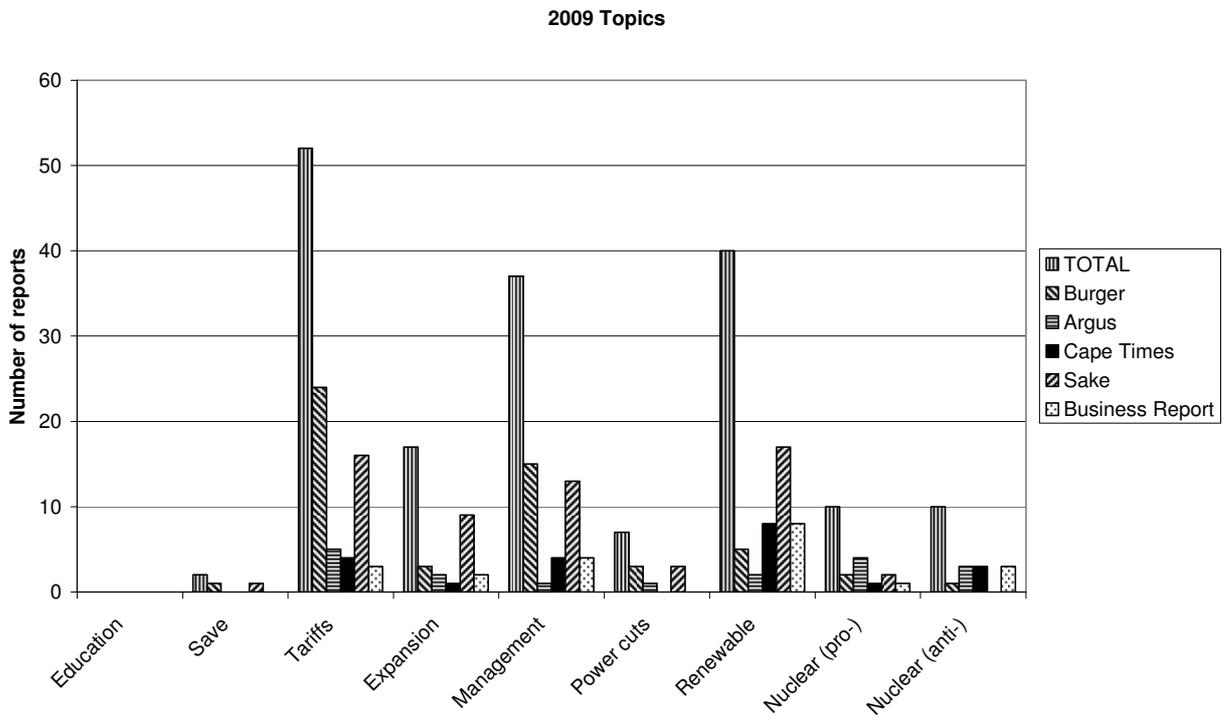
**Figure 5: Topics covered in 2006**



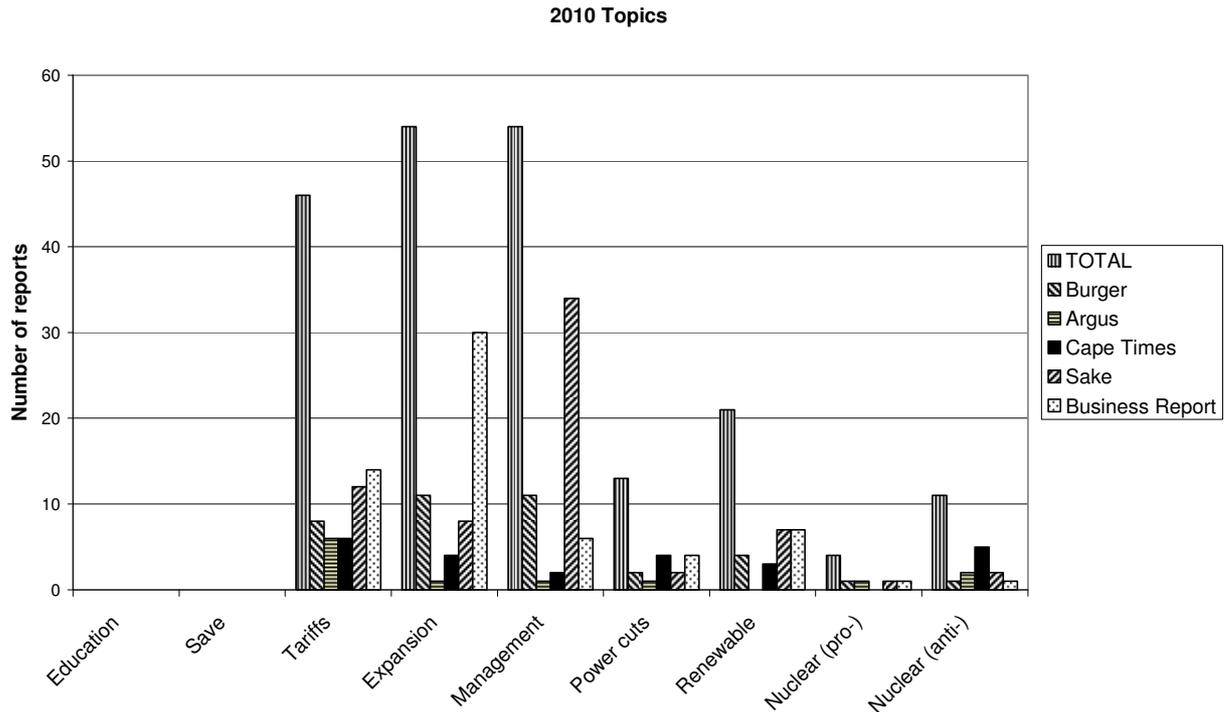
**Figure 6: Topics covered in 2007**



**Figure 7: Topics covered in 2008**



**Figure 8: Topics covered in 2009**



**Figure 9: Topics covered in 2010**

The information in Figures 4 to 9 is analysed in Table 4.1.

The year 2005 marked the start of the problems caused by the interruption of supply and the most articles dealing with this subject were published by *Die Burger* (6 items), followed by the *Cape Times* (3 items). Another topic covered by *Die Burger* was renewable energy (6 items), a topic they consistently highlight. *Business Report* published the most articles dealing with expansion of the electricity infrastructure (8 items).

In 2006 the interruptions continued and *Die Burger* led the field with 90 articles dealing with the supply problems. This score was way ahead of *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus*, each with 22 articles. The most popular category in *Business Report* dealt with expansion strategies (14 items). Electricity saving was high on the agenda in *Die Burger* (20 items).

In 2007 *Die Burger* stayed ahead with reports on the power supply problems (17 items) compared to the 8 articles of *Cape Times*. *Business Report* published 13 articles in each of the categories dealing with renewable energy and infrastructure expansion. The same newspaper also carried 11 articles on the issue of tariffs.

In 2008, with the new spate of power interruptions, the business supplements *Sake* (24 (22 items) and *Business Report* (15 items) topped the list in this category, followed by *Cape Argus* (10 items) and *Die Burger* (9 items). *Business Report* carried 17 articles dealing with expansion of the supply system.

In 2009 the emphasis shifted away from supply issues as fewer interruptions occurred. The proposed tariff increases received the most attention in *Die Burger* (23 items) and *Sake 24* (17 items). Other aspects dealt with were management problems (*Die Burger*: 14 items, *Sake 24*: 13 items) and renewable energy sources (*Sake 24*: 18 items, *Cape Times*: 8 items).

**Table 4.1: Most popular topic categories for the newspapers 2005 -2010 (actual numbers)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Die Burger	Power cuts (6) Renewable (6)	Power cuts (90) Save (20)	Power cuts (17) Tariffs (4)	Power cuts (9) Management (7)	Tariffs (23) Management (14)	Expansion (11) Management (11)
Cape Argus	Expansion, Power cuts, Renewable, Nuclear (anti-) (each 2)	Power cuts (22) Save, Expansion (each 6)	Power cuts (4) Nuclear (anti-) (4)	Power cuts (10) Expansion (8)	Tariffs (5) Nuclear (pro-) (4)	Tariffs (7) Nuclear (anti-) (2)
Cape Times	Power cuts (3) Nuclear (pro-), Nuclear (anti-) (each 2)	Power cuts (22) Save (8)	Power cuts (8) Nuclear (anti-) (5)	Power cuts, Renewable, Nuclear (anti-) (each 8)	Renewable (8) Tariffs, Management (each 4)	Tariffs (6) Nuclear (anti) (5)
Sake 24	Expansion (2)	Expansion (3)	Tariffs (7) Renewable (5)	Power cuts (22) Expansion (16)	Renewable (18) Tariffs (17) Management (13)	Management (34) Tariffs (12)
Business Report	Expansion (8) Tariffs (2)	Expansion (14)	Expansion, Renewable (each 13) Tariffs (11)	Expansion (17) Power cuts (15) Management (10)	Renewable (8) Management (4)	Expansion (30) Tariffs (14)

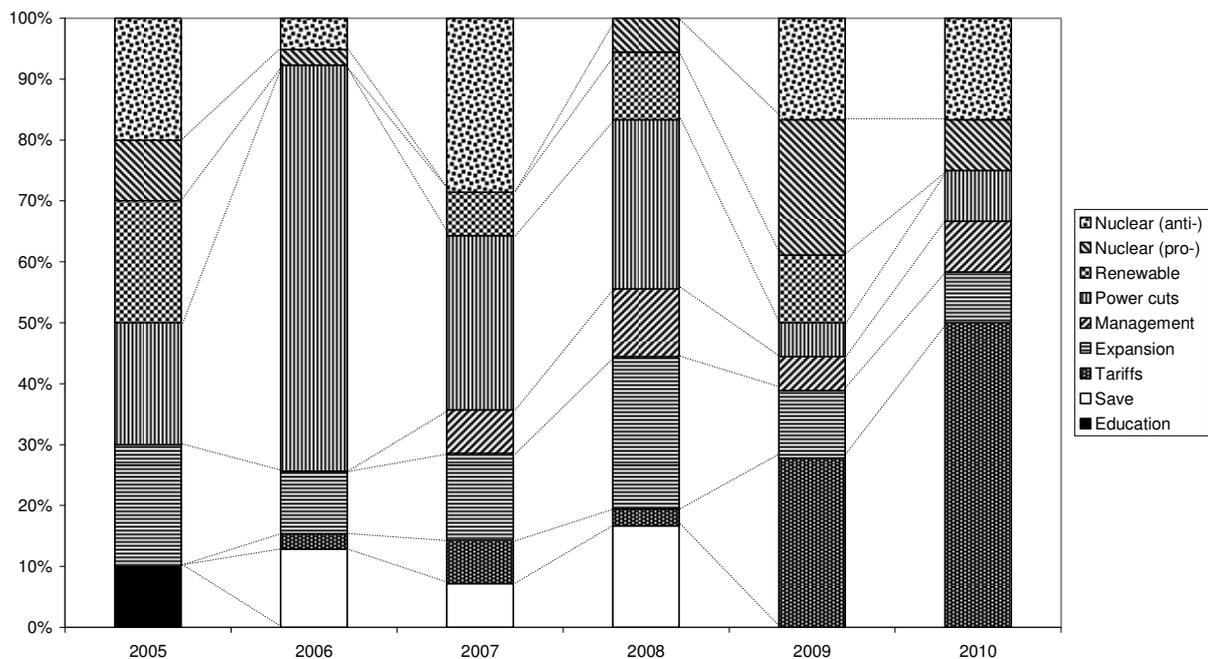
In 2010 the trend of 2009 was continued and the emphasis remained on management problems in Eskom (*Sake 24*: 34 items, *Die Burger*: 11 items) and infrastructure expansion (*Business Report*: 30 items, *Die Burger*: 11 items). The related topic

of tariffs also received much attention, especially in the business supplements (*Business Report*: 14 items, *Sake 24*: 12 items).

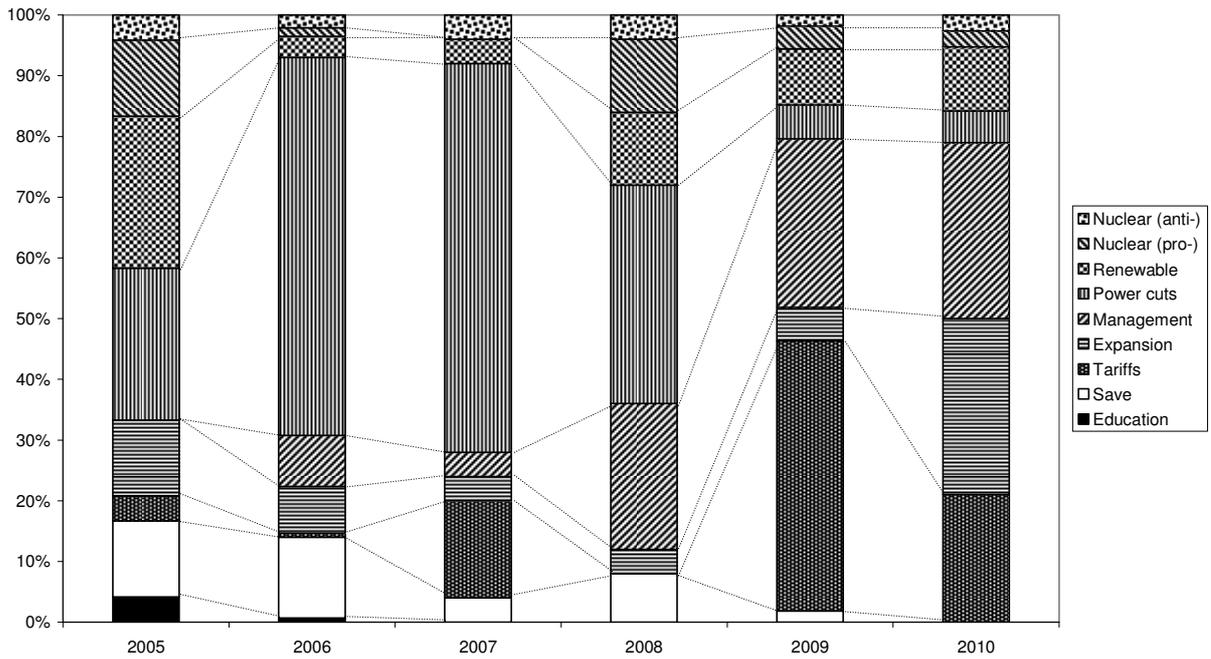
This section showed that the various newspapers reacted differently to the news. It appears that the Afrikaans newspapers were more prolific in reporting news regarding the power interruptions. In the following section the focus will be on the individual newspapers and on which aspects it regards as important.

#### 4.1.3 Investigation of the focus of the various newspapers during the period of investigation

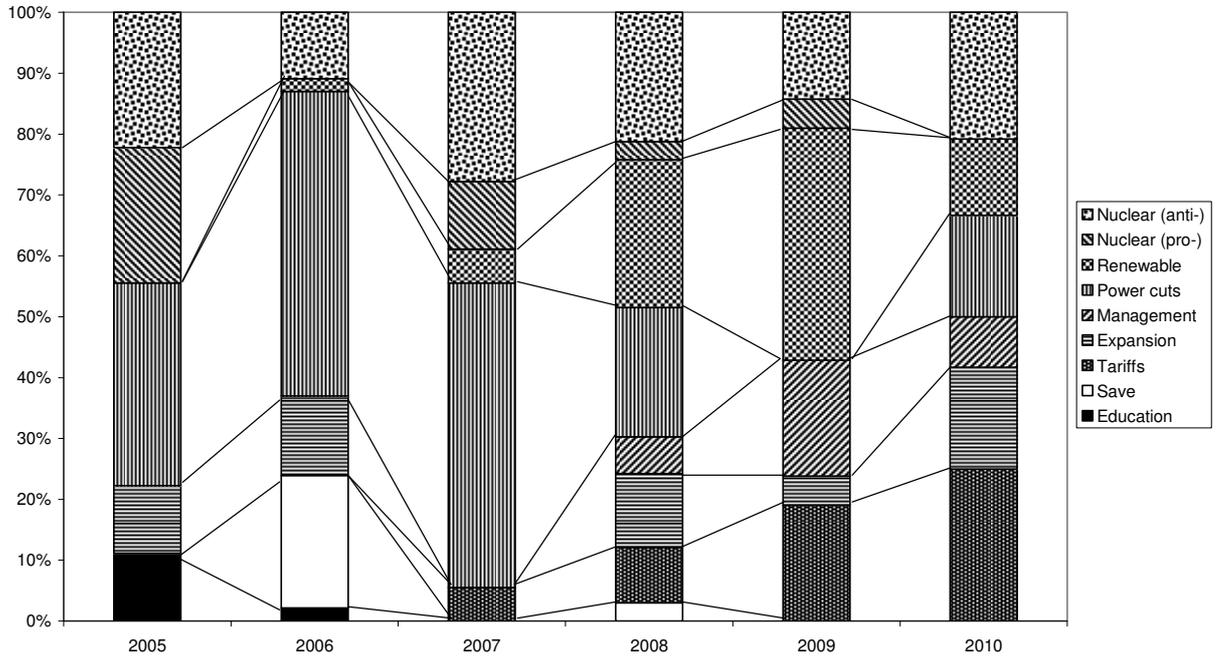
The information in Figures 4 to 9 is represented in a different form in Figures 10 to 14 in that the number of articles in each topic category is expressed as a percentage of the total number of research articles considered for that newspaper in that year. This representation reveals the focus of each newspaper and shows how it differs from year to year



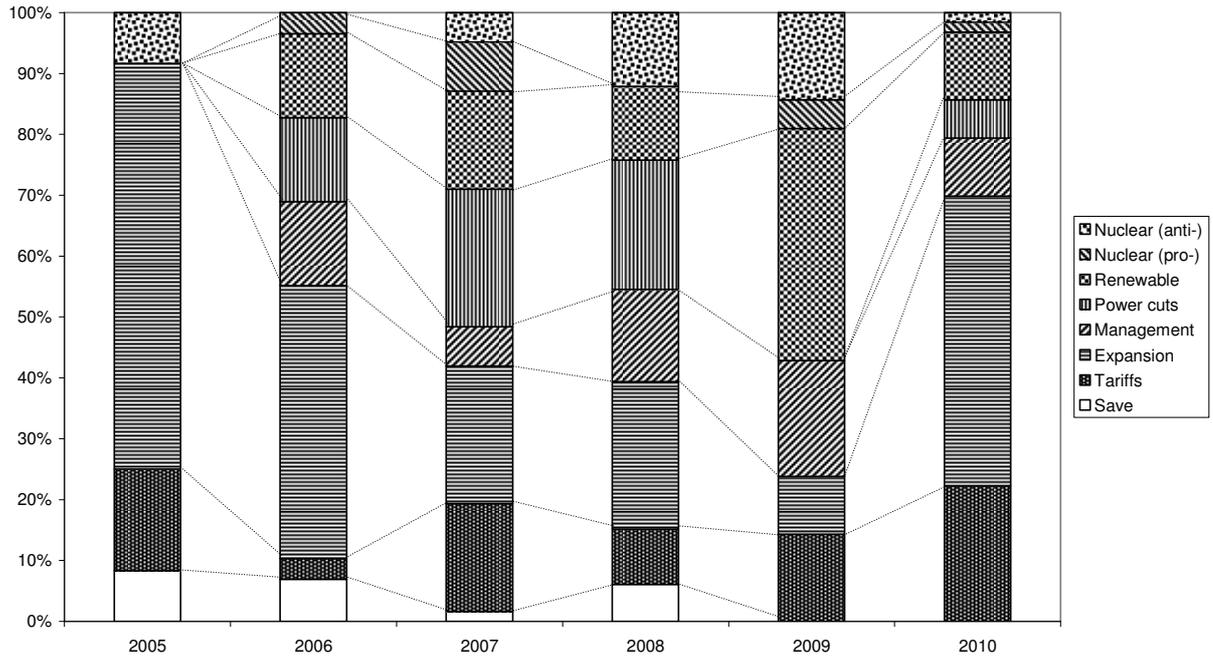
**Figure 10: Topics published annually in the Cape Argus during the period under investigation as percentage of yearly total**



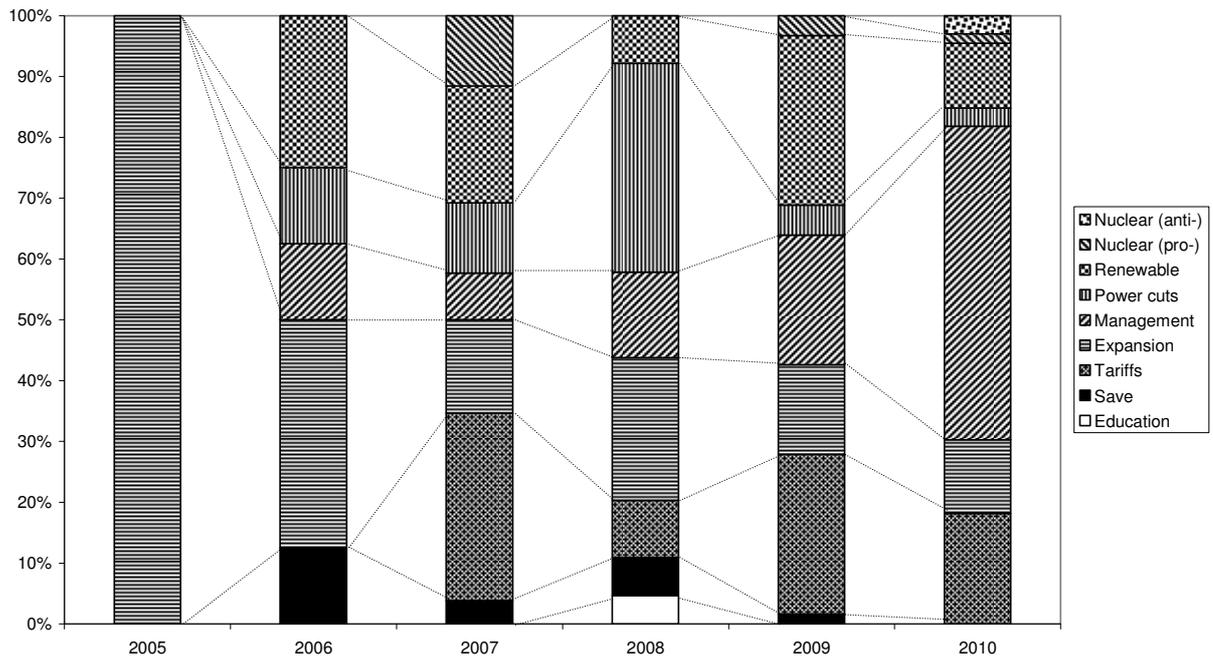
**Figure 11: Topics published annually in Die Burger during the period under investigation as percentage of yearly total**



**Figure 12: Topics published annually in the Cape Times during the period under investigation as percentage of yearly total**



**Figure 13: Topics published annually in Business Report during the period under investigation as percentage of yearly total.**



**Figure 14: Topics published annually in the Sake 24 during the period under investigation as percentage of yearly total.**

The information in Figures 10 to 14 is analysed in Table 2.2. It should be pointed out that the total number of articles was low in 2005 and consequently care should be exercised when using these data to draw conclusions.

**Table 4.2: Most popular topic categories for the newspapers 2005 -2010 (percentages)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Die Burger	Power cuts (25%) Renewable (25%)	Power cuts (60%) Save (12%)	Power cuts (65%) Tariffs (15%)	Power cuts (35%) Management (25%)	Tariffs (45%) Management (27%)	Expansion (28%) Management (28%)
Cape Argus	Expansion, Power cuts, Renewable, Nuclear (anti-) (each 20%)	Power cuts (68%) Save, Expansion (each 12%)	Power cuts, Nuclear (anti-) (each 30%)	Power cuts, Expansion (each 25%)	Tariffs (30%) Nuclear (pro-) (20%) Nuclear (anti-) (15%)	Tariffs (50%) Nuclear (anti-) (20%) Nuclear (pro-) (10%)
Cape Times	Power cuts (32%) Nuclear (pro-), Nuclear (anti-) (each 20%)	Power cuts (50%) Save (22%)	Power cuts (50%) Nuclear (anti-) (28%)	Renewable (25%), Power cuts, Nuclear (anti-) (each 20%)	Renewable (37%) Management, Tariffs (each 18%)	Tariffs (25%) Expansion, Power cuts (each 20%)
Sake 24	Expansion (100%)	Expansion (38%) Renewable (20%)	Tariffs (30%) Renewable (18%)	Power cuts (35%) Expansion (22%)	Renewable, Tariffs (each 28%)	Management (50%) Tariffs (18%)
Business Report	Expansion (5%) Tariffs (18%)	Expansion (43%) Power cuts, Renewable, Management (each 12%)	Expansion, Power cuts (each 22%) Tariffs (15%)	Expansion (25%) Power cuts (20%) Management (15%)	Renewable (38%) Management (18%)	Expansion (48%) Tariffs (20%)

About 25% of the small number of articles containing 'Eskom' that appeared in *Die Burger* during 2005 dealt with power interruptions. This figure shot up to 60% in 2006, 65% in 2007, decreased to 35% in 2008 and to 10% in 2009 and 2010. During 2008 the attention shifted to management issues, averaging about 27%. During 2007 and 2009 there was significant reporting on tariffs (2007: 15%, 2009: 45%). The environmental aspects relating to renewable energy and electricity saving, received little attention in the later years.

In the *Cape Argus* the percentage of articles dealing with power supply problems also showed a peak in 2006 (68%) but decreased to lower levels in 2007 and 2008 (30%

and 25%). There was a consistent preference negative coverage of nuclear power (2005: 20%, 2007: 30%, 2009: 15% and 2010: 20%), with the exception of 2009 when the positive coverage of nuclear power (20%) exceeded the negative coverage (15%). In 2008 the main concern was expansion issues (25%) and in 2009 and 2010 the tariff increases received a considerable amount of attention (2009: 30% and 2010: 50%).

The *Cape Times* also gave consistent prominence to the power supply crisis (2005: 32%, 2006 and 2007: 50%, 2008: 20% and 2010:20%). Renewable energy issues were high on the agenda in 2008 (25%) and 2009 (37%). Nuclear energy is also a popular topic and the sentiments are often negative (2005: 20%, 2007: 28% and 2008: 20%), although there were some positive articles in 2005 (20%). Later the focus shifted to operational and financial matters such as management (2009: 18%), tariffs (2009: 18%, 2010: 25%) and expansion (2010: 20%).

*Sake 24*, as expected, dealt with matters related to business such as expansion (2005: 100%<sup>6</sup>, 2006: 38%, 2008: 22%), tariffs (2007: 30%, 2009: 28%, 2010: 18%) and management (2010: 50%). There were also regular reports dealing with renewable energy (2006: 20%, 2007: 18%, 2009: 28%). Power interruptions received relatively little attention, except in 2008 when 28% of the articles dealt with the topic.

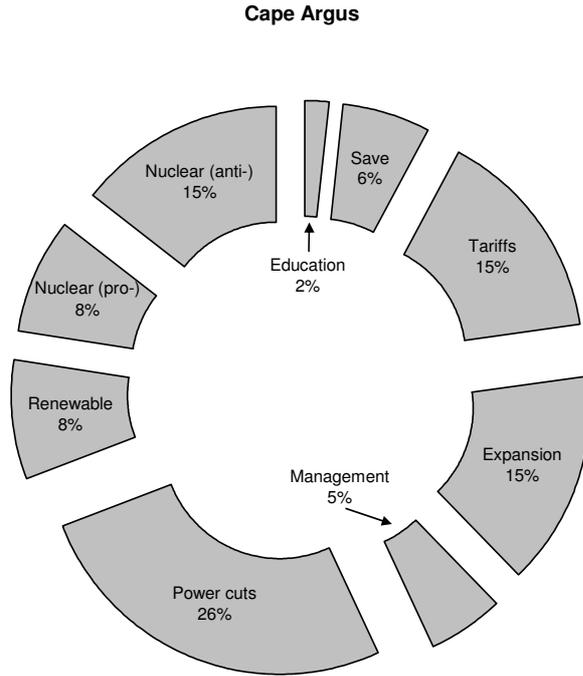
*Business Report* had a similar profile to *Sake 24* with issues regarding expansion being prominent (2005: 5%, 2006: 43%, 2007: 22%, 2008: 25% and 2010: 48%). The performance of Eskom's management also often featured (2006: 12%, 2008: 15%, 2009: 18%) and issues regarding tariffs (2005: 18%, 2007: 15%, 2010: 20%). Power interruptions (2006: 12%, 2007: 22%, 2008: 20%) and renewable energy (2006: 12%, 2009: 38%) are other topics of importance.

The focus for the various newspapers for the entire period (2005 – 2010) is summarised in Figures 16 to 19. In these diagrams all the articles published by the newspapers during this period and complying with the selection criteria are divided into the topic categories. An overall profile of the various newspapers can be deduced from these figures, as they were reporting on the same news material.

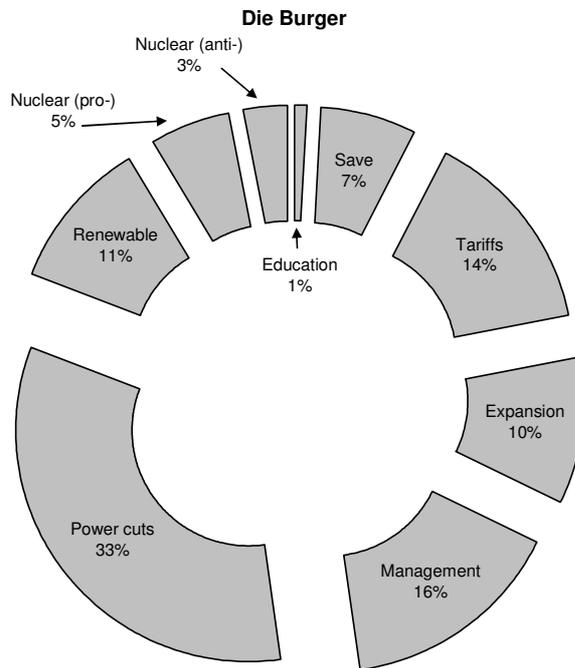
The three daily newspapers (*Cape Argus*, *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*) gave the highest priority to material dealing with the power cuts, whereas this topic received considerably less attention in the business supplements. *Die Burger* had the highest content of this category (33%), followed by *Cape Times* (28%) and *Cape Argus* (26%).

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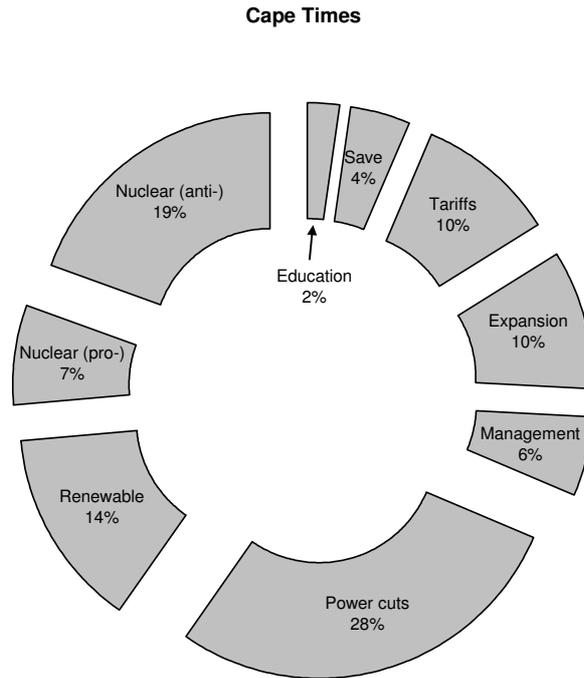
<sup>6</sup> As pointed out before, the database was small in 2005 and this figure should be regarded with caution.



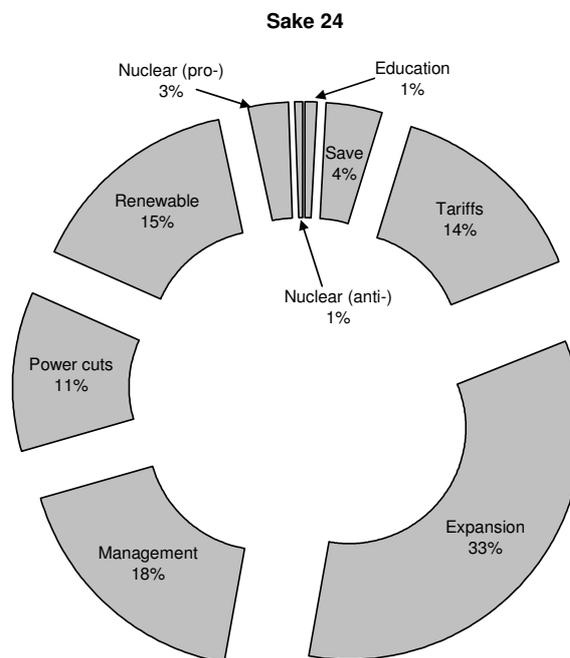
**Figure 15: Diagram showing the treatment of the various topics by Cape Argus during the period 2005 – 2010.**



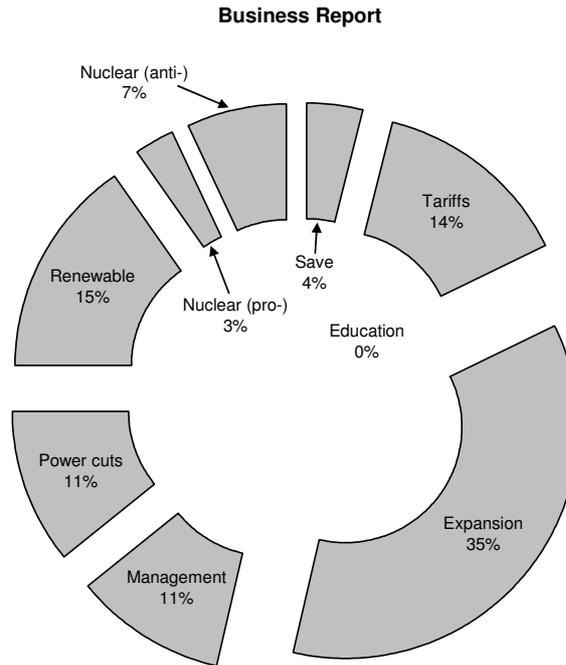
**Figure 16: Diagram showing the treatment of the various topics by Die Burger during period 2005 – 2010.**



**Figure 17: Diagram showing the treatment of the various topics by Cape Times during the period 2005 – 2010.**



**Figure 18: Diagram showing the treatment of the various topics by Sake 24 during the period 2005 – 2010.**



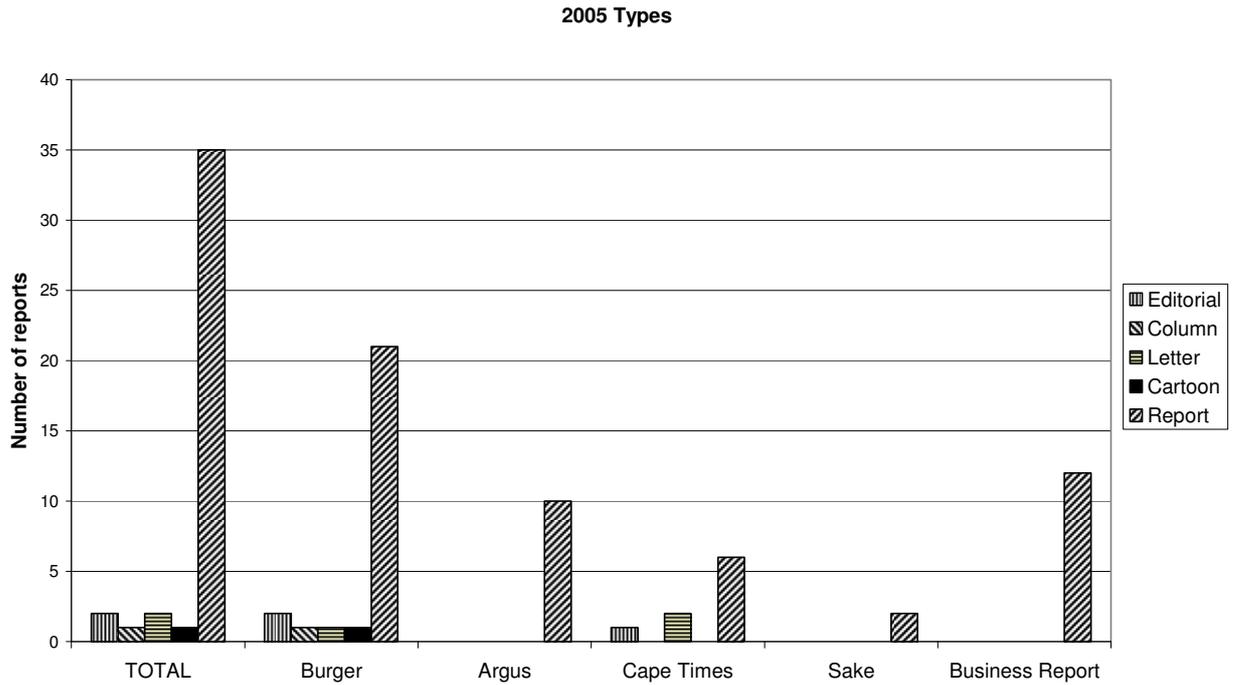
**Figure 19: Diagram showing the treatment of the various topics by Business Report during the period 2005 – 2010.**

The business-related topics of tariffs, expansion and management received a higher priority in the business supplements (*Business Report*: 60%, *Sake 24*: 55%) than in the ordinary newspapers (*Die Burger*: 40%, *Cape Argus*: 35% and *Cape Times*: 26%). The topic of renewable energy received coverage in the range of 8% to 14% in all newspapers.

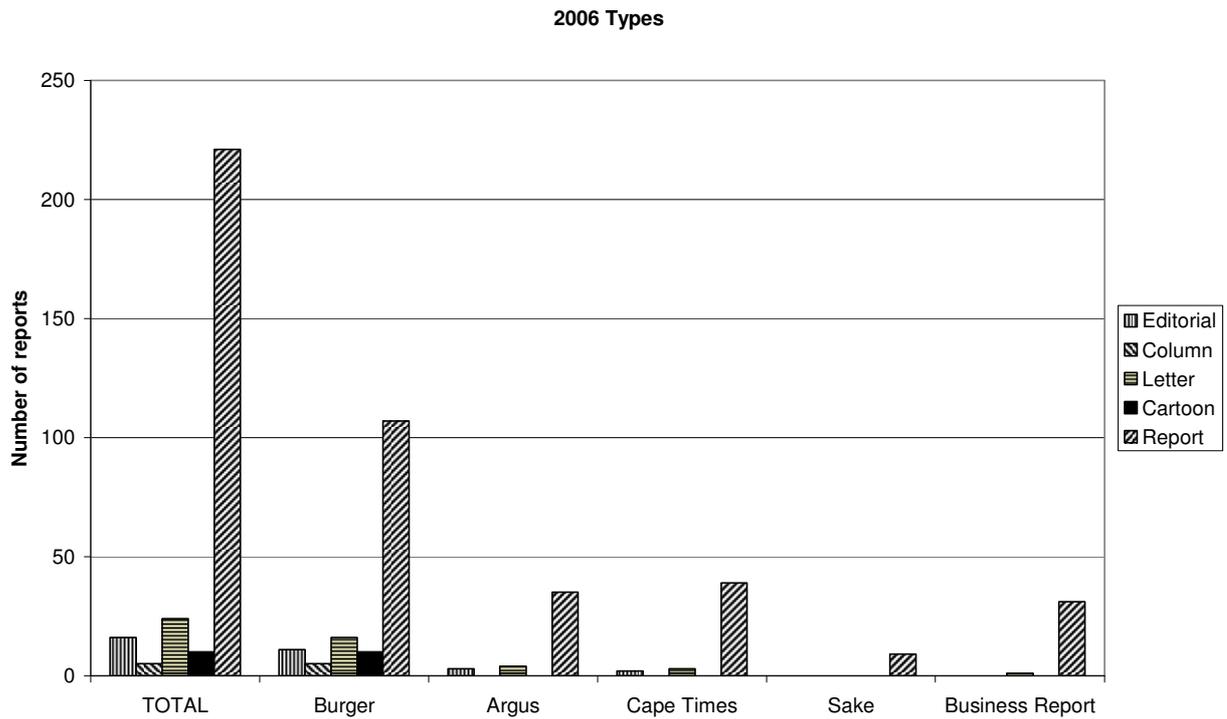
Articles having an anti-nuclear sentiment featured strongly in *Cape Times* (19%) and *Cape Argus* (15%), while receiving less attention in the other newspapers (*Business Report*: 7%, *Die Burger*: 3% and *Sake 24*: 1%). A pro-nuclear stance was supported by *Cape Argus*: 8%, *Cape Times*: 7%, *Die Burger*: 5%, *Sake 24*: 3% and *Business Report*: 3%). Articles dealing with education and promoting electricity have been relatively scarce in most newspapers with *Die Burger* and *Cape Argus* faring the best with 8% each. The percentages of the other newspapers were *Cape Times* (4%), *Sake 24* (5%) and *Business Report* (4%).

#### 4.1.4 Types of feature appearing in the newspapers

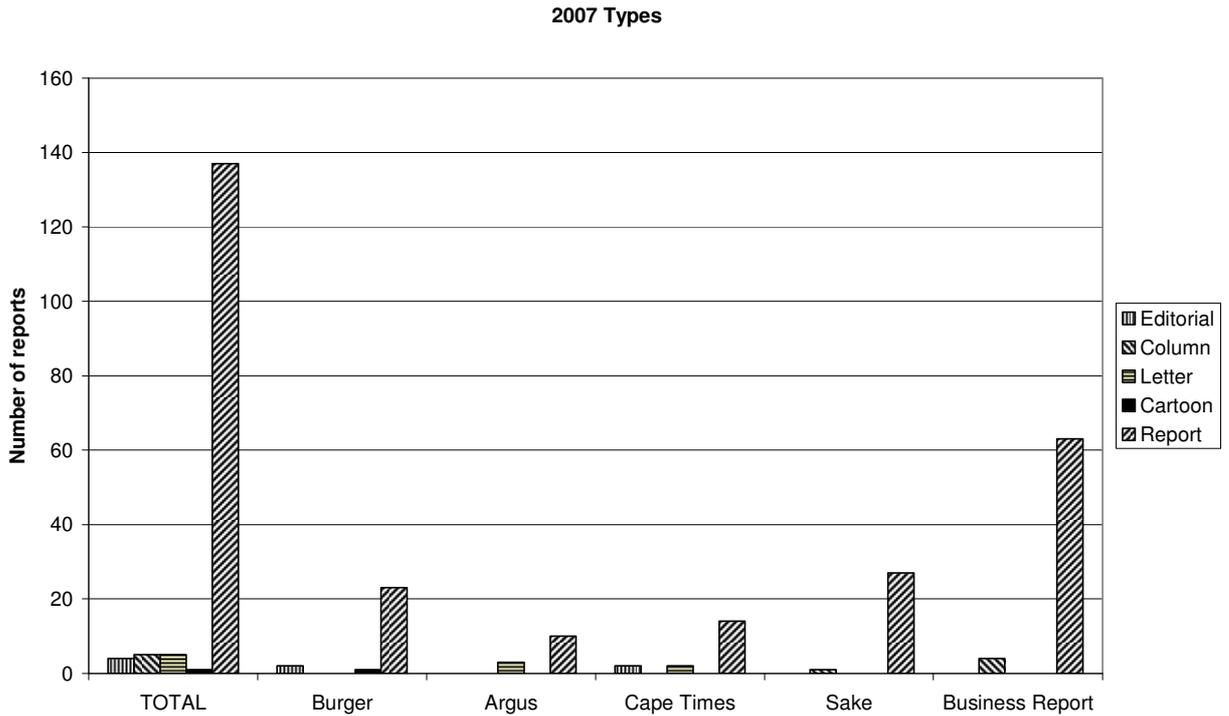
The articles conforming to the selection criteria were presented in different ways in the newspapers, as editorials, columns, letters, and cartoons or as news reports. The subdivision into these categories is given for the five newspapers in Figures 20 to 25, while the information is given as percentages for the individual newspapers in Figures 26 to 29.



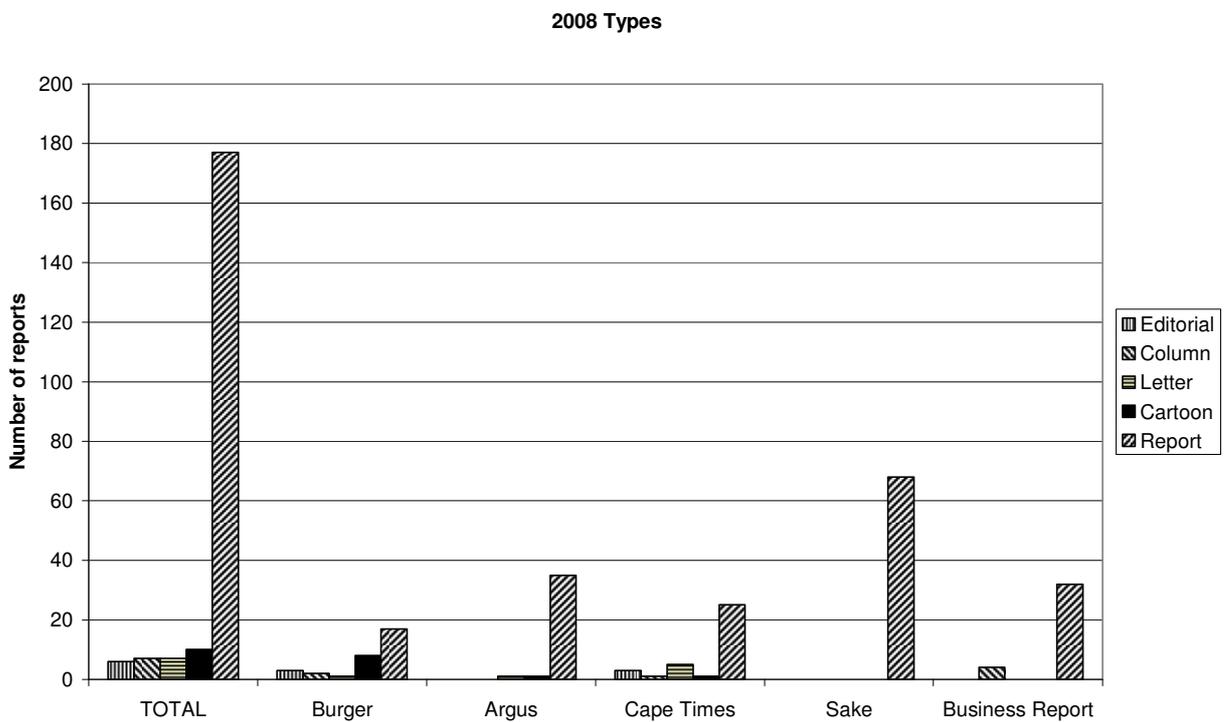
**Figure 20: Types of article published in 2005**



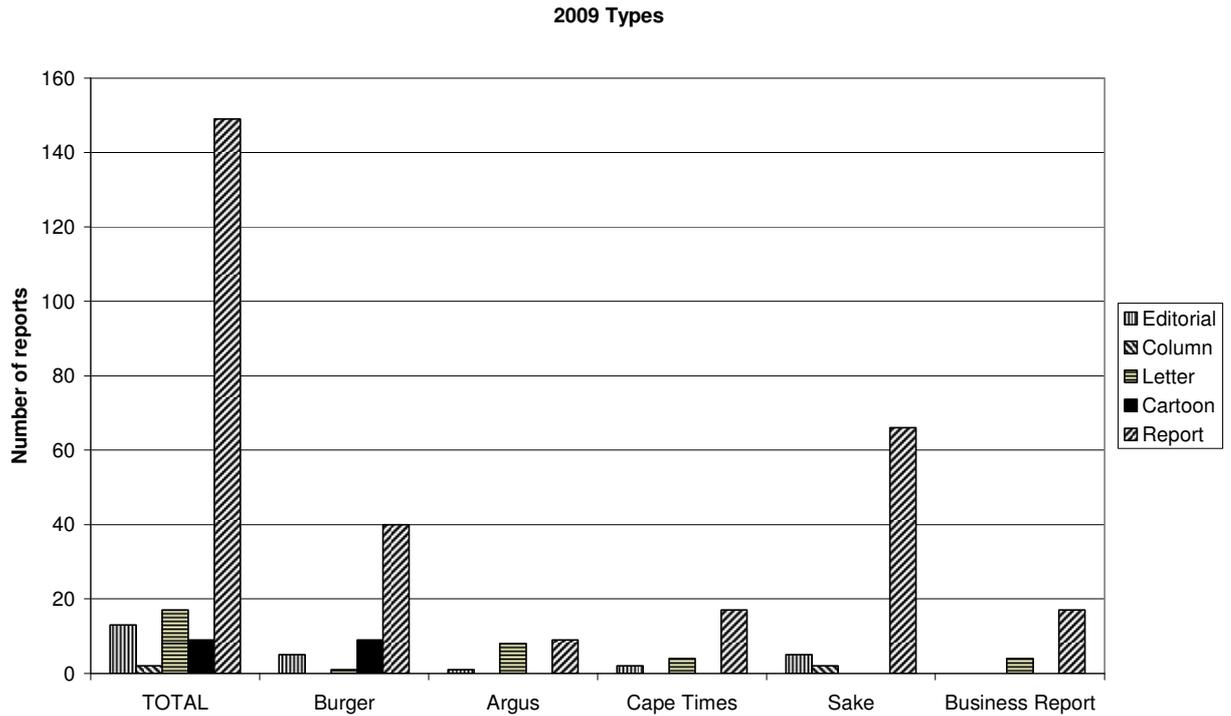
**Figure 21: Types of article published in 2006**



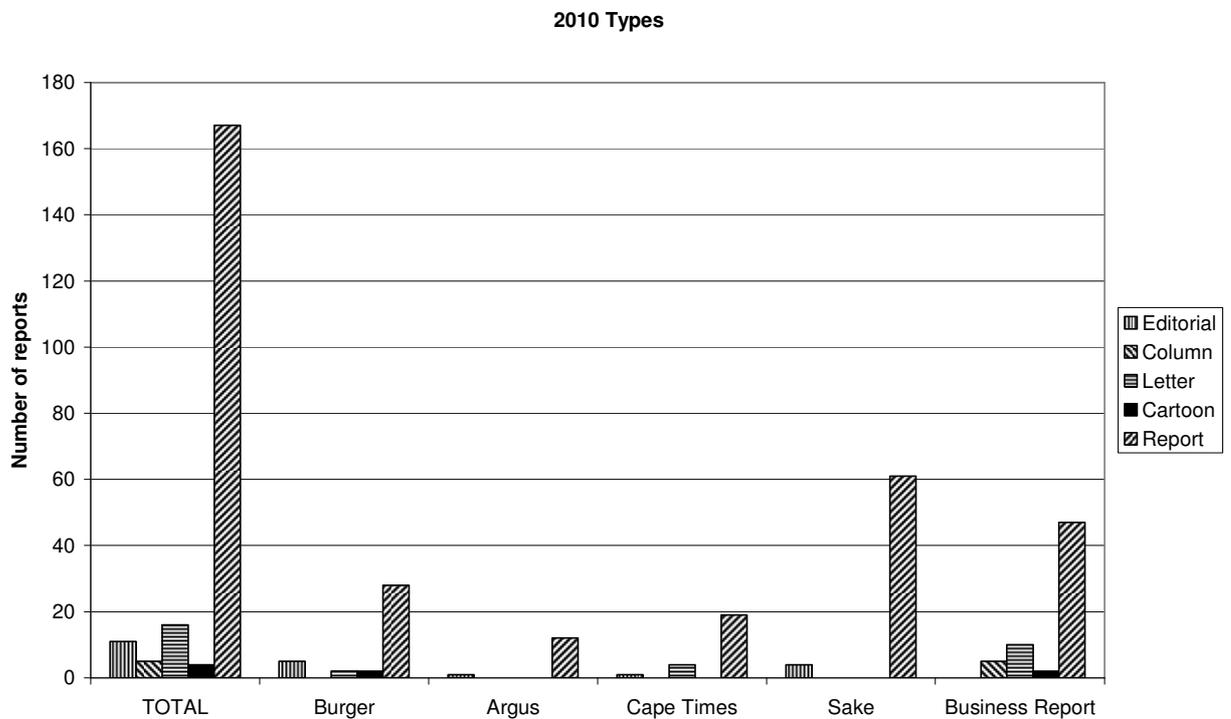
**Figure 22: Types of article published in 2007**



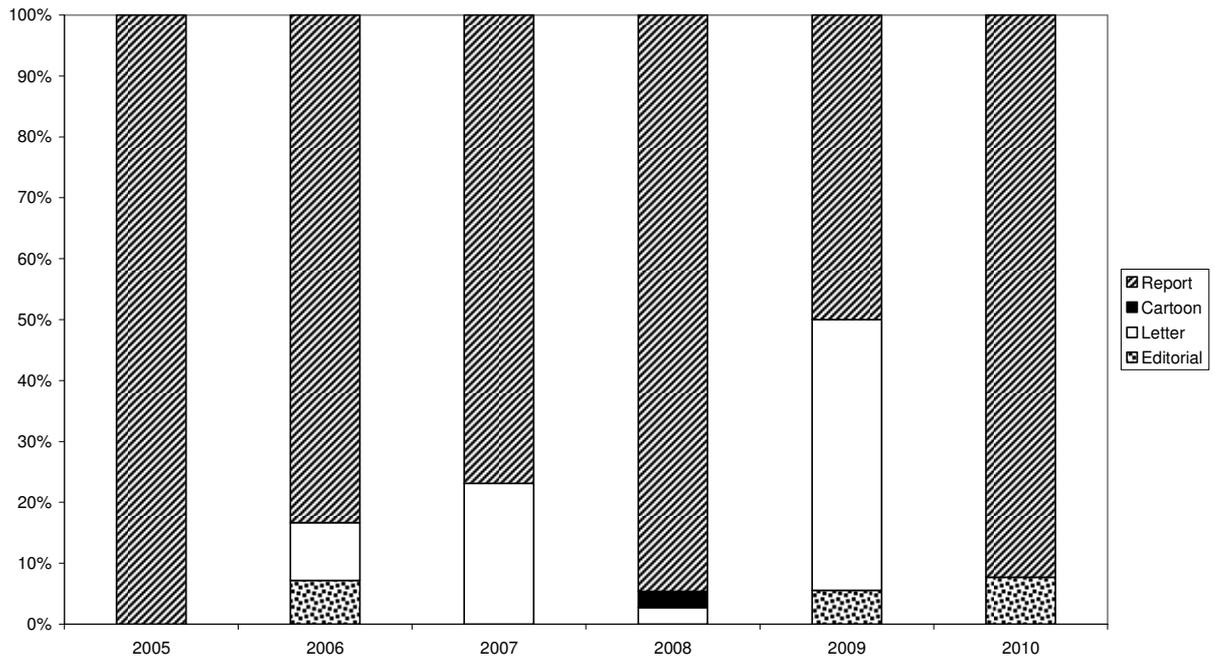
**Figure 23: Types of article published in 2008**



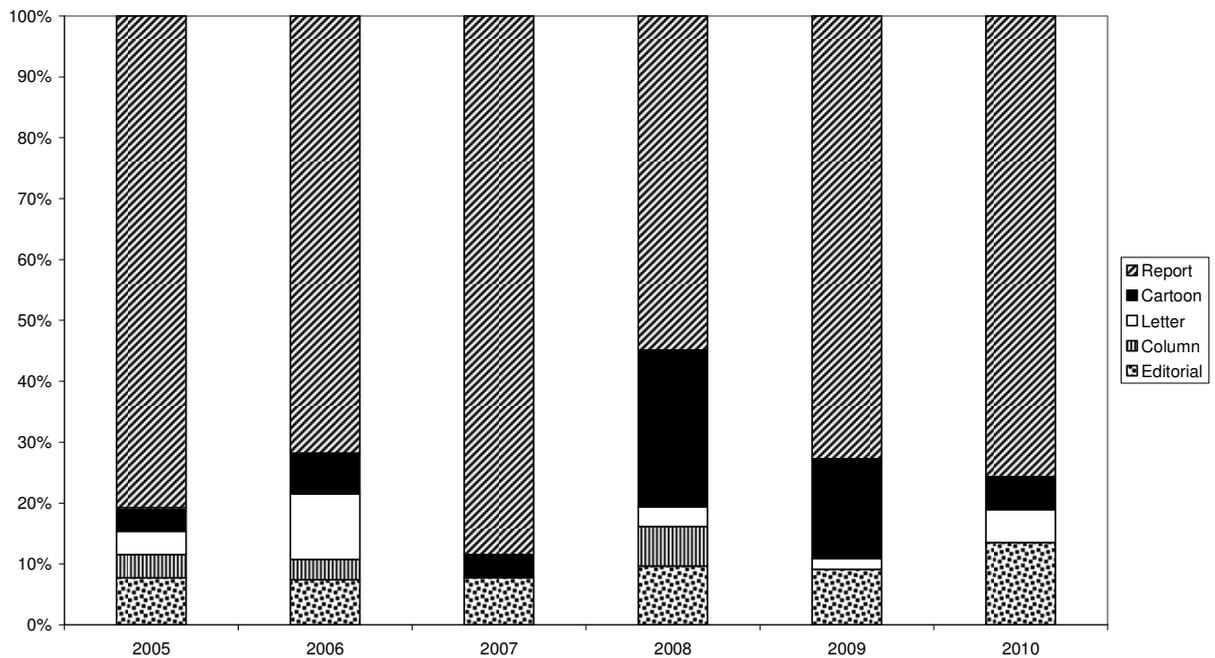
**Figure 24: Types of article published in 2009**



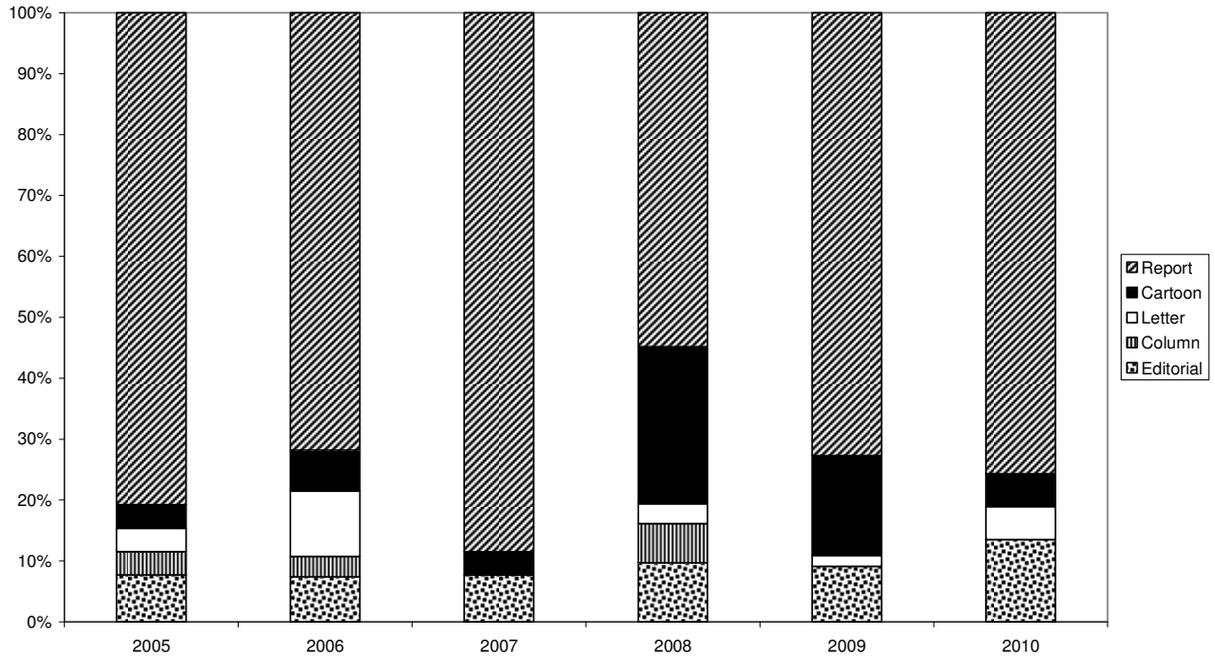
**Figure 25: Types of article published in 2010**



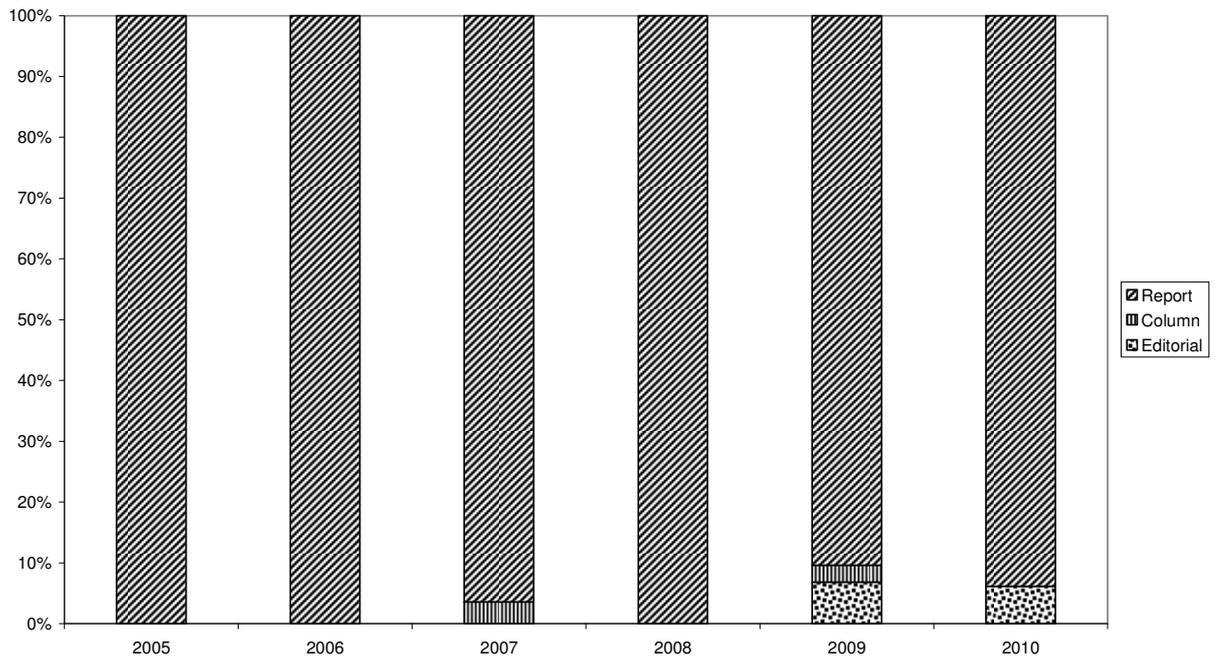
**Figure 26: Types of article as percentage published in the Cape Argus during the period under investigation.**



**Figure 27: Types of article as percentage published in Die Burger during the period under investigation**



**Figure 28: Types of article as percentage published in the Cape Times during the period under investigation**

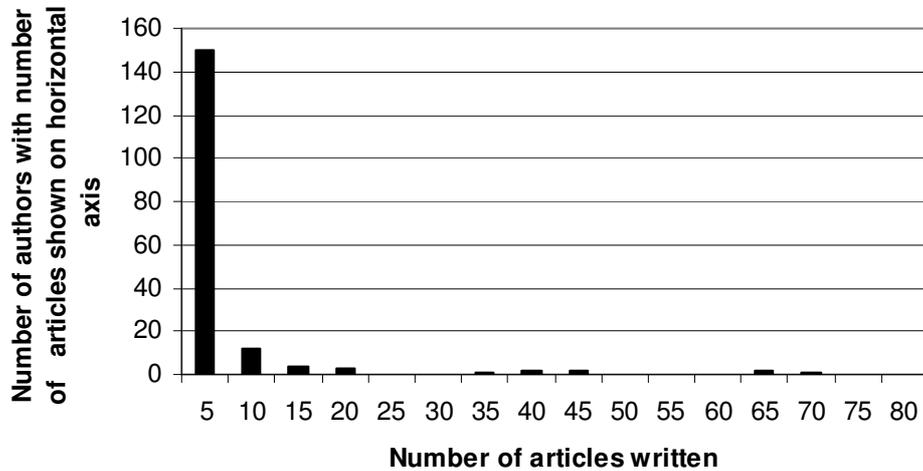


**Figure 29: Types of article as percentage published in Sake 24 during the period under investigation**

The graphs of Figures 20 to 25 confirm that the bulk of the items were news reports, irrespective of the year considered. The highest number of news reports was published in Die Burger in 2005 and 2006, in Business Report in 2007, in Sake 24 in 2008, 2009 and 2010. The other categories were insignificantly supported.

#### 4.1.5 Authors of articles

That the newspapers tended to not use specialist reporters when reporting on this subject is clear from Figure 30 that shows the number of authors against the number of items written.



**Figure 30: Histogram of number of articles written per author**

The majority (150) of the authors wrote less than or equal to 5 articles during the period under consideration. This is indicative of a high ‘turnover’ of reporters dealing with the crisis. A number of reporters were prolific as shown in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: List of reporters responsible for 12 and more articles**

Reporter	Newspaper	Number of reports
F Williams	<i>Sake 24</i>	70
J de Lange	<i>Sake 24</i>	61
J-B Styan	<i>Sake 24</i>	61
I Salgado	<i>Business Report</i>	44
M Gosling	<i>Cape Times</i>	43
M O'Connor	<i>Die Burger</i>	40
J Brown	<i>Business Report</i>	36
S Enslin	<i>Business Report</i>	32
J Yeld	<i>Cape Argus</i>	19
D Pressly	<i>Business Report</i>	17
M Barnard	<i>Die Burger</i>	17
A Powell	<i>Cape Times</i>	15
J Leuvenink	<i>Die Burger</i>	14
H du Plessis	<i>Cape Argus</i>	13
J-M de Waal	<i>Die Burger</i>	12

Some of these reporters were specialists in a particular field, e.g. the environment, renewable energy or finances. Other reporters were general news reporters, having been given the task to report on the topic.

## 4.2 Qualitative data analysis

As explained in section 3.1.4 the data for qualitative content analysis consisted of articles dealing with power interruptions during 2006 and 2008. For 2006 a selection of 105 articles were considered (*Die Burger*: 66, *Cape Argus*: 22 and *Cape Times*: 17)<sup>7</sup>. For 2008 75 articles were chosen (*Die Burger*: 8, *Cape Argus*: 13, *Cape Times*: 18, *Business Report*: 12 and *Sake 24*: 19). Each report was analysed for the occurrence of the attributes, given below. The coding was done manually by the author and the objectivity may be questioned.

### Headlines:

Headline neutral

Headline emotive

Headline cautioning

Large Headline Font

Medium Headline Font

Small Headline Font

### Contents:

Contents emotive

Contents neutral/matter of fact

Contents positive

### Accountability:

Judgemental: Eskom to blame

Judgemental: Government to blame

Blame population increase/ growth

### Effects:

Highlights financial loss

Highlights Environment Electricity saving

### Technical content and consultation

Reasonable technical explanation

Spokesperson quoted verbatim

Anonymous source

Expert quoted

The results for 2006 are given in Figures 31 to 33 for three of the newspapers. For some reason there were only a few results for the business supplements. The results have

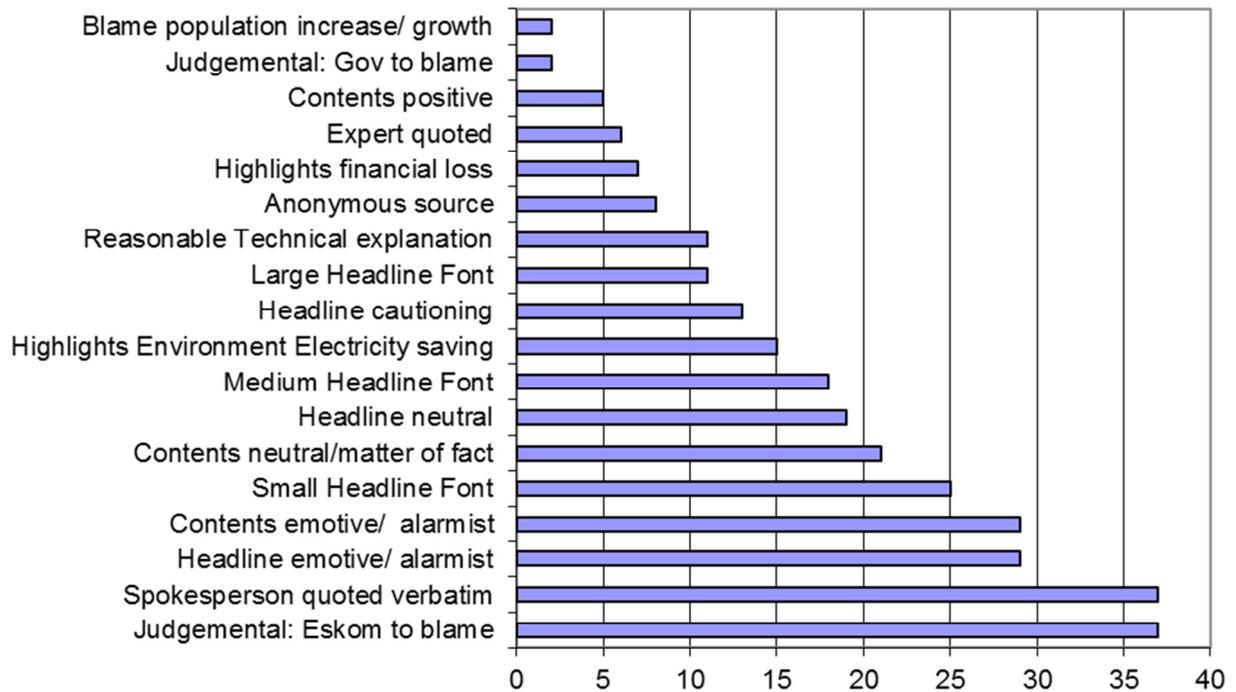
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<sup>7</sup> It has been pointed out in section 4.1.2 that *Die Burger* published more articles than the other papers, while few reports appeared in *Sake 24* and *Business Report* during 2006.

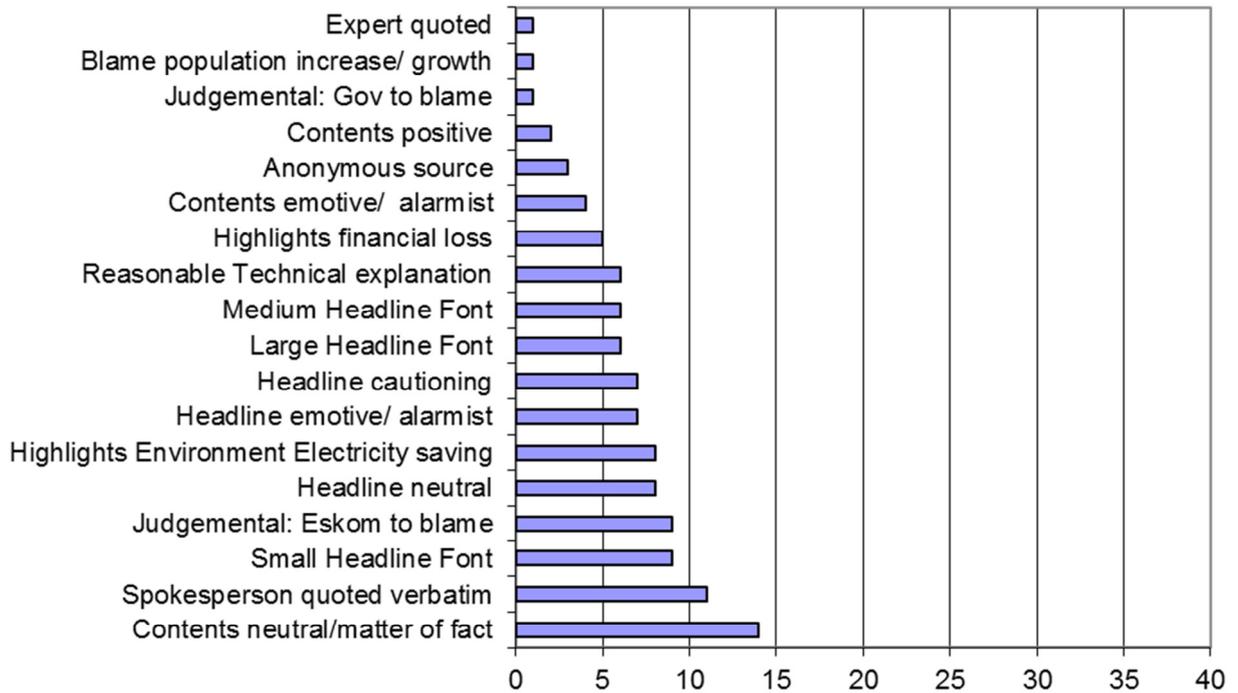
been sorted for each newspaper from large to small. It is again clear that more items were available from *Die Burger* than from the other sources.

Similarly, the results for 2008 are presented in Figures 34 to 38, but the results of the business supplements have been included. It will be noted that in this the English newspapers published more on the subject than *Die Burger*,

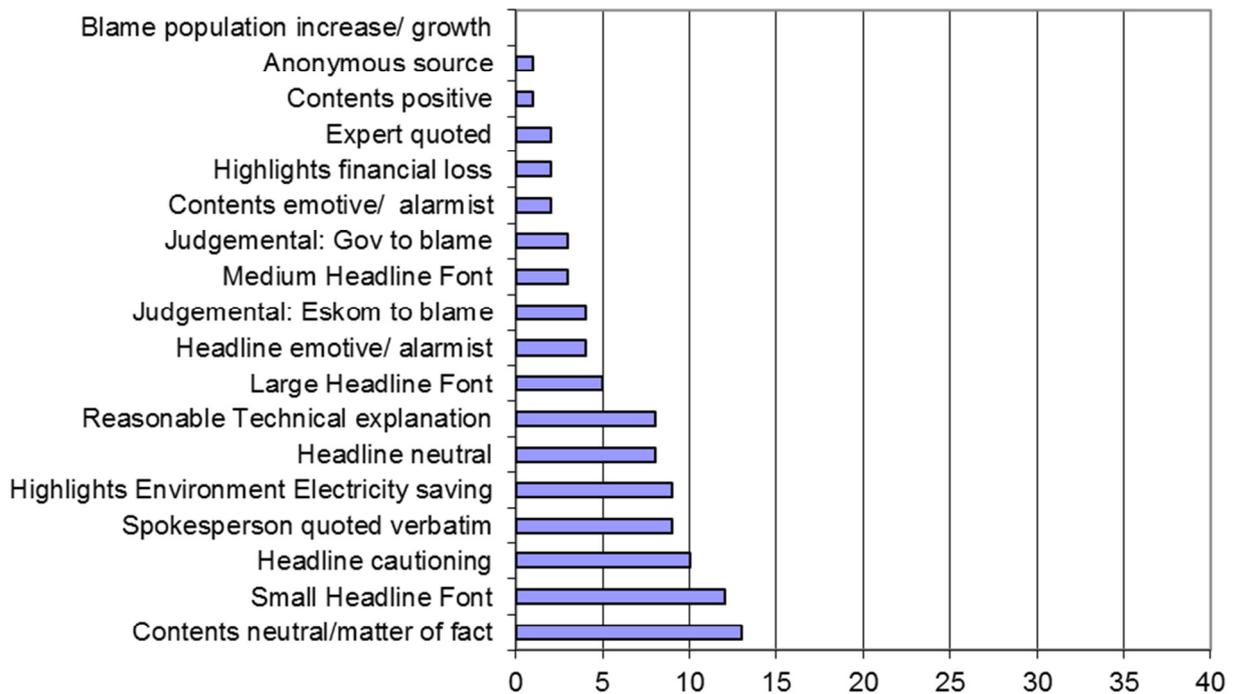
The two periods were chosen as 2006 covers the main period of the initial spate of problems at Koeberg power station. The year 2008 was chosen as it covers the supply interruptions and load-shedding, caused inter alia by coal supply problems.



**Figure 31: Qualitative content analysis of articles in Die Burger for 2006**



**Figure 32: Qualitative content analysis of articles in Cape Argus for 2006**



**Figure 33: Qualitative content analysis of articles in Cape Times for 2006**

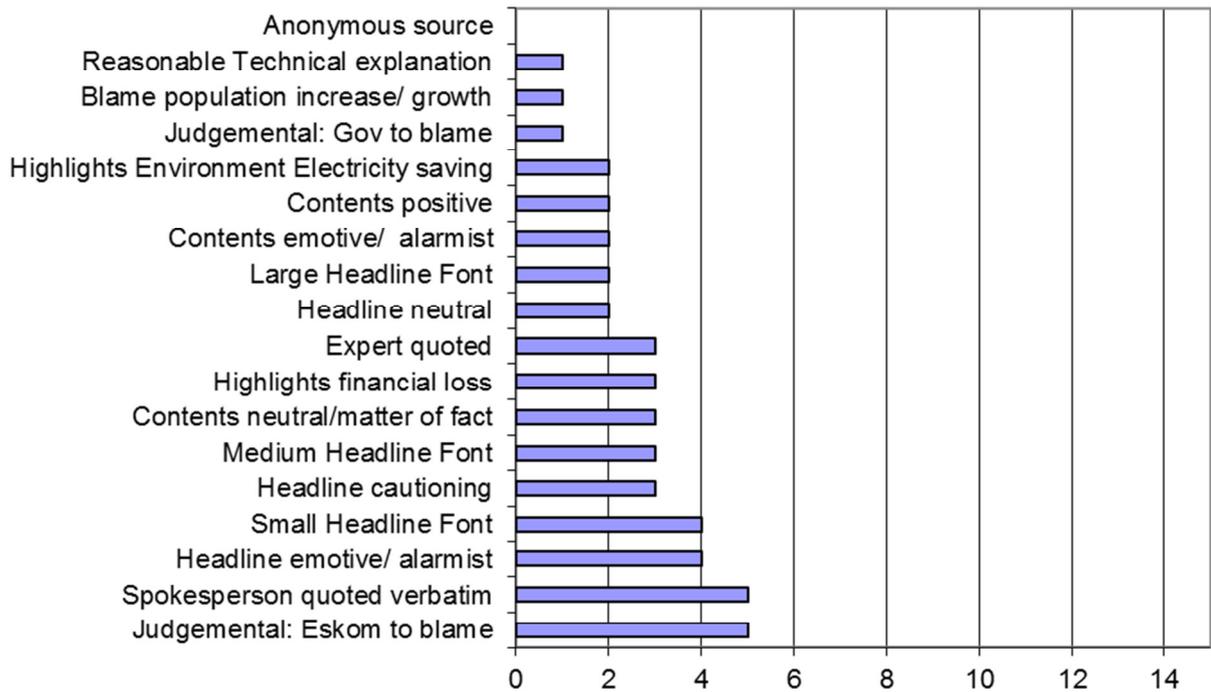


Figure 34: Qualitative content analysis of articles in *Die Burger* for 2008

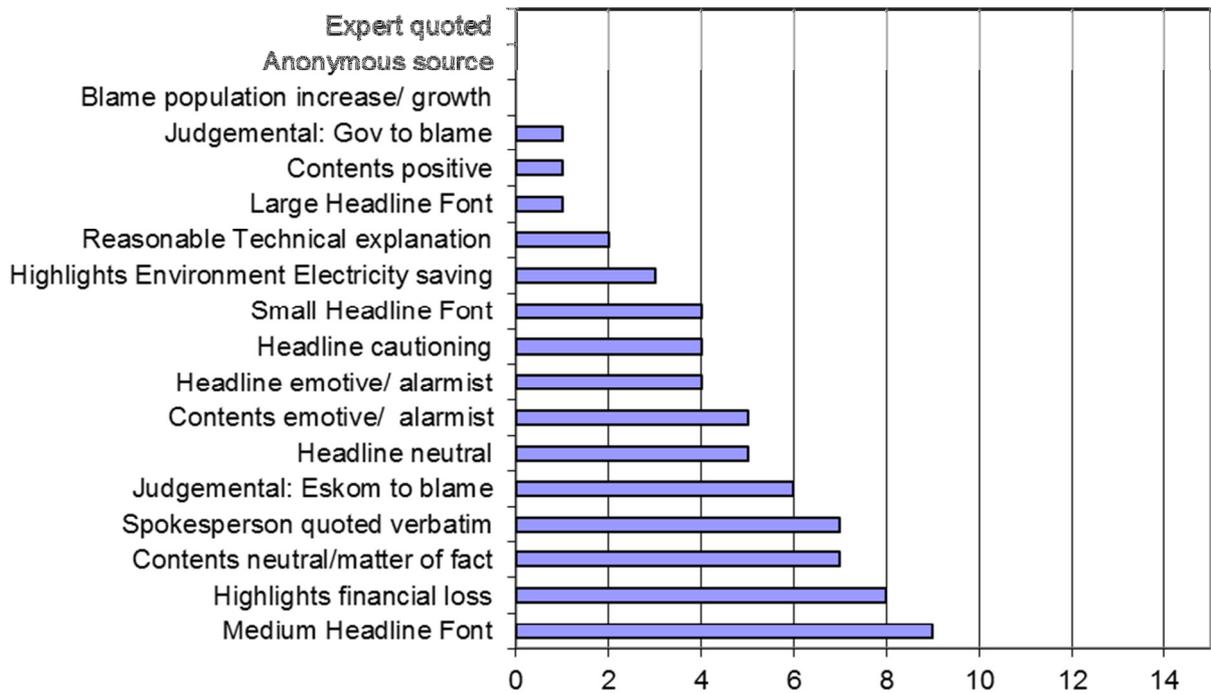


Figure 35: Qualitative content analysis of articles in *Cape Argus* for 2008

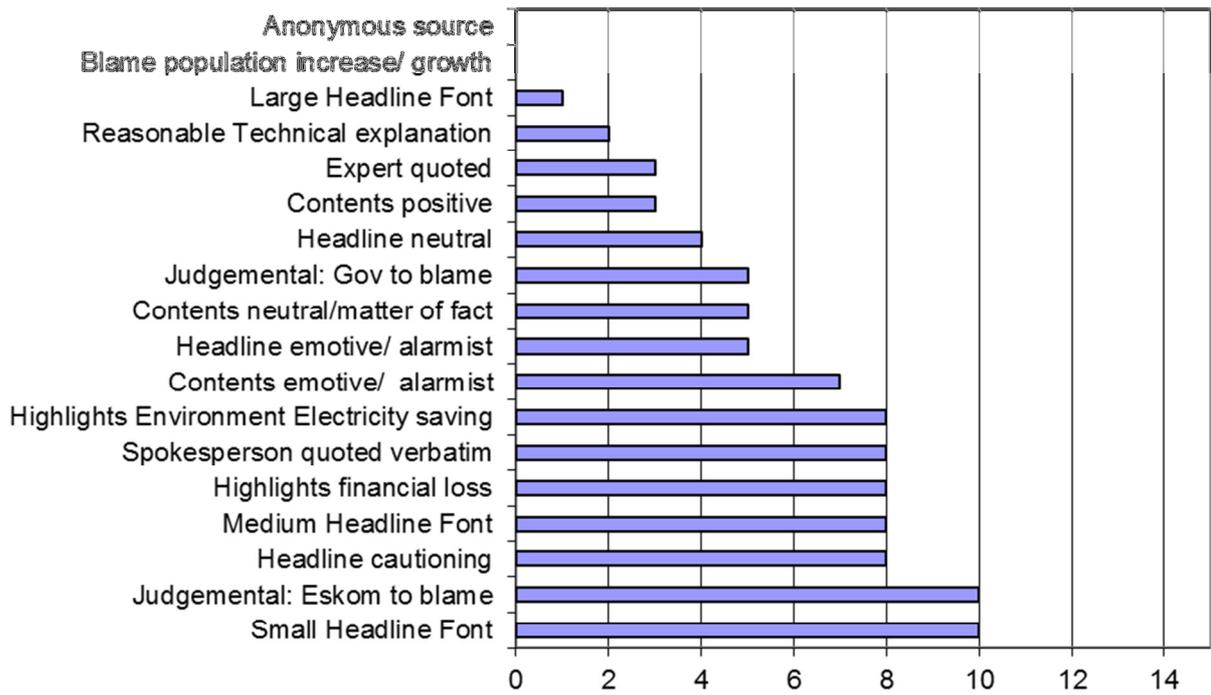


Figure 36: Qualitative content analysis of articles in *Cape Times* for 2008

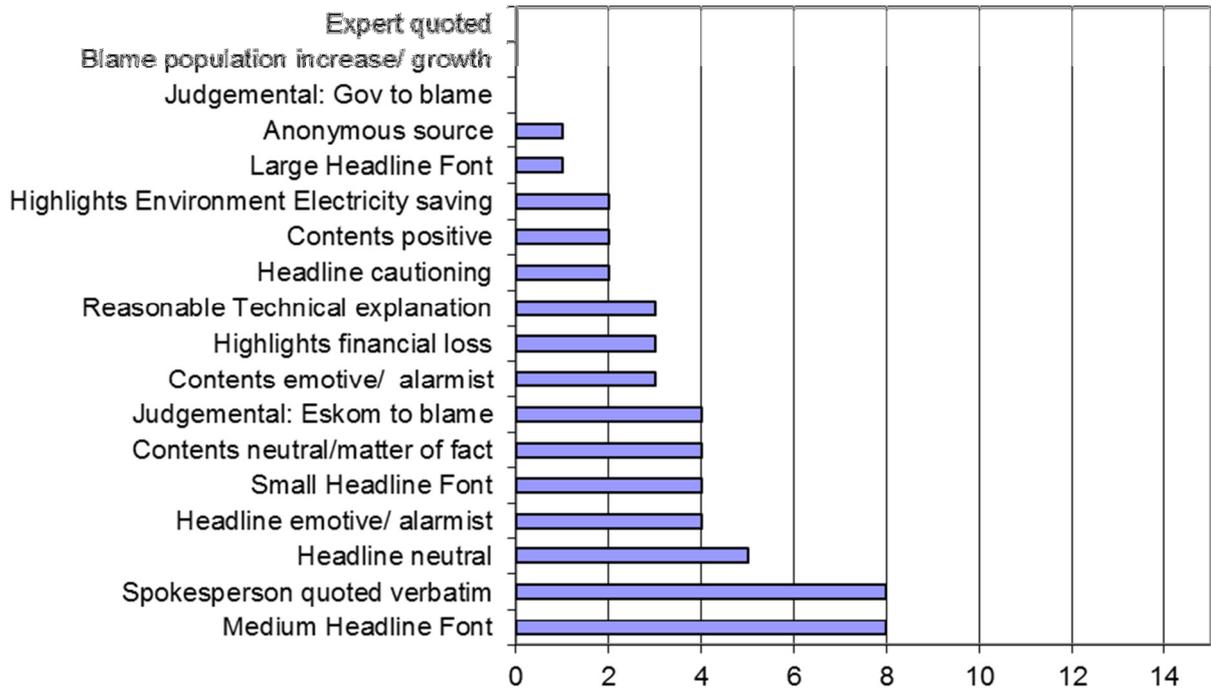
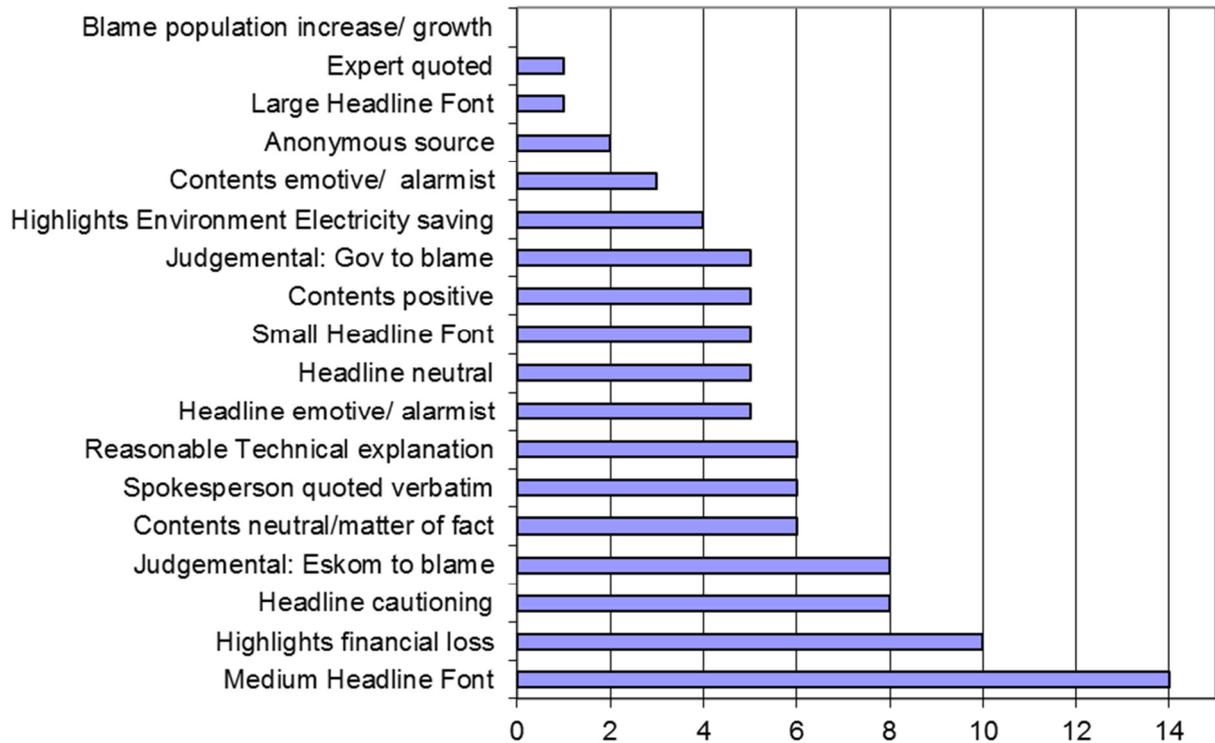


Figure 37: Qualitative content analysis of articles in *Business Report* for 2008



**Figure 38: Qualitative content analysis of articles in Sake 24 for 2008**

The information for 2006 is summarised in Table 4.4. The attributes were ranked for each newspaper by assigning a number between 1 and 18, with “1” signifying the attribute that occurred most frequently and “18” the least frequent one. This method eliminated the effect of the differing numbers of articles considered for the various newspapers.

A similar representation is given for 2008 in Table 4.5.

Further a verbal description was introduced in accordance with the following scale:

- 1 to 3: Very often
- 4 to 6: Often
- 7 to 11: Sometimes
- 12 to 18: Seldom

The information in Table 4.4 indicates that with regard to reporting on the energy crisis in 2006 *Die Burger* often used emotive headlines, although only infrequently medium and large headline sizes. The contents of the articles were often emotive, but articles that were neutral and matter of fact also appeared slightly less often. Articles very often blamed Eskom for the crisis and portrayed them in a negative light.

The *Cape Argus* often carried neutral headlines, although emotive and cautioning headlines appeared sometimes. The contents of the relevant articles were very often neutral and matter of fact. The articles often blamed Eskom for the crisis. Environmental and power-saving aspects were often highlighted.

In *Cape Times* cautionary headlines were very often used, but neutral headlines also appeared often. The content of the articles was very often neutral and matter of fact and aspects of the environment and electricity saving was often highlighted.

**Table 4.4: Ranking of news report attributes for 2006**

		Die Burger		Cape Argus		Cape Times	
Headlines:	Headline neutral	7	Sometimes	5	Often	6	Often
	Headline emotive	3	Very often	7	Sometimes	9	Sometimes
	Headline cautioning	10	Sometimes	8	Sometimes	3	Very often
	Large Headline Font	11	Sometimes	9	Sometimes	8	Sometimes
	Medium Headline Font	8	Sometimes	10	Sometimes	11	Sometimes
	Small Headline Font	5	Often	3	Often	2	Very often
Contents:	Contents emotive	4	Often	13	Seldom	13	Seldom
	Contents neutral/matter of fact	6	Often	1	Very often	1	Very often
	Contents positive	16	Seldom	15	Seldom	16	Seldom
Accountability:	Judgemental: Eskom to blame	1	Very often	4	Often	10	Sometimes
	Judgemental: Government to blame	17	Seldom	16	Seldom	12	Sometimes
	Blame population increase/ growth	18	Seldom	17	Seldom	18	Seldom
Effects:	Highlights financial loss	14	Seldom	12	Seldom	14	Seldom
	Highlights Environment Electricity saving	9	Sometimes	6	Often	5	Often
Technical content and consultation	Reasonable Technical explanation	12	Seldom	11	Sometimes	7	Sometimes
	Spokesperson quoted verbatim	2	Very often	2	Very often	4	Often
	Anonymous source	13	Seldom	14	Seldom	17	Seldom
	Expert quoted	15	Seldom	18	Seldom	15	Seldom

**Table 4.5: Ranking of news report attributes for 2008**

		Burger		Argus		Cape Times		Business Report		Sake 24	
Headlines:	Headline neutral	10	Some-times	6	Often	12	Some-times	3	Very often	9	Some-times
	Headline emotive	3	Very often	8	Some-times	9	Some-times	4	Often	8	Some-times
	Headline cautioning	5	Often	9	Some-times	3	Very often	11	Some-times	3	Very often
	Large Headline Font	11	Some-times	13	Seldom	16	Seldom	14	Seldom	16	Seldom
	Medium Headline Font	6	Often	1	Very often	4	Often	1	Very often	1	Very often
	Small Headline Font	4	Often	10	Some-times	1	Very often	5	Often	10	Some-times

**Table 4.5 (continued)**

		Burger		Argus		Cape Times		Business Report		Sake 24	
Contents:	Contents emotive	12	Some-times	7	Some-times	8	Some-times	8	Some-times	14	Some-times
	Contents neutral/matter of fact	7	Some-times	3	Very often	10	Some-times	6	Often	5	Often
	Contents positive	13	Seldom	14	Seldom	13	Seldom	12	Some-times	11	Some-times
Accountability:	Judgemental: Eskom to blame	1	Very often	5	Often	2	Very often	7	Some-times	4	Often
	Judgemental: Government to blame	15	Seldom	15	Seldom	11	Some-times	16	Seldom	12	Some-times
	Blame population increase/ growth	16	Seldom	16	Seldom	17	Seldom	17	Seldom	18	Seldom

**Table 4,5 (continued)**

		Burger		Argus		Cape Times		Business Report		Sake 24	
Effects:	Highlights financial loss	8	Some-times	2	Very often	5	Often	9	Some-times	2	Very often
	Highlights Environment Electricity saving	14	Seldom	11	Some-times	7	Some-times	13	Seldom	13	Seldom
Technical content and consultation	Reasonable technical explanation	17	Seldom	12	Some-times	15	Seldom	10	Some-times	7	Some-times
	Spokesperson quoted verbatim	2	Very often	4	Often	6	Often	2	Very often	6	Often
	Anonymous source	18	Seldom	17	Seldom	18	Seldom	15	Seldom	15	Seldom
	Expert quoted	9	Some-times	18	Seldom	14	Seldom	18	Seldom	17	Seldom

Analysis of the 2008 data in Table 4.5 shows that *Die Burger* very often used emotive headlines, while cautioning headlines also often appeared. The contents of the articles were, on the other hand, only sometimes emotive and also neutral. Very often the articles blamed Eskom for the crisis.

The *Cape Argus* headlines dealing with this subject were often neutral and a medium size headline font was used very often. The contents of the articles were also very often neutral and matter of fact, but also sometimes emotive. Eskom was often blamed for the crisis and the financial loss caused by the crisis was very often highlighted.

The *Cape Times* very often used cautioning headlines, often using a medium-sized font. The contents of the articles were sometimes emotive, but also neutral. Eskom was very often blamed and financial loss was often highlighted.

The headlines in *Business Report* were very often neutral, but also often emotive. The headline font was very often of a medium font size, while the contents of the articles were often neutral.

*Sake 24* very often used cautioning headlines and very often used a medium-sized font. The article contents often were neutral and financial loss was very often highlighted.

### 4.3 Field research data analysis

Questionnaires were sent to 10 reporters and one technical expert. Four completed forms were received from the journalists and one from the expert. The responses are given in this section.

#### 4.3.1 Responses received from journalists

The four responses to the questionnaire sent out to journalists in connection with the 2005-2010 energy crisis, are given below.

Responses were received: from four reporters as detailed in Table 2.5.

**Table 4.6: Respondents to questionnaire**

	Reporter A	Reporter B	Reporter C	Reporter D
<b>Affiliation</b>	<i>Die Burger</i>	<i>Sake 24</i>	<i>Cape Times</i>	<i>Sake 24</i>
<b>Highest qualification</b>	BA (Comm) Hons Journalism	Hons	MSc	BA
<b>Science as matric subject?</b>	No	Yes	No	No
<b>Reporter category</b>	News Editor	Economics	Environment/ News	Economics
<b>Time span of your career as reporter</b>	19 years	4 years	30 years	29 years

The following responses were received:

1. *What specific difficulties did you encounter in reporting on the crisis?*

**Reporter A:**

I struggled to get to the truth. Various people had different accounts of the crisis and the responsibility. So much (sic) lies and half-truths were told at the beginning of the crisis.

**Reporter B:**

Lack of clear answers and difficult to speak to the bosses.

**Reporter C:**

I was in the US on a fellowship from July 2007 to July 2008, so missed covering that crisis. However, the earlier crisis (2005 I think?), I did cover, which was our first inkling that there was a problem. I also covered the problems around the bolt in the generator at Koeberg. Our main problem as journalists was lack of information from Eskom and from government. It is impossible to write about something if no one will speak to you on the phone and answer questions in a discussion. They all insist on our having to send emails with questions, which take a day before you get a reply – and then the answers are either inadequate, vague, fail to answer all the questions, or lead to more questions. Enormously frustrating and inefficient – and the real information remains obscure. The other problem was dishonesty. When that report came out about problems in the system (was it Nersa that wrote it?) we were shocked to see that state of the energy supply, and the problems involved. Birds building nests in sensitive parts of Koeberg; staff failing to do basic checks, poor maintenance of power lines, with no replacing of the equipment that prevented arcing in smoke or fog – and they had simply lied to us before. Just blamed the power failures on fog, and when I queried why this specific fog, when we had had fog from time immemorial, there was no answer.

**Reporter D:**

Getting information of unofficial sources confirmed. I had access to excellent informal sources, but was unwilling to publish many of it for fear of being alarmist.

2. *How would you describe Eskom's role in the crisis?*

**Reporter A:**

Eskom tried their utmost best to hide the reality and severity of the crisis.

They relied on crisis management and hoped that it would disappear over time without owning up to their role in the crises.

**Reporter B:**

Instrumental. The cause of the crisis and lack of leadership clear...

**Reporter C:**

Again, if you are talking about the 2008 crisis, I cannot say, as I was not in the country at the time. But in the earlier one, they were not frank, and did not come out and give the public the facts.

**Reporter D:**

On the face it, Eskom was actively trying to manage demand from consumers. It compelled its largest customers to reduce demand as far as possible within the limits of its contracts. At a later stage Eskom realized the extent to which coal supplies influenced the situation and started working to improve the level of coal stockpiles. I am of the opinion that the crisis never would have happened if coal supplies were managed properly since around two months before the crisis; say from October or November 2007.

3. *How would you describe the government's role in the crisis?*

**Reporter A:**

The government underplayed SA's power problems totally. They were warned in 1997 before parliament by an engineer that South Africa will be wrapped in darkness by 2005 if they did not heed the problem. The national power grid was outdated and not enough maintenance was done to keep it viable. Government chose to ignore all warnings.

**Reporter B:**

Instrumental. Didn't prevent the crisis, and lack of leadership clear as well as bad decision making and appointing incompetent persons to be minister.

**Reporter C:**

Same as previous answer. This business of being so precious that they cannot talk to the public ( and the press is the public) is just wrong. They have a duty to tell us what's going on. They also need to get media spokesmen and women who actually know what is going on, who are thoroughly versed in their subject, and can answer questions themselves – not always take days to get some official to answer. They should be highly trained - and above all, they should be available.

**Reporter D:**

Government supported Eskom in managing demand downwards and used the crisis to pave the way for rising electricity prices.

4. *How did you experience the Eskom spokespersons and press releases?*

**Reporter A:**

At the time when the crisis struck in Cape Town I had to deal with Mr. X<sup>8</sup> , national spokesperson for Eskom, as the regional spokespeople were instructed not to speak to the

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<sup>8</sup> Real name changed to Mr X

media at all. Mr. X unfortunately could not handle the media storm and tended to get personal. He also made promises about comment and then virtually disappeared for days without commenting on media enquiries.

Press releases were empty and full of promises. I had to rely on my own sources within the company.

**Reporter B:**

Few and far in between, although once Mr. X came in and got to know him personally this improved. Personal relationships helped.

**Reporter C:**

Same as previous answer.

**Reporter D:**

Eskom's PR department was partial to downplaying the crisis. They tried to suppress information rather than disclose information. Some senior spokespeople were however willing to discuss information on an off the record basis, demanding undertakings that they would not be identified as the sources of the information they provided.

5. *How often did you make use of technical experts? Were they easy to get hold of? Name the experts consulted.*

**Reporter A:**

I used the various experts, but due to the sensitivity I can still not name them.

**Reporter B:**

Not often, not easy no, cause not that many : Barry Bredenkamp of the CEF, Chris Yelland.

**Reporter C:**

As I said, I did not cover the energy crisis of 2008, so this does not apply.

**Reporter D:**

Some of Eskom's largest customers and suppliers were important sources of information for my stories. Eskom employees acting through their trade unions were also extremely useful sources of information. Many of these individuals can be considered as technical experts – engineers and accounting experts, although they were insiders who were directly affected by the crisis or were directly involved in managing the situation.

6. *Rate the challenges of reporting on the energy crisis on a scale of 1 to 10 (1: easy, 10: difficult)*

**Reporter A:**

9 – at first it was a battle to get the news out there, but as people started to trust me as journalist it became easier. Eskom realized that they were not able to keep the crisis under wraps and thus sent a team down to Cape Town to manage the problem.

**Reporter B:**

7.5

**Reporter C:**

See previous answers (?).

**Reporter D:**

– I would say 5.

7. *Did you have an inkling of a looming crisis before it started?*

**Reporter A:**

At first I did not think it was such a huge problem but within a week and plenty of research I realized we had a national crisis on hands.

**Reporter B:**

No, but at that stage I had not been covering Eskom or the energy sector at all. Only started doing it when crisis came.

**Reporter C:**

Your questionnaire would have been more effective had you been specific about which crisis you referred to. As you don't I can only imagine you mean the 2008 crisis, as that was the big one. If so, then yes, we did, of course, have an inkling of the crisis because the lights were going out before then, and the Nersa report outline the problems with capacity at Eskom, lack of basic maintenance. We also by then knew that because government had not spent on new generation capacity – starting from the apartheid times when the then government was cutting spending everywhere to service their huge military machine, amongst other issues.

**Reporter D:**

I predicted in several articles since 2005 that a crisis is looming due to the shrinking reserve margin. I was however unaware of the serious situation with coal supplies.

8. *In your opinion, what was the root cause of the crisis?*

**Reporter A:**

A government whom (sic) did not heed warnings from experts and clever government officials whom (sic) did not want to realize the country was growing faster than infrastructure. Eskom and government did not heed any warnings.

**Reporter B:**

Bad leadership appointments and bad accountability for things like ensuring maintenance happened

**Reporter C:**

See previous answers. Too little investment, by the apartheid and the democratic government, in new generation capacity to meet growing demand; lack of effective management in the top structures of Eskom; lack of capacity of officials in carrying out maintenance; lack of government oversight in seeing these problems; lack of action to avert it.

**Reporter D:**

Bad management of coal stocks and the inability of Eskom's coal procurement division to negotiate commercially sound contracts with suppliers.

9. *Did you have the notion expressed in (8) at the beginning of the crisis or did it develop over time?*

**Reporter A:**

After many hours of research and speaking to various experts...

**Reporter B:**

Don't know.

**Reporter C:**

I think the first time I had an idea of how bad the situation was, was around 2005/06, when I first heard about the slim margins in our generation. This grew with the Nersa report on the blackouts, and was confirmed by experts I had spoken to over time. One of the big problems in South Africa is that no one entity is in charge of electricity generation. I remember going to a conference in about 2006 when an American energy specialist articulated that concept. He said that for a developing country Eskom was quite well managed, but he added big problems were on the horizon because no one entity is in charge... "and that is a very dangerous position for any country to be in", he added. Now, it appears, that Dept of Energy has taken control, but they do have serious capacity constraints. So yes, I knew it was bad.

**Reporter D:**

It developed over time. Initially I thought the reserve margin, coupled with bad maintenance and was the main reasons for the crisis.

10. *When reporting on the crisis, what was your main aim? (Mark more than one, if necessary):*

	Reporter A	Reporter B	Reporter C	Reporter D
To report on the fact that the event happened	x	x	See below.	
To explain the causes of/ background to the event	x	x	See below.	x
To report on how the event affected people	x	x	See below.	
To point out an optimistic scenario		x	See below.	
To point out a pessimistic scenario		x	See below.	

### Reporter C:

The first one is obviously the main duty of a reporter. The second one, to explain causes, is a bonus if you can get it, but usually experts are reluctant to speak until they know more, so that takes time. And then so many don't want to be quoted on the record. Also, the strength of your story, depends entirely on the strength of your information – and from my other answers you will know the difficulties there. You may want to speak to (Reporter X)<sup>9</sup>. She is the reporter who broke the story about the bolt in the generator. Some whistle-blower told her the truth, after many lies from Eskom. Your third point is an obvious angle, and quite easy to cover, and we usually do/did. "Put a face to the problem/issue" is a standard rule in our newsroom – simply means tell readers how this affected a person, people and get their experience, stories, pictures. When you get to speak of putting an optimistic or pessimistic slant on the story, you are on tricky ground for a reporter, as then a reporter would be moving into the area of comment, and we do not comment. It is our job to give the reader the facts, as many sides as one can, as fairly as one can, and then let the reader make up his or her own mind.

11. *How would you respond to the following statement: "Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin."*

### Reporter A

SA's reserve margin is much smaller than Eskom and government want us to believe. According to studies and papers presented to parliament by consultants the margin is non-existing and has been for the last few years – this is also the reason why Eskom is so hurriedly building more coal plants in the north – Medupi – being one.

It is an absolute nightmare to run a power system on such a small reserve margin.

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<sup>9</sup> Identity concealed

**Reporter B:**

I agree.

And would respond by saying this is exactly the reason why forward thinking and good leadership ensuring the necessary skills are available, is critical.

**Reporter C:**

Eskom has had many decades of converting coal to electricity. That, with nuclear, is really the only method they know. They know coal inside out, back to front, upside down. They are the coal generating experts. Any technical difficulties in generating electricity from coal would have been ironed out a long time ago. However, having to run a system with a small generating reserve margin, is difficult in any country, for any utility, using any kind of power source. That is the difficulty they face, along with not being the ones in charge, as there is has been no one institution or government department in charge of the overall planning and execution of electricity in SA.

**Reporter D:**

A constrained reserve margin in generation will certainly be more complex and difficult to manage than the surplus capacity situation that Eskom enjoyed for almost two decades. It can however be done, especially against the background of demand side management that was increasingly provided for in contracts with large customers since 2002/3 when it became clear that reserve margin will become constrained from 2007/8 onwards. The flexibility built into these contracts would have been sufficient to manage the declining reserve margin on condition that all other operating factors remain constant. However, irregular coal supplies and increasing volatility in specifications of coal feedstock aggravated the situation considerably. On top of that were badly planned maintenance schedules. Maintenance was the straw that broke the camel's back, but the bulk of the load on the camel was coal. The lesson is simple: for a coal-fired power system like Eskom's the mining operations are just as important for the stability as generation and transmission.

**4.3.2 Response received from technical expert**

*Professional experience of technical expert:*

Professional engineer with degrees in physics and mechanical engineering. Worked in industry, including Eskom in both its coal and nuclear sections and for seven years as an energy researcher at the University of Cape Town. Free-lance journalist on energy-related issues.

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. How did you experience your contact with journalists? Did you get the idea that they were well-informed?</li></ol> |
|---|

They are very badly informed. Most of them seem to know nothing about science or engineering. Some of them, however, are honest and open; some, especially on topics like nuclear power, renewable energy and climate change, just follow a blind ideology: they know nothing about nuclear but will only ever report bad things about it; they know nothing about renewables but will only ever report good things about them.

2. Were you happy with the way your opinion was conveyed in the press? Were you selectively quoted or misquoted sometimes?

I have often been fairly quoted. Once, however, after sending an extensive answer to their questions, only one sentence of my reply was published.

3. What is your opinion of the way the 2006 – 2008 crises were reported in the press?

They were generally very badly reported. Very few articles pointed out the simple truth that we did not have enough generation capacity, and that the Government and Eskom had just ignored the problem between them. They seemed to know nothing about the basics of electricity production and consumption.

4. How should newspapers organise themselves to be able to report on future events of a similar nature.

They should hire journalists with science or engineering qualifications or failing that insist that they learn the engineering basics of the topics they are reporting on, such as our electricity problems. They should listen to and fairly report experts in the relevant field. They should try to tell the truth rather than to press an ideological point.

5. I sent a questionnaire to some journalists and also asked their opinions on the following statement:

"Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin."

How would you respond to that statement?

I agree entirely.

6. Do you think the way Eskom was portrayed as "buffoons running a nuclear power station" (typically in cartoons, inter alia by Zapiro) was fair?

Senior Eskom executives from 1994 to 2004 did act like buffoons in their refusal to accept we were running out of electricity. However, those running the power stations have done a

reasonable job (not a perfect job) in difficult circumstances. Koeberg is not badly run. It has a load factor of 80%<sup>10</sup>, which is not the best in the world but not too bad. There were some mistakes made at Koeberg, including the infamous bolt in the generator, but its reliability has not been too bad at all. It was unfair to portray the power station staff as buffoons.

#### **4.4 Chapter summary**

In this chapter the data qualifying for the search criteria were analysed quantitatively, considering the distribution over time and among topic categories. The occurrence of the topic categories within the various newspapers and the types of newsprint were also quantified. The styles and themes of the newspapers, based on articles that appeared in 2006 and 2008 were also analysed, using qualitative content analysis. The way reporters were employed for reporting on the crisis was considered. Finally, the responses of four reporters and a technical expert to questionnaires have been presented.

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<sup>10</sup> The load factor is the actual energy (kWh) delivered over a year as a percentage of the maximum possible energy if the generators were running all the time

## 5 Main findings

Articles from a number of Western Cape newspapers, containing the word “Eskom” were analysed to obtain an answer to the research question: “What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 – 2010?” In this chapter the main research findings are summarised. These findings include those of the qualitative and quantitative content analyses and the responses to a questionnaire that was sent to key journalists.

### 5.1 Findings from quantitative content analysis

#### 5.1.1 Variation of number of articles during period 2005-2010

Eskom received very little attention in the press until the end of 2005 when there was an upsurge in the number of articles referring to Eskom. The number of selected articles remained high during the period within 2006, 2008 and 2009-2010. In 2006 the majority of these articles dealt with the interruptions of supply due to the problems at Koeberg. This, together with management and tariff concerns, remained high on the agenda up to 2008. During 2009 and 2010 the main concerns were tariff increases and the performance of Eskom’s management.

#### 5.1.2 Topics covered during the period 2005-2010

The selected articles were categorized into various topics and the data were analysed on a yearly basis, yielding the following findings:

##### *Education and electricity saving*

These two categories received a surprisingly small amount of attention, despite the seriousness of the energy situation. Some of these reports dealt with suggestions by Eskom to save energy (e.g. energy-saving light bulbs) or hints to reduce energy consumption. In 2006 and 2008 these reports appear to have been stimulated by the interruptions of supply. One surprising fact is the poor correlation with reporting on higher tariffs. In 2009 and 2010 this category has dwindled to insignificant levels.

##### *Tariffs*

The price of electricity in South Africa has been low for many years and, in the light of difficulties to raise finances for new projects, Eskom, at various stages, proposed steep tariff increases. These proposals first required the approval of Nersa, causing a flood of articles before and after Nersa’s decision. This category shows steady growth from year to year, both in actual numbers and as percentages of the yearly number of articles. The highest figures occurred in 2009.

##### *Expansion plans*

This subject received relatively little attention during 2005, but after 2006 there has been a realisation of the lack of capacity. A large proportion of these articles dealt with the lack of foresight by Eskom and the government in not planning extra generating capacity. Other articles dealt with plans by Eskom to alleviate the situation. The number of articles dealing with this category was consistently the second highest every year with the exception of 2009.

#### *Management*

The Eskom management that have been in office during the crisis have (perhaps unfairly) been blamed for the interruptions of supply. This resulted in articles dealing with Eskom's management to rise steadily from zero in 2005 to significant numbers in 2010. Thulani Gcabashe was replaced by Jacob Maroga in 2007. Issues regarding the remuneration and bonuses of Eskom top management received high priority in these articles.

#### *Power cuts*

The bulk of the articles in the period 2006 – 2008 dealt with this category with a maximum of 60% occurring in 2006. In 2009 and 2010 the number of articles in this category subsided to lower levels.

#### *Renewable energy and the environment*

The number of articles dealing with renewable energy is relatively low, both in actual numbers and as a percentage, with the exception of a peak in 2009.

#### *Pro- and anti-nuclear energy*

The ratio of the number of articles favouring nuclear energy to those against it remained balanced with the bias towards the anti-group. Proponents saw nuclear energy and specifically the pebble bed modular reactor (PBMR) as an environmentally friendly (from a global warming perspective) solution for the energy supply crisis. Others, notably action groups such as Earthlife Africa, opposed nuclear power referring to possible catastrophes and the issue of nuclear waste.

The main finding is that the various newspapers reacted differently to the news. It appears that the Afrikaans newspapers were more prolific in reporting news regarding the power interruptions. In the following section the focus will be on the individual newspapers and on which aspects each one considers important.

### **5.1.3 The focus of the individual newspapers on a year-to-year basis**

About 25% of the small number of articles containing "Eskom" that appeared in *Die Burger* during 2005 dealt with power interruptions. This figure shot up to 60% in 2006, 65% in 2007, decreased to 35% in 2008 and to 10% in 2009 and 2010. During 2008, the attention shifted to management issues, averaging about 27%. During 2007 and 2009, there was significant reporting on tariffs (2007: 15%, 2009: 45%). The environmental aspects relating to renewable energy and electricity saving, received little attention in the later years.

In the *Cape Argus* the percentage of articles dealing with power supply problems also showed a peak in 2006 (68%) but decreased to lower levels in 2007 and 2008 (30% and 25%). There was a consistent preference for negative coverage of nuclear power (2005: 20%, 2007: 30%, 2009: 15% and 2010: 20%), with the exception of 2009 when the positive coverage of nuclear power (20%) exceeded the negative coverage (15%). In 2008 the main concern was expansion issues (25%) and in 2009 and 2010 the tariff increases received a considerable amount of attention (2009: 30% and 2010: 50%).

The *Cape Times* also gave consistent prominence to the power supply crisis (2005: 32%, 2006 and 2007: 50%, 2008: 20% and 2010:20%). Renewable energy issues were high on the agenda in 2008 (25%) and 2009 (37%). Nuclear energy is also a popular topic and the sentiments are often negative (2005: 20%, 2007: 28% and 2008: 20%), although there were some positive articles in 2005 (20%). Later the focus shifted to operational and financial matters such as management (2009: 18%), tariffs (2009: 18%, 2010: 25%) and expansion (2010: 20%).

*Sake 24*, as expected, dealt with matters related to business such as expansion (2005: 100%<sup>11</sup>, 2006: 38%, 2008: 22%), tariffs (2007: 30%, 2009: 28%, 2010: 18%) and management (2010: 50%). There were also regular reports dealing with renewable energy (2006: 20%, 2007: 18%, 2009: 28%). Power interruptions received relatively little attention, except in 2008 when 28% of the articles dealt with the topic.

*Business Report* had a similar profile to *Sake 24* with issues regarding expansion being prominent (2005: 5%, 2006: 43%, 2007: 22%, 2008: 25% and 2010: 48%). The performance of Eskom's management also often featured (2006: 12%, 2008: 15%, 2009: 18%) and issues regarding tariffs (2005: 18%, 2007: 15%, 2010: 20%). Power interruptions (2006: 12%, 2007: 22%, 2008: 20%) and renewable energy (2006: 12%, 2009: 38%) are other topics of importance.

#### 5.1.4 The focus of the individual newspapers over the period 2005-2010

Considering the entire period (2005 – 2010), the focus of the newspapers can be summarised as follows:

The three daily newspapers (*Cape Argus*, *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*) gave the highest priority to material dealing with the power cuts, whereas this topic received considerably less attention in the business supplements. *Die Burger* had the highest content of this category (33%), followed by *Cape Times* (28%) and *Cape Argus* (26%).

The business related topics of tariffs, expansion and management received a higher priority in the business supplements (*Business Report*: 60%, *Sake 24*: 55%) than in the ordinary newspapers (*Die Burger*: 40%, *Cape Argus*: 35% and *Cape Times*: 26%). The topic of renewable energy received coverage in the range of 8% to 14% in all newspapers.

<sup>11</sup> As pointed out before the database was small in 2005 and this figure should be regarded with caution.

Articles having an anti-nuclear sentiment featured strongly in *Cape Times* (19%) and *Cape Argus* (15%), while receiving less attention in the other newspapers (*Business Report*: 7%, *Die Burger*: 3% and *Sake 24*: 1%). A pro-nuclear stance was supported by *Cape Argus*: 8%, *Cape Times*: 7%, *Die Burger*: 5%, *Sake 24*: 3% and *Business Report*: 3%). Articles dealing with education and promoting electricity have been relatively scarce in most newspapers with *Die Burger* and *Cape Argus* faring the best with 8% each. The percentages of the other newspapers were *Cape Times* (4%), *Sake 24* (5%) and *Business Report* (4%).

## **5.2 Findings from qualitative content analysis**

A selection of newspaper articles for each of the two years 2006 and 2008 was extracted from the selected articles used in the quantitative content analysis. These articles were studied by the author and evaluated in terms of the criteria explained in section 3.1.4. The findings are summarised below.

It was found that, with regard to reporting on the energy crisis in 2006, *Die Burger* often used emotive headlines, although also infrequently medium and large headline sizes. The contents of the articles were often emotive, but articles that were neutral and matter of fact also appeared slightly less often. Articles very often blamed Eskom for the crisis and portrayed them in a negative light.

The *Cape Argus* often carried neutral headlines, although emotive and cautioning headlines appeared sometimes. The contents of the relevant articles were very often neutral and matter of fact. The articles often blamed Eskom for the crisis. Environmental and power-saving aspects were often highlighted.

In *Cape Times* cautionary headlines were very often used, but neutral headlines also appeared often. The content of the articles was very often neutral and matter of fact and aspects of the environment and electricity saving were often highlighted.

Analysis of the 2008 data shows that *Die Burger* very often used emotive headlines, while cautioning headlines also often appeared. The contents of the articles were, on the other hand, only sometimes emotive and neutral. Very often the articles blamed Eskom for the crisis.

The *Cape Argus* headlines dealing with this subject were often neutral and a medium size headline font was used very often. The contents of the articles were also very often neutral and matter of fact, but also sometimes emotive. Eskom was often blamed for the crisis and the financial loss caused by the crisis was very often highlighted.

The *Cape Times* very often used cautioning headlines, often using a medium-sized font. The contents of the articles were sometimes emotive, but also neutral. Eskom was very often blamed and financial loss was often highlighted.

The headlines in *Business Report* were very often neutral, but also often emotive. The headline font was very often of a medium font size, while the contents of the articles were often neutral.

*Sake 24* very often used cautioning headlines and very often used a medium-sized font. The article contents often were neutral and financial loss was very often highlighted.

### **5.3 Findings from field research: questionnaires**

A questionnaire was sent to ten journalists and four responded. In addition, a questionnaire was sent to a technical expert who was often consulted by journalists on this subject. The responses are reviewed in this section.

#### **5.3.1 Responses from journalists**

On the question on what difficulties were experienced during the crisis the responses were unanimous that it was difficult to obtain clear answers from Eskom. Information obtained was described as “half-truths” and “lies”. In response to a further question on Eskom’s role in the crisis it was again mentioned that Eskom “tried their utmost [...] to hide the severity of the crisis”, “were not frank [...] did not give the public the facts”, “the cause of the crisis”, “lack leadership” and did not manage coal supplies properly. When asked about their experience of the Eskom spokespersons, comments were that “regional spokespeople were instructed not to speak”, “press releases were empty and full of promises”, they were “few and far between” and that they “suppressed information” and were “downplaying the crisis”.

On a question regarding the government’s role in the crisis the respondents agreed that they “chose to ignore all warnings”, “lack of leadership”, “so precious that they cannot talk to the public” and “used the crisis to pave the way for rising electricity prices”.

When asked what the root cause of the crisis was, responses were “Eskom and the government did not heed any warnings”, “bad leadership appointments and bad accountability”, “too little investment, by the apartheid government and the democratic government”, divided accountability between Eskom and the government and “bad management of coal stocks”. When asked how they rate the difficulty of reporting on the power crisis (0: easy – 10: difficult), the answers were: 9,(?),7.5 and 5.

The reporters were asked to respond to the following statement: “Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin.” All respondents agreed with the statement and added that “this is exactly the reason why forward thinking and good leadership ensuring necessary skills.. is critical”, “..that is the difficulty they face ...not being the ones in charge”, “with the flexibility built into these [demand side management] contracts would have been

sufficient to manage the declining reserve margin.... Maintenance was the straw that broke the camel's back....for a coal-fired system like Eskom's the mining operations are just as important..."

When posed with the possible descriptions of the duty of a reporter, shown in Table 5.1, the responses were as given in the table.

**Table 5.1: Responses from reporters**

<b>Description</b>	<b>No. of reporters agreeing</b>
To report on the fact that the event happened	3
To explain the causes of/ background to the event	4
To report on how the event affected people	3
To point out an optimistic scenario	1
To point out a pessimistic scenario	1

In connection with the last two questions, one reporter commented: "When you get to speak of putting an optimistic or pessimistic slant on the story, you are on tricky ground for a reporter, as then a reporter would be moving into the area of comment, and we do not comment. It is our job to give the reader the facts, as many sides as one can, as fairly as one can, and then let the reader make up his or her own mind."

### **5.3.2 Response from technical expert**

In response to a question he indicated that journalists were "badly informed" on science and engineering. "Some of them, however, are honest and open; some, especially on topics like nuclear power, renewable energy and climate change, just follow a blind ideology: they know nothing about nuclear but will only ever report bad things about it; they know nothing about renewables but will only ever report good things about them."

He has few complaints about how he was quoted in the press. He is of the opinion that the 2006-2008 crisis was "badly reported", ignoring "the simple truth that we did not have enough generation capacity, and that the Government and Eskom had just ignored the problem between them."

On the question on how newspapers should organise themselves to be in a position to handle future events of a technical nature, he responded: "They should hire journalists with science or engineering qualifications or failing that, insist that they learn the engineering basics of the topics they are reporting on, such as our electricity problems."

He agreed fully with the following statement in the questionnaire: "Running a power system like the Eskom system (power stations converting coal into electricity) normally presents a tough technical challenge. This challenge is multiplied tenfold if you have to run a system having a small (generating) reserve margin."

He was asked whether the portrayal of Eskom as buffoons running a nuclear power station" (typically in cartoons, inter alia by Zapiro) was fair? He responded: "Senior Eskom executives from 1994 to 2004 did act like buffoons in their refusal to accept we were running out

of electricity. However, those running the power stations have done a reasonable job (not a perfect job) in difficult circumstances. Koeberg is not badly run. It has a load factor of 80%, which is not the best in the world but not too bad. There were some mistakes made at Koeberg, including the infamous bolt in the generator, but its reliability has not been too bad at all. It was unfair to portray the power station staff as buffoons.”

#### **5.4 Chapter summary**

In this chapter the main findings of the content analysis were presented. These findings are discussed in the following chapter.

## 6 Discussion

The position of a country during an energy crisis can possibly be compared to that of a large ship on the open sea, experiencing serious mechanical problems and fuel problems, possibly due to poor maintenance and bad management. What typical reactions could be expected from the passengers and their representatives? Human nature will often be emotional, blaming the captain, possibly leading to a mutiny. What type of reaction would be desirable from a survival perspective? A calm approach, whereby the representatives try to obtain an explanation from the crew, thus reassuring the passengers, would be preferable. The passengers can then be persuaded to give their cooperation to alleviate the problem.

The results from the quantitative content analysis confirm that the media (the voice of the public) produced an increased number of articles during the time of crisis. When the crisis started in 2005/2006 the reporters were faced with the difficult task to report on a complex technical issue and depended largely on Eskom spokespersons and consulted technical experts. The spokespersons were not very effective, largely because they were not properly briefed by the technical people, who were busy finding solutions. The type of problem they faced is indicated by the following statement by a reporter: "It is impossible to write about something if no one will speak to you on the phone and answer questions in a discussion."

By their nature, newspapers often respond reactively to some or other crisis or issue. The majority of the articles dealt with the power supply problems, while proactive issues such as education, electricity saving or renewable energy received surprisingly little attention, considering the seriousness of the situation. Also very few journalists were aware of the dwindling power supplies. Rabe (2008) wrote an article in *Sake 24*, pointing out that the media are also culpable in so much as few reporters had sufficient scientific or technical background to have interpreted the 1998 White Paper on energy. Claassen (2010) commented along similar lines: "Not even one South African newspaper or broadcasting station has a formal science desk, headed by a science editor with a team of well-trained science reporters." The technical expert concurred and suggested that to be able to deal with future crises of a technical nature, the newspapers should "hire journalists with science or engineering qualifications or failing that, insist that they learning the engineering basics of the topics they are reporting on, such as our electricity problems." There were however journalists who warned against possible problems. De Lange (2008) in an article in *Sake 24* urged that the pettiness ("kleinsieligheid") against *Eskom* be abandoned. He pointed out that he warned in 2004 that the dwindling energy margin would deter new investments. The author of this thesis also asked in a letter in *Die Burger* in 2002: "Waar gaan ons land in die toekoms krag vandaan kry?" (From where will our country be getting power in the future?) (Holtzhausen: 2002).

There were undisputedly problems within Eskom during the period in question. These problems were pointed out in the report by Nersa (NERSA: 2006). Various problems existed on managerial level, the mismanagement of coal supplies in 2008 that lead to the 'resignation' of Jacob Maroga in 2009, being a case in point. As already pointed out, Eskom's spokespersons did not operate optimally. After the 'bolt' incidents one of the spokespersons was quoted as having said: "Die reaktor gaan beslis nie ontplof nie" (The reactor is definitely not going to explode). Their public relations section failed miserably and the Eskom "brand" suffered some damage.

It is also true that some unfair generalisations were made and Eskom as a whole was discredited. One of the respondents to the questionnaire accused Eskom of "lying" when attributing problems on the transmission system to mist. She was apparently unaware of the fact that mist together with coastal and industrial pollution is a real problem in the Western Cape. This is a case in point where a reporter is unable to report accurately on a technical matter. In a good interview by Willemien Brümmer with the CEO of 2006, Thulani Gbashe, he complained that, irrespective of how many explanations he gave to the media, what was published, bore no resemblance to what was presented to the press (Brümmer: 2006).

The qualitative content analysis showed that the headlines and contents of the reports were often emotive, more so in some newspapers than in others. The public, already upset by the inconvenience of the power cuts found little comfort in these reports, excluding from humorous jokes about "Ek's dom" (I am stupid) as a nick name for Eskom. It is possible that a phenomenon similar to the amplification of risk, described by Kasperson *et al* (1988) caused the wide-spread perception that "incompetence rules". After Eskom obtained a replacement rotor in France to repair the Koeberg generator, it was rumoured in the press that there are no cranes available in South Africa to unload the load from the ship. Eventually two cranes were used to lift the rotor off the ship. One definition of framing is when the media portray a person or organization by only focussing on the negative (or positive) attributes of the subject. It is thus clear that the newspapers driven by forces such as political economy, employed framing with respect to Eskom (Fourie 2007: 244).

The qualitative content analysis also shows that the real cause of the power crisis, the fact that the government prevented Eskom from building new power stations, has been grossly under-reported. In a well-informed article in the Cape Times, Eberhard recounts that "the government prohibited Eskom from building new generators between 2001 and 2004 when a new competitive electricity market was being designed and private participation was expected"(Eberhard: 2008). The renowned journalist, Allister Sparks, in a frank article in *Cape Times*, pointed out that a government White Paper warned about a pending crisis in 2007, if no new power stations are built. The Minister of Public Enterprises ignored "up to 10 urgent memo's" from Eskom, "begging him for a decision" (Sparks: 2008). Another stalwart reporter,

Charlene Smith, in an excellent report in the *Cape Times*, disguised under the title “Be prepared and buy a generator”, criticised Eskom (and the government) for ignoring South Africa’s energy needs and “turning its eyes to fixing Africa’s energy shortages and [...] ignored the developing crisis at home (Smith: 2008). Melanie Gosling quoted a Stanford University energy researcher as saying that the root cause of the energy crisis was “that it is not clear who is in charge of the country’s power system: the government, the electricity regulator or Eskom” and that “Eskom no longer had the job of planning the energy system”(Gosling: 2006). This situation was caused by the 1998 Eskom Amendment Act which stated that the ownership of Eskom’s equity vests in the State.

When comparing the responses of the various newspapers, it is noted that in 2005/2006 *Die Burger* published more reports and specifically more on the power disruptions. Their headlines and contents were also more emotive than those of the English newspapers. This phenomenon can possibly be explained as a form of political economy, as this style of reporting was what the readers wanted. After 1994 Eskom became a flagship of the ANC and set itself severe BEE targets. The English newspapers were also subjected to similar but opposite forces, which may explain their more neutral stance. There were municipal elections during 2006 and although all the newspapers are politically neutral, the political inclination of the readers may play a role. Minister Alec Erwin’s judgement was also affected by the election as he mentioned the possibility of sabotage at Koeberg shortly before the election.

In conclusion, in response to the research question “What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 - 2010?”, it is clear that the newspapers investigated as representatives of the media did not succeed in playing a positive role. The main reason for this was that few scientific or technical reporters were available. Very little support was also available from Eskom’s spokespersons. Some newspapers, notably *Die Burger*, framed *Eskom* as incompetent.

## 7 Conclusion and recommendations

In this thesis the research question "What role was played by the media during the electricity crisis during the period 2005 - 2010?" was considered. In order to obtain an answer newspaper clippings from various Western Cape newspapers containing the word *Eskom* were analysed, using quantitative and qualitative analyses. Questionnaires were also sent to some of the journalists who were involved in these reports and a technical expert who was regularly consulted by the journalists.

From these investigations a picture emerged of a power company struggling to solve technical problems and journalists trying to get hold of the story and the "truth". The journalists were not equipped to handle the technical nature of the problems and the public relations department of Eskom appeared ineffective. Under these circumstances the media at times had little to say and published emotive and speculative reports that did not ease the situation. It was also found that topics like electricity saving received less attention.

It is recommended that, in order to be prepared for similar situations in future, newspapers appoint journalists with scientific and engineering knowhow. Another possibility is to use freelance technical journalists on a contract basis or to establish a formal panel of technical advisors.

One criticism of the present work could be that the content analysis coding was done by a single person. In further work more formal computer methods could be used. In particular, the method of clustering by Matthes & Kohring (2008) should be further investigated in order to identify frames more formally.

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**Appendix A: Energy crisis (2005-2010)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<b>2005</b>		
27/01/2005	Cape High Court decides to stop PBMR construction at Koeberg - Eskom still hopes to start construction 2007	Anti-nuclear lobby
2005/02/02	Eskom promotes off-peak usage - reduced peak by 197 MW.	Demand side management
25/02/2005	Announcement of Eskom's partnership in harnessing the Congo River	
21/05/2005	Braamhoek pumped storage scheme in Drakensberg announced	
20/05/2005	White paper on DSM announced by Eskom- if no action problems by 2007	
05/05/2005	First RED launched to improve service delivery and to harmonise tariffs	
27/07/2005	Eskom not ready to use West Coast gas	
28/07/2005	Koeberg wins top prize (J H Smith trophy) : role model for other stations	
29/07/2005	Peak load gas turbines at Atlantis and Mossel Bay planned without EIA	
11/11/2005	Koeberg switchgear problem, 2 h blackout in Western Cape	start of the
16/11/2005	Wildfire under 400 kV power at Muldersvlei causes voltage dips, causing a shutdown of Koeberg Power Station	Koeberg problems,
23/11/ 2005	Controlled shutdown of the reactor - rolling blackouts	unit 1
25/12/2005	Loose bolt causes damage to rotor of unit 1	damaged by 'bolt'.
<b>2006</b>		
20/01/2006	Unit 1 down, unit 2 scheduled for maintenance in March	
25/01/2006	PMBR contract for pressure vessel signed (Spain)	
27/01/2006	Repairs on unit 1 start	
07/02/2006	Work start on open cycle gas power plant (Atlantis)- complete within a year	
18/02/2006	Unit 2 at Koeberg trips at same time as unit at Kendal Power Station	Further series of
20/02/2006	Wildfires, mist cause tripping of 400 kV lines, rolling blackouts	events on
23/02/2006	Fifth day of power cuts	power lines
28/02/2006	Koeberg trips due to problems on power line	affecting
01/03/2006	Alec Erwin's sabotage claim	Koeberg
03/03/2006	Recovery plan for Western Cape: Koeberg repair/Grid integrity/DSM/Additional generation	
29/03/2006	Eskom announce plan for new nuclear power station	
05/04/2006	Rotor arrives in Table Bay	

Date	Event	Comment
25/04/2006	Load shedding scenarios announced	
13/03/2006	Higher tariffs announced	
01/05/2006	New rotor ex France installed	
16/05/ 2006	Attempts to start unit 1	
18/05/2006	Unit 1 successfully synchronised	Unit 1
19/05/2006	Colour codes broadcast on TV (Power Alert)	coming back,
22/05/2006	Unit 2 shuts down for maintenance: load shedding commences	unit 2 down
26/05/2006	Drive to replace conventional bulbs for CFL's (3 million changed)	for
27/05/2006	Defective valve: unit 1 output reduced to 80%	maintenance,
29/05/2006	Leaking fuel rod on unit 2, no cause for concern	load
09/06/2006	Switchgear causes shutdown of unit 1: Rolling blackouts	shedding
10/07/2006	Earthlife Africa granted leave to appeal relating to Eskom's PBMR minutes	
25/07/2006	Unit 2 switched on	
15/08/2006	NERSA report slams Eskom for negligence	
28/08/2006	ABB awarded contract for upgrading of Cabora Bassa supply	
05/10/2006	Alstom awarded contract to refurbish Arnot Power Station	
07/11/2006	Unit 2 shuts down due to a fault - fixed after one day	
<b>2007</b>		
17/01/2007	Eskom obtains R 744 million loan (European Investment Bank)	
18/01/2007	Koeberg trips due to faulty component while boiler problems at various power stations: power cuts	
07/02/2007	Open cycle gas turbines (Atlantis) commissioned	
09/02/2007	Jacob Maroga becomes Eskom's new CEO	
16/03/2007	Eskom announces further expenditure of R 150 billion	
30/03/2007	Unit 2 shuts down: crane into contact with line	
02/04/2007	Pebble bed EIA consultants quit	
19/04/2007	Eskom proposes a 18% tariff increase	
28/05/2007	Eskom identifies 5 sites for nuclear power stations	
04/06/2007	Koeberg unit 2 shuts down: cooling water leak	
08/06/2007	Solidarity report warns on exodus of skilled white workers	
11/06/2007	Earthlife Africa upset about possibility of nuclear power stations	
18/06/2007	National Nuclear Regulator halts PMBR due to inadequate licensing	PMBR stalled
12/07/2007	Voltage transformer explodes at Muldersvlei, causing a voltage dip	
13/07/2007	Koeberg unit shuts down for refuelling and maintenance (2 months)	Refuelling
31/07/2007	Eskom starts planning a 100 MW wind farm	and load

Date	Event	Comment
10/10/2007	Load shedding: maintenance/ technical problems/ coal shortage	shedding
12/10/2007	Eskom's subsidy scheme for geysers announced	scenario
30/10/2007	Large industries join DSM programme	
29/11/2007	Problem at Koeberg/ 500 MW shortfall/ load shedding	
01/12/2007	Eskom plans 70 % coal generation by 2025	
13/12/2007	Mbeki admits government, not Eskom to blame	
21/12/2007	Tariff increase of 14.2% approved by NERSA	
<b>2008</b>		
08/01/2008	Unit 2 refuelling may cause load shedding for 2 months	
14/01/2008	Eskom calls for overseas bids to build nuclear power station	
14/01/2008	Standard & Poor lowers Eskom's credit rating	
23/01/2008	Western Cape in crisis mode due to power cuts	
04/02/2008	Wet coal	
11/02/2008	Eskom brand 'damaged'	Wet coal and
15/02/2008	Eskom unveils recovery plan	load
15/02/2008	Eskom admits shortage and poor quality of coal	shedding
11/03/2008	Aveng hopes to get contract for 4 nuclear power stations	scenario
14/03/2008	Coega smelter plans halted	
18/03/2008	Power cuts country-wide due to 4 faulty generators	
19/06/2008	NERSA grants Eskom a 13.3% tariff increase	
27/06/2008	Moroga declines bonus	
23/07/2008	Koeberg unit 2 down, system vulnerable	
06/08/2008	start of construction of Kusile Power Station - to be completed in 2017	
06/12/2008	Eskom shelves plans to build nuclear power station	
<b>2009</b>		
13/01/2009	Reaction to proposed 765 kV power line near Tulbagh	
17/01/2009	Medupi and Kusile to cost R51m more	
24/02/2009	Eskom provide R 78m for solar geysers	
20/03/2009	R 1.68 bn to upgrade Koeberg turbines	
07/04/2009	Koeberg Unit 2 off	
26/05/2009	Nuclear plants further investigated	
26/06/2009	Tariff increase of 34%	
28/08/2009	Eskom reports R 9.7bn loss	
15/09/2009	Maroga's salary increased by R1 - knew of coal crisis	
22/09/2009	PMBR on ice indefinitely - due to costs	PMBR shelved
13/10/2009	Eskom plans solar project at Upington	
09/11/2009	Maroga resigns	

Date	Event	Comment
01/12/2009	Medupi R 24 bn more expensive	
29/12/2009	Eskom obtains R 13 bn loan from France	
<b>2010</b>		
25/02/2010	Tariff increase of 24.8% accepted by NERSA	
15/03/2010	Koeberg shuts down for maintenance	
06/04/2010	Eskom/ Billiton to renegotiate contracts	
08/04/2020	Sites for Nuclear Power Stations announced: Nuclear-1 at	
	Thyspunt near Jeffrey's Bay	
09/04/2010	World bank approves \$3.75 bn Eskom loan	
25/05/2010	Eskom ready for Soccer World Cup	
22/06/2010	Brian Dames new Eskom CEO	
25/06/2010	Plan to have 1025 MW green power by 2013 announced	
11/07/2010	FIFA Soccer World cup ends – no power cuts	
13/12/2010	Maroga loses court case, has to pay costs	
16/12/2010	Koeberg unit 1 down - fuel prblems	
27/12/2010	Residents in Tulbagh valley unhappy about new 765 kV power	
	line	

**Appendix B: Data used for content analysis****Table B1: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2005)**

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
ESKOM BESPAAR ELEKTRISITEIT	BURGER	2005	2	2
REAKTOR: PROSES WAS NIE GEBREKKIG	BURGER	2005	2	3
KIOTO-VERDRAG: NET 'N PAPIERTIER?	BURGER	2005	3	3
BUISLIGTE LAAT BLOUKRAANVOELS KRAGDRADE SAANS SIEN	BURGER	2005	5	11
POMP-OPGAARSKEMA SAL SA BAIE KRAG GEE	BURGER	2005	5	21
MEER GELD NODIG OM WINDKRAG 'N OPSIE TE MAAK	BURGER	2005	5	31
SA MOET KRAG DOELTREFFEND BENUT, MAAN ESKOM	BURGER	2005	6	20
KOLLEKTIEWE DOEL VIR DIE ONWTIKKE- LING VAN VOLHOUBARE KRAG	BURGER	2005	6	20
HERNUBARE KRAGMOONTLIKHEDE OP WINDPLAAS VERTOON	BURGER	2005	6	20
'SWAK KOMMUNIKASIE' REDE VIR 3 DAE SONDER KRAG	BURGER	2005	6	30
ESKOM NIE REG VIR WESKUS-GAS	BURGER	2005	7	27
KOEBERG WEN WEER TOP-PRYS	BURGER	2005	7	28
KRAGSENTRALES REEDS BEPLAN, AL KORT STUDIE	BURGER	2005	7	29
KORRELBED-PROJEK KOS GLO AL MEER AS R1,7 MILJARD	BURGER	2005	8	30
KRAGPRYS SAL MOET STYG, SE ERWIN	BURGER	2005	9	8
KUDU-GASVELD KAN ESKOM HELP	BURGER	2005	9	20
'ESKOM SAL SPERTYD HAAL'	BURGER	2005	10	20
NUWE ENERGIE	BURGER	2005	11	7
ESKOM KAN MILJOENE OPDOK AS OVERSTRAND BRANDE SY SKULD IS	BURGER	2005	11	12
KRAGKIRSIS DUUR VOORT	BURGER	2005	11	26
CARTOON	BURGER	2005	11	26

Heading	Source	Date		
KOEBERG SE KRAGSAKE 'VERLOOP NOU KLOPDISSELBOOM'	BURGER	2005	11	28
KOEBERG EN KIOTO	BURGER	2005	12	2
ESKOM: AAN INWONERS EN ONS GEWAARDEERDE KLANTE IN DIE WES-,OOS	BURGER	2005	12	5
ESKOM EN STADSRAAD SKETS PRENTJIE VAN KAAP SE KRAGBEHOEFTE, KRISISSE	BURGER	2005	12	23
GASTURBINE BY ATLANTIS HET REEDS STAANPLEK	BURGER	2005	12	24
REACTOR PLANS TO GO AHEAD: ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2005	1	27
CONGO RIVER HYDRO PROJECT AIMS TO LIGHT UP THE CONTINENT	CAPE ARGUS	2005	2	25
EXPERIMENTING WITH WIND ENERGY TO POWER CITY	CAPE ARGUS	2005	5	25
COURT MELTDOWN LOOMS ON COST OF REACTOR	CAPE ARGUS	2005	8	31
'LOLLIPOP TOWERS' TO SOUND NUKE ALARM	CAPE ARGUS	2005	9	5
PEBBLE BED MODEL PENCILLED IN FOR 2011	CAPE ARGUS	2005	10	20
BLACKOUTS THREATEN CITY BUSINESS	CAPE ARGUS	2005	11	17
ROLLING BLACKOUTS NOT CAPE'S LOT - ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2005	11	29
GAS TURBINE POWER STATIONS FOR ATLANTIS, MOSSEL BAY	CAPE ARGUS	2005	12	23
ESKOM CHECKS CONSUMER POWER	CAPE ARGUS	2005	12	28
WAVES COULD DELIVER SIX TIMES MORE POWER THAN ESKOM'S.....	CAPE TIMES	2005	2	8
NUCLEAR REACTOR RULING SHOWS NO ONE IS ABOVE THE LAW	CAPE TIMES	2005	2	11
SUPPORT PBMR CALL	CAPE TIMES	2005	8	23
ESKOM HOPES ITS ROADSHOW WILL DO A POWER OF GOOD	CAPE TIMES	2005	8	25
RED ONE/ESKOM ELECTRICITY PARTNERSHIP BRINGS LIGHT TO KHAYELITSHA SETTLEMENT	CAPE TIMES	2005	10	12
SECOND BLACKOUT IN A WEEK	CAPE TIMES	2005	11	17
'ROLLING BLACKOUTS' AS KOEBERG SHUTS AGAIN	CAPE TIMES	2005	11	25
BLACKOUT BLUES	CAPE TIMES	2005	11	28

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
ESKOM NEED NOT DISCLOSE INFORMATION ON THE FINANCIAL RISKS	CAPE TIMES	2005	12	16
ESKOM'S POCKET NUCLEAR PLANT MUST ADDRESS GREEN CONCERNS, COURT	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	1	27
PRIVATE POWER LIKELY TO REJUVENATE ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	4	26
ELECTRICITY PRICES TO RISE ABOVE INFLATION	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	5	13
ESKOM TO LAUNCH BORROWING DRIVE	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	6	15
WESTCOR SHAREHOLDERS' AGREEMENT FOR INGA 3 TO BE SIGNED IN SIX WEEKS' TIME	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	6	15
ESKOM SIGNS R1.8BN DEAL WITH SIEMENS	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	7	22
ESKOM URGES SA TO SAVE BY REDUCING ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	8	23
ESKOM TO DECIDE ON STATION BY YEAR-END	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	9	21
ASLTOM RESPONDS TO ESKOM'S CALL FOR TURBINE PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	10	11
POWER EXPANSION TO COST R103BN	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	10	20
ESKOM REVIEWS TARIFFS FOR POWER EXPORTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	12	1
WANTED: 400 ESKOM ENGINEERS	BUSINESS REPORT	2005	12	2
ESKOM EN INFRASTRUKTUUR	SAKE 24	2005	11	30
ESKOM, TRANSNET GAAN R133 MILJARD BESTEE	SAKE 24	2005	11	30

**Table B2: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2006)**

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
ESKOM SE SOORTGELYKE HAAKPLEKKE NIE VOORSIEN	BURGER	2006	1	3
OPWEKTOESTEL GLO DIE REDE VIR KOEBERG SE GEHINKEPINK	BURGER	2006	1	5
ESKOM SWYG OOR LOS BOUT	BURGER	2006	1	9
KRAG: KRISIS DREIG	BURGER	2006	1	16
BOUT KAN KAAP VERLAM	BURGER	2006	1	20

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
NAG VIR KAAP SE KRAG	BURGER	2006	1	21
KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	1	23
ESKOM HET BAIE SWAK BEPLAN	BURGER	2006	1	23
GROOTSTE KORRELBED-KONTRAK TOEGEKEN	BURGER	2006	1	25
KRAGTOER	BURGER	2006	1	26
HERSTELWERK BEGIN AAN KRAGOPWEKKER BY KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	1	27
KOEBERG SAL R300 M OPDOK VIR OPWEKKER	BURGER	2006	1	31
KOEBERG BERAAM NUWE PLAN VIR KRAG	BURGER	2006	2	9
ESKOM IN DUISTER	BURGER	2006	2	10
GASTURBINE BY ATLANTIS 'BINNE JAAR' GEREED	BURGER	2006	2	10
ESKOM-AGTERUITGANG SKOK	BURGER	2006	2	11
KAAPSE GOLFKRAG WAG	BURGER	2006	2	15
ESKOM MOET MINISTERS NOU PAAI OOR KRAGSITUASIE	BURGER	2006	2	20
TEGNIESE PROBLEME LEI TOT KRAGODNERBREKINGS ORAL	BURGER	2006	2	20
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	2	21
WANBESTUUR	BURGER	2006	2	21
MIS IS WEG, MAAR DIE LIGTE BLY AF	BURGER	2006	2	21
ESKOM 'VERSWYG IETS'	BURGER	2006	2	21
KLEINHANDELAARS KEELVOL VIR KRAG PROBLEME EN VRA ANTWOORDE	BURGER	2006	2	21
NAG TOT SATERDAG	BURGER	2006	2	22
ANTWOORDE	BURGER	2006	2	22
BRING ESKOM SE KUNDIGHEID TERUG	BURGER	2006	2	22
PROBLEEM IS KRAGTEKORTE	BURGER	2006	2	23

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
SPAN KUNDIGES MOET ESKOM RED	BURGER	2006	2	23
REDES VIR KRAGHERRIE GESOEK	BURGER	2006	2	23
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	2	23
KOPPE MOET ROL	BURGER	2006	2	23
VASBYT TOT MAANDAG	BURGER	2006	2	23
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	2	24
ZILLE PRAAT OOR DA SE PLAN VIR KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	2	24
KRAG 'MOREAAND REG'	BURGER	2006	2	24
KOEBERG 'NIE DIE OORSAAK VAN KRAGCHAOS IN WES-KAAP'	BURGER	2006	2	24
VERSPREI DIE SPITSLAS	BURGER	2006	2	24
MBEKI MOET DIE KUNDIGES HIER KRY	BURGER	2006	2	24
ESKOM KORT 'N LES IN GOEIE KOMMUNIKASIE	BURGER	2006	2	25
ESKOM BELE MILJOENE IN ZIM	BURGER	2006	2	25
NOG KRAGONDERBREKINGS KOM	BURGER	2006	2	27
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	3	1
DIT IS 'N KRISIS!	BURGER	2006	3	1
KIESERS IS MOEG VIR VERSKONINGS	BURGER	2006	3	2
ROEP DIE HULP IN VAN OUD-KENNERS	BURGER	2006	3	3
DIS NOU NAG IN DIE KAAP	BURGER	2006	3	4
EN ESKOM IS NOU SKIELIK ONSKULDIG	BURGER	2006	3	4
SIT DIT AF, SIT AF - VOOR DIE BIBBERWEER KOM	BURGER	2006	3	4
ESKOM BEGIN DIE LIG SIEN IN KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	3	4
SAKELUI VERGADER MET ESKOM	BURGER	2006	3	7

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
ESKOM-KRAG WANKEL STEEDS	BURGER	2006	3	8
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	3	10
ESKOM KONDIG HOER KRAGPRYS AAN	BURGER	2006	3	13
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	3	22
ESKOM SE NOTULES OOR KORRELBED STEEDS GEHEIM	BURGER	2006	3	22
ESKOM MAAK NOU BENOUEDE SPRONGE	BURGER	2006	3	23
EN WIE GAAN TAMAAI ROTOR VAN DIE HAWE AF ABBA?	BURGER	2006	3	30
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	3	31
PLAN MET KRAG	BURGER	2006	3	31
'RY WINDLAAIERS OP MUIZENBERG-STRAND LOS KRISIS OP'	BURGER	2006	4	1
KRISISTYD VAN 90 DAE VIR DIE WES-KAAP	BURGER	2006	4	1
ESKOM 'NIE DOELTREFFEND GENOET' IN KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	4	3
ROTOR VIR KOEBERG VANDAG IN TAFELBAAI VERWAG	BURGER	2006	4	5
SAS DRAKENSBERG BRING LIG MET KOSBARE VRAG	BURGER	2006	4	6
ROTOR KOM TEEN 15KM/H BY KOEBERG AAN	BURGER	2006	4	8
NIE SWART GENOEG	BURGER	2006	4	13
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	4	15
KAPENAARS MOET IN KOUE OOK KRAG SPAAR	BURGER	2006	4	21
SKUIF 'KRAGVRADE' OPSY	BURGER	2006	4	22
SPAN KRAGTE IN VIR BESPARINGS	BURGER	2006	4	25
KAAPSE KRAG SAL GOU WEER AF WEES	BURGER	2006	4	25
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	4	26
ENERGIEKRISIS	BURGER	2006	4	26

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
HUIS LOOP OP SON, GAS - LOS VAN ESKOM	BURGER	2006	4	28
NATIONALE KRAGREGULEERDER VRA ESKOM OM BAIE KRAG TE BESPAAR	BURGER	2006	5	5
SON STAAN (TEORETIES) REG VIR EIE KRAG IN SA	BURGER	2006	5	6
ESKOM EN STAAT POMP MILJARDE IN KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	5	9
KAPENAARS MOET LIGLOOP OOR KRAG	BURGER	2006	5	10
ONDERHOUD KAN ESKOM MILJOENE RANDE SPAAR	BURGER	2006	5	10
ESKOM BEGIN TANDE WYS	BURGER	2006	5	15
KOEBERG SUKSEL GLO OM AAN DIE GANG TE KOM	BURGER	2006	5	16
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	5	16
EKSUUUS	BURGER	2006	5	16
ESKOM-BAAS OP DIE TRAPMEUL	BURGER	2006	5	17
ESKOM SPAN NOU GAS IN	BURGER	2006	5	17
WINDKRAG VOLGENS SOMMIGE IN SA MEER WIND AS KRAG	BURGER	2006	5	18
EENHEID 1 IS WEER AAN DIE GANG	BURGER	2006	5	18
'HELP ONS MET GEISERPLAN'	BURGER	2006	5	19
ESKOM SAAI KLEUR KODES UIT OM TE WAARSKU OOR KRAG	BURGER	2006	5	19
MAN WEN EIS VAN R2,8m.	BURGER	2006	5	20
REGSTELAKSIE	BURGER	2006	5	22
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	5	24
SA SE KRAGRESERWE 'BAIE MIN'	BURGER	2006	5	25
KOEBERG SE EENHEID 1 LOL WEER	BURGER	2006	5	27
KAAPSE KRAGTOEVOER IN WEEGSKAAL	BURGER	2006	5	29
ESKOM HOU AGTERDEUR OOP OOR KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	5	30

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
SONKRAG KAN AS ENERGIEBRON DIEN VIR SUID-AFRIKANERS	BURGER	2006	6	6
DME, NERSA, ESKOM HET VISIE VIR ENERGIEGEBRUIK	BURGER	2006	6	6
ESCO'S KYK VERAL NA TOEPASSING VAN KRAGBESPARINGS	BURGER	2006	6	6
DOELTREFFENDE ENERGIEGEBRUIK NODIG	BURGER	2006	6	6
KAAP DONKER NA FOUT BY KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	6	9
WES-KAAP SUKKE NOG DIE NAWEEK MET KERSKRAG	BURGER	2006	6	10
HELE SA SAL MOET ANDERS DINK OOR KRAG	BURGER	2006	6	22
REGERING EN ESKOM GEKAP OOR BESPARING	BURGER	2006	7	1
KRAG-PROBLEME VIR BOERE	BURGER	2006	7	4
KRAGKRISIS VERBY NA KOEBERG SE EENHEID 2 WEER OP BEEN IS	BURGER	2006	7	25
ESKOM 'MOET PAK VAT'	BURGER	2006	8	15
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	8	15
ESKOM	BURGER	2006	8	17
ESKOM BREI SENDERS VIR KAAPSE GEISERS UIT	BURGER	2006	9	6
KOEBERG DRAAI KRANE BIETJIE TOE	BURGER	2006	9	7
BOU TOE NIE DIE REDE VIR KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	9	14
KOEBERG SE EENHEID 2 SKAKEL WEER AF OOR FOUT	BURGER	2006	11	7
KOEBERG-EENHEID WEER AANGESKAKEL	BURGER	2006	11	8
EARTHLIFE LASHES ESKOM FOR KEEPING QUIET OVER KOEBERG POWER ...	CAPE ARGUS	2006	1	10
USED SPARES OPTION FOR KOEBERG REPAIRS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	1	20
WE MUST FIX THIS, OR FAIL	CAPE ARGUS	2006	1	24
NEW GAS POWER PLANT FOR CITY	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	7
3 MORE DAYS OF DARKNESS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	20

Heading	Source	Date		
COUNTING THE COST OF POWER CUTS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	20
PLANNING FOR POWER DEMANDS HAS BEEN ABYSMAL	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	22
SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT THE CRISIS?	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	22
POWER OUTAGES 'AREN'T ESOKM'S FAULT'	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	22
DOCTORS, DENTISTS BATTLE AT PRIVATE PRACTICES	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	23
INDUSTRY COUNTS COST OF OUTAGES	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	23
DON'T KEEP US IN THE DARK	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	23
HOLD THUMBS FOR TOMORROW	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	23
LOAD SHEDDING IS LIFE THREATENING FOR SOME	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	24
HERE WE BLOW AGAIN	CAPE ARGUS	2006	2	28
SABOTAGE CLAIM MYSTERY	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	1
KOEBERG CONTRACT WORKERS A 'RISK'	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	2
CITY OFFICIAL LASHES ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	3
ESKOM SHOULD HAVE RECOUPED MILLIONS OWED BY DEFAULTERS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	3
STOP TELLING US LIES, MPL'S WARN ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	8
ESKOM SET TO LOSE ENERGY PLAN POWER	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	13
WINTER POWER MISERY LOOMS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	15
REDUCE POWER CONSUMPTION TO PREVENT LOAD SHEDDING	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	23
NEW CUTS LOOM AS ESKOM RACES AGAINST TIME	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	31
ESKOM POWER FAILURES NO CRISIS, SAYS MBEKI	CAPE ARGUS	2006	3	31
R400m WINTER POWER PLAN	CAPE ARGUS	2006	4	12
ONLY 47 ESKOM POSTS VACANT - ERWIN	CAPE ARGUS	2006	4	12
SAVE POWER OR FACE CUTS	CAPE ARGUS	2006	4	24

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
STAND BY FOR TWO MONTHS OF CHAOS - ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2006	5	10
ESKOM IGNORED 2000 SUPPLY ALERT, SAYS CHAMBER	CAPE ARGUS	2006	5	10
SAVE POWER OR FACE CUTS, ESKOM WARNS AS UNIT SHUTS DOWN	CAPE ARGUS	2006	5	22
SOARING GAS PRICES FIRE UP ESKOM'S IRE	CAPE ARGUS	2006	5	25
NEW TARIFF SYSTEM COULD SEE SPARKS FLY	CAPE ARGUS	2006	5	25
DRIVE TO THROW LIGHT ON OFFICE POWER WASTE	CAPE ARGUS	2006	6	6
BACK TO ROLLING BLACKOUTS TODAY	CAPE ARGUS	2006	6	9
KOEBERG UNIT BACK ON FULL POWER, BUT SAVINGS URGED	CAPE ARGUS	2006	6	12
TIME FOR ENERGY LEADERS TO START SEEING THE LIGHT	CAPE ARGUS	2006	7	7
EARTHLIFE AFRICA GRANTED LIFELINE IN ITS BATTLE AGAINST ESKOM ...	CAPE ARGUS	2006	7	10
ESKOM AND CITY TOT UP SAVINGS FROM LIGHT BULB DRIVE	CAPE ARGUS	2006	7	19
KOEBERG POWER UNIT READY TO GO LIVE NEXT WEEK	CAPE ARGUS	2006	7	20
REGULATOR 'TO SLAM ESKOM FOR NEGLIGENCE'	CAPE ARGUS	2006	8	15
HUGE DONGA THREAT TO R300 AND POWERLINES	CAPE ARGUS	2006	9	7
ENERGY HUB TO RISE ON NORTHERN CAPE COAST	CAPE ARGUS	2006	10	28
ESKOM THREAT TO FUEL STOCK	CAPE ARGUS	2006	12	30
SECRECY OF POWER	CAPE TIMES	2006	1	11
GET READY FOR MORE BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	1	16
SABOTAGE PROBED AT KOEBERG	CAPE TIMES	2006	1	20
MORE POWER FAILURES LOOM	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	20
DARK DAYS	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	21
WE CAN'T COPE, ESKOM ADMITS	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	21
POWER FAILURES COULD LAST TO SATURDAY - MOWZER	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	22

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
POWER CUTS CRIPPLE HOSPITALS, INDUSTRY	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	23
LIGHT AT END OF THE TUNNEL?	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	23
'ESKOM NOT PLAYING OPEN CARDS ABOUT POWER BLACKOUTS'	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	27
OVERCOMING POWER CUTS TO TAKE UNTIL MAY NEXT YEAR	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	6
'LACK OF TECHNICAL SKILL AMONG STAFF' SHUT KOEBERG, CLAIM 'CONCERNED PRO-NUKES'	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	8
ESKOM 'HAS BEEN CAUGHT WITH ITS PANTS DOWN'	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	10
ERWIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLAN FOR NUKE POWER STATION SHOCKS EARTHLIFE	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	29
BE PREPARED AND BUY A GENERATOR	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	29
CAMPAIGN TO SAVE POWER AIMS TO AVERT ROLLING BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	5
DARKNESS MAY BE IN THE PAST WITH ARRIVAL OF KOEBERG ROTOR	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	5
DELIGHT AS ROTOR FOR KOEBERG GENERATOR ARRIVES IN HARBOUR	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	6
NEW BASE LOAD POWER STATION FOR THE CAPE	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
LOOKING AT THE BROADER CAPACITY EXPANSION PROGRAMME	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
ENSURING ADDITIONAL SKILLS FOR THE FUTURE	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
WEATHER AFFECTS ELECTRICITY SUPPLY	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
AN OVERVIEW OF THE WESTERN CAPE RECOVERY PLAN	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
KOEBERG REPAIR AND REFUELLING	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
BUILDING TWO NEW OPEN CYCLE GAS TURBINE STATIONS	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	26
'SAVING ENERGY IS CHEAPER THAN BUILDING POWER STATIONS'	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	8
ESKOM WARNS OF POSSIBLE ROLLING POWER BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	10
OFFICIAL DEFENDS ESKOM'S REMOTE CONTROL GEYSER PLAN FOR TABLE VIEW	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	15
ESKOM ORDERED TO PAY R2.8M IN DAMAGES	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	17
ESKOM TURNS TO TELEVISION IN EFFORT TO SAVE POWER	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	19

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
WESTERN CAPE HIT BY FIRST BLACKOUTS OF THE WINTER AFTER KOEBERG SHUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	23
ESKOM TO SPEND R27 MILLION ON ENCOURAGING CONSUMERS TO SWITCH..	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	24
CONSUMERS NOT CUTTING BACK ON ELECTRICITY - ESKOM	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	25
ESKOM LIGHTS THE WAY WITH CFL BULBS BY SWOPPING NEW FOR OLD	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	26
LEAKING FUEL ROD 'NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT'	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	29
THREE MILLION LIGHT BULBS SWOPPED IN ESKOM DRIVE	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	30
ESKOM OFFICIALS FEEL THE HEAT OVER BROKEN PROMISES	CAPE TIMES	2006	6	1
RENEWABLE CHALLENGE	CAPE TIMES	2006	6	6
ENERGY CRISIS 'HAS ROOTS IN RESTRUCTURING OF ESKOM'	CAPE TIMES	2006	6	29
MORE POWER TO THE BOX, BUT LESS DRAWN FROM THE GRID	CAPE TIMES	2006	7	10
ESKOM HAS R97BN PLAN TO BUILD INFRASTRUCTURE	CAPE TIMES	2006	7	20
CARTOON	CAPE TIMES	2006	8	17
HUMAN ERROR	CAPE TIMES	2006	8	17
GAMBLING WITH LIVES	CAPE TIMES	2006	8	21
EXPECT A KNOCK ON THE DOOR AS ESKOM TAKES CONTROL OF YOUR GEYSER	CAPE TIMES	2006	9	6
UTILITY SETS OUT PLANS FOR NEW AND REFURBISHED POWER PLANTS	Business Report	2006	1	31
ESKOM RECONSIDERS DIVIDEND PAYMENTS TO GOVERNMENT	Business Report	2006	2	1
ESKOM TARIFF INCREASES TO TOP INFLATION	Business Report	2006	2	17
ESKOM DENIES CUTTING POWER TO NAMIBIA	Business Report	2006	3	6
KOEBERG TROUBLES SPARK POWER OUTRAGE	Business Report	2006	3	6
RACE IS ON TO BUILD GENERATOR, WITH CAPE POWER STILL ON A KNIFE EDGE	Business Report	2006	3	6
ESKOM CLOSER TO PHASING OUT STAKE IN PEBBLE BED REACTOR	Business Report	2006	3	6
GOVERNMENT SHOULD FORCE ESKOM EXECUTIVES TO TAKE HEAT FOR POWER OUTAGES	Business Report	2006	3	9

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
SA WIL MEET WINTER POWER NEEDS - ESKOM	Business Report	2006	3	24
LOAD SHEDDING IS INEVITABLE, SAYS ESKOM	Business Report	2006	4	6
ANOTHER NUCLEAR PLANT FOR THE WESTERN CAPE IS BEING CONSIDERED	Business Report	2006	6	1
ESKOM'S SPENDING TO SURGE BY R13BN	Business Report	2006	6	2
ESKOM TO SPEND R400M ON ENERGY SAVING	Business Report	2006	6	6
ESKOM TO POWER UP ALCAN SMELTER AT COEGA IDZ	Business Report	2006	6	14
ESKOM COULD TAP FUNDS FROM WORLD BANK TO RAISE CAPACITY	Business Report	2006	7	14
ESKOM CONFIDENT OF FILLING 1 000 JOBS	Business Report	2006	7	14
REVAMP OF POWER GRID TOO SLOW - GCABASHE	Business Report	2006	7	17
ESKOM TO BUILD OWN RAILWAY TO CUT DOWN ON TRANSPORT COSTS	Business Report	2006	7	20
ESKOM CONSIDERS SOLAR OPTION	Business Report	2006	7	20
EIGHT POWER STATIONS MAY BE BUILT IN WATERBERG	Business Report	2006	8	20
ABB LANDS \$62M FROM ESKOM TO REVAMP POWER RELAYS	Business Report	2006	8	23
ESKOM PLANS FIVE NEW POWER STATIONS	Business Report	2006	8	25
ESKOM EYES GAS FROM NAMIBIA	Business Report	2006	8	27
EIA'S CHALLENGE ESKOM'S POWER PLANS	Business Report	2006	8	30
NEW POWER STATION RAISES GREEN FEARS	Business Report	2006	8	31
ESKOM IS COMMITTED TO NEW CLEAN TECHNOLOGIES	Business Report	2006	9	4
ESKOM POWERS UP DRIVE TO SAVE ENERGY	Business Report	2006	9	18
ESKOM STARTS HUNT FOR CHIEF EXECUTIVE	Business Report	2006	9	20
COAL POWER STATIONS SET WRONG TONE	Business Report	2006	9	29
BIDS DUE FOR NEW BASE LOAD POWER STATION	Business Report	2006	11	8
RESTARTING POWER STATIONS TO COST ESKOM R16.1BN	Business Report	2006	11	10

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
USERS WON'T FUND REACTOR - NER	Business Report	2006	1	11
ESKOM'S COAL CONSUMPTION TO RISE 70% IN 25 YEARS	Business Report	2006	1	27
'WAAI, WIND, WAAI' IS HOE SA OOR KRAG MOET BEGIN DINK	Sake	2006	5	18
ESKOM SPAAR R1,1 MJD. SE KRAG	Sake	2006	8	5
ESKOM KRY HULP UIT SWITSERLAND MET KRAGTOEVOER	Sake	2006	8	28
ARNOT-SENTRALE OPGEKNAP TEEN R1,1 MIL	Sake	2006	10	5
VERTEL WAT GAAN AAN BY ESKOM-DA	Sake	2006	10	17
ESKOM TJOEPSTIL OOR KONKELWERK	Sake	2006	10	18
SASOL WIL EERSDAAGS SY EIE KRAG OPWEK	Sake	2006	11	3
ESKOM HELP BOTSWANA MET KRAGSTASIE	Sake	2006	11	14
ESKOM BOER DALK GOU GROTER MET WIND	Sake	2006	12	15

**Table B3: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2007)**

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
KRAGCHAOS	BURGER	2007	1	19
VONKE SPAT OOR ESKOM NA NUWE LANDWYE KRAGPROBLEEM	BURGER	2007	1	19
KRAGONDERBREKINGS 'GAAN NOG JARE VOORTDUUR'	BURGER	2007	1	20
BRAND BEDREIG KRAGDRADE BY KOEBERG	BURGER	2007	1	23
DIS DALK NAG VIR ESKOM, MUNISIPALITEITE IN KRAG-CHAOS	BURGER	2007	1	24
ESKOM SPOG MET NUWE ATLANTIS-KRAGANLEG	BURGER	2007	2	7
AANGEWESSE NUWE ESKOM-HOOF BEKENDGEMAAK	BURGER	2007	2	9
DAG SE KRAGLOOSHEID KOS SA R3,75 MJD.	BURGER	2007	2	15

Heading	Source	Date		
KAPENAARS SPAN SAAM VIR ENERGIE BESPARING	BURGER	2007	3	1
ESKOM WERK GOU AAN LEWENDE LYNE	BURGER	2007	4	4
KRAGPRYSE	BURGER	2007	4	20
KRAGONDERBREKINGS ONTWRIG KRAAIFONTEIN	BURGER	2007	5	5
KOEBERG SE EENHEID 2 BUITE WERKING	BURGER	2007	6	4
NOG KOUE WEER LAAT ESKOM SIDDER	BURGER	2007	6	5
GROENES ONTSTELD OOR MOONTLIKE KERNKRAG	BURGER	2007	6	11
KRAGPROBLEME KAN KAAP IN SOMER KNEL	BURGER	2007	9	8
BEURTKRAG BIED WEER UITKOMS VIR ESKOM	BURGER	2007	11	29
ESKOM VAAR HEEL SKAFLIK	BURGER	2007	12	1
KRAGREUS HOOP OM TEEN 2025 NET 70% KRAG UIT STEENKOOL OP TE WEK	BURGER	2007	12	1
STAAT GRYP NET IN BY HOER KRAGPRYS AS ESKOM EN NERSA STRY KRY	BURGER	2007	12	7
CARTOON	BURGER	2007	12	12
'REGERING, NIE ESKOM, WAS VERKEERD OOR KRAGNOOD'	BURGER	2007	12	13
BEURTKRAG PLA ERG IN DIE LANDBOU	BURGER	2007	12	13
SAKEWERE3LD SUG OOR ESKOM SE DUURDER KRAG	BURGER	2007	12	21
WINDENERGIE-PROJEKTE MET RUKKE EN STOTE AAN DIE GANG	BURGER	2007	12	22
KRAGPRYSE	BURGER	2007	12	24
KOEBERG DOWN AGAIN	CAPE ARGUS	2007	1	18
POWER CUTS LOOM AGAIN	CAPE ARGUS	2007	1	31
NEIGHBOURS FACE BLACKOUTS AS ESKOM PUTS SA FIRST	CAPE ARGUS	2007	2	5
ESKOM TEST RUN ON NEW TURBINE	CAPE ARGUS	2007	2	7
'LACK OF SKILLS NOT TO BLAME FOR BLACKOUTS'	CAPE ARGUS	2007	5	16

Heading	Source	Date		
STUDY WARNS ON MASS EXODUS OF SKILLED WHITE EMPLOYEES FROM PARASTATAL ES KOM	CAPE ARGUS	2007	6	8
ESKOM HOSTS PUBLIC TALKS ON NUCLEAR POWER PLANT	CAPE ARGUS	2007	6	14
BOTANIST REJECTS NUCLEAR PROPOSAL	CAPE ARGUS	2007	7	24
CITY WARY OF ESKOM'S 2010 ASSURANCES	CAPE ARGUS	2007	7	26
NUCLEAR ISSUE BEHIND ESKOM'S BLACKOUT THREATS	CAPE ARGUS	2007	8	14
STUDY OF WEST COAST WIND FARM SITE BEGINS	CAPE ARGUS	2007	8	15
EARTHLIFE WARNS ON 'EXCESSIVE' KOEBERG WASTE	CAPE ARGUS	2007	8	21
COSATU SLAMS ESKOM'S 18% PRICE HIKE	CAPE ARGUS	2007	11	16
BUSINESS CALLS FOR GAS-FIRED POWER STATIONS	CAPE ARGUS	2007	12	27
TIPS TO KEEP ELECTRICITY COSTS DOWN	CAPE ARGUS	2007	12	27
WEEKEND OF BLACKOUTS LOOMS	CAPE TIMES	2007	1	19
WHO CONTROLS THE POWER?	CAPE TIMES	2007	1	22
CALL TO FINE ESKOM R2M A DAY IN FUTURE FOR NEGLIGENCE	CAPE TIMES	2007	1	24
YES, MORE POWER CUTS ARE POSSIBLE	CAPE TIMES	2007	2	1
KOEBERG UNIT DOWN FOR THE WEEKEND	CAPE TIMES	2007	3	30
DELAYS MAY AWAIT EIA FOR PEBBLE BED AS CONSULTANTS SPURN CHANCE	CAPE TIMES	2007	4	2
PEARLY BEACH RESIDENTS SET TO REJECT NUCLEAR POWER PLANT	CAPE TIMES	2007	5	29
ESKOM HAS R4.5M BUDGET FOR RENEWABLE ENERGIES	CAPE TIMES	2007	6	8
SAFETY FEARS PUT BRAKES ON NUCLEAR PROGRAMME	CAPE TIMES	2007	6	18
ESKOM'S NUKE POWER PLANS 'COULD BANKRUPT SA'	CAPE TIMES	2007	6	22
BUY NUCLEAR NOW	CAPE TIMES	2007	6	25
SA NUKE BODY CONFIRMS POWER STATIONS WOULD COST UP TO R400MBN	CAPE TIMES	2007	7	4

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
CITY COUNCIL FEARS WORLD CUP VISITORS WILL BE 'IN THE DARK'	CAPE TIMES	2007	7	26
POWER STRUGGLE	CAPE TIMES	2007	8	24
REALISTIC TO GO NUCLEAR	CAPE TIMES	2007	10	1
SA FACES DARK DAYS AS ESKOM BEGINS LOAD-SHEDDING	CAPE TIMES	2007	10	10
BLACKOUTS KILLING BUSINESS, SHOPKEEPERS COMPLAIN	CAPE TIMES	2007	12	12
'ELECTRICITY CRISIS DUE TO BUNGLING BY MANAGEMENT'	CAPE TIMES	2007	12	13
ULTIMATE CORPORATE SURVIVOR TO BOW OUT UNDER PIC CLOUD	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	1	21
ESKOM LOOKS AT SOLAR POWER SOLUTION TO CRISIS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	1	23
IPP TENDER DELAYS MAY FORCE ESKOM TO PLUG GAP	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	1
ESKOM STILL EXPORTS POWER DESPITE SUPPLY CUTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	2
MATIMBA B MAY BE DELAYED BY NINE MONTHS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	5
CAPACITY AT BREAKING POINT, ESKOM WARNS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	6
SA'S NUCLEAR PLANS FIRE UP FRENCH COMPANIES	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	9
MBEKI SETS OFF CHAIN OF CANDID STATEMENTS THAT EVEN SHED LIGHT ON ESKOM DEBACLE	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	11
SA MIGHT HAVE 7 300MW MORE POWER BY 2010	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	2	19
MAROGA SELECED FOR TOP ESKOM JOB	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	3	13
KOEBERG POWERS DOWN AFTER TURBINE TRIP	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	3	15
ESKO MSTRUGGLES TO KEEP HEAT COMING	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	3	19
NERSA OUTLINES BIG SPENDING NEEDS OF POWER DISTRIBUTORS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	3	29
ESKOM SEEKS TO TRIPLE PRICE HIKES	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	4	11

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
TWO-YEAR DELAY OF COAL-FIRED POWER STATION WILL STRETCH SUPPLIES	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	5	3
ESKOM POWERED UP FOR WINTER AFTER ADDING CAPACITY	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	5	9
MORE BLACKOUTS IN STORE AHEAD OF 2010	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	5	21
TOURIST SPOTS MAKE THE LIST FOR NUCLEAR PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	5	22
NEW PLANTS TO POWER UP IN WINTER 2009	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	6	1
NUCLEAR NOT THE ANSWER TO CLIMATE CHANGE	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	6	5
FRRENEWABLE ENERGY IS A BIT OF A CHICKEN AND EGG SITUATION	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	7	9
ESKOM CALLS FOR EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST IN R1.1BN WIND FARM	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	7	18
ESKOM TO SPEND R1BN ON MEDUPI CONTRACTORS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	7	20
MOODY'S DIMS CREDIT RATING AT ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	7	23
SHOWDOWN IS LOOMING OVER ESKOM'S PRICE HIKES	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	8	16
ESKOM PUTS R2BN INTO SOLAR PROJECT	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	3
POWER CUTS RESULT OF 20% OF CAPACITY BEING DOWN	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	5
ESKOM LOOKS TO BUILD FIVE NEW NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	10
ESKOM'S EXCUSE FOR OUTAGES DOESN'T HOLD WATER - EXPERTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	11
MORE BLACKOUTS LIE AHEAD, ESKOM WARNS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	12
EARTHLIFE AFRICA CHALLENGES NUCLEAR THRUST	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	18
ESKOM PUSHES POWER CUTS TO THE LIMIT	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	24
POWER CUTS AND PRICES WILL WORSEN - ESKOM CHIEF	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	10	28

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
ESKOM FINALLY SIGNS THE MEDUPI POWER DEAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	11	7
ESKOM WAS RIGHT ABOUT ENERGY DEMAND, MBEKI ADMITS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	11	13
NEW ESKOM DAM POWER PROJECT APPROVED	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	11	14
INGA FACES HYDROELECTRIC GROWING PAINS	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	11	23
NEW SA NUCLEAR PLANT COULD BE 10 YEARS OFF	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	11	26
LOAD SHEDDING BURNS PROFIT AT SMALL BUSINESSES	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	12	13
ESKOM AWARDED HIKE OF 14.2%	BUSINESS REPORT	2007	12	16
ESKOM KRY LAAT KERSGESKENK	SAKE	2007	1	17
KOSTE VAN KRAGONDERBREKINGS IS ENORM	SAKE	2007	1	19
DRUK OP ESKOM VERDOF DALK SAOG-LANDE SE LIGTE	SAKE	2007	2	5
ABB SA SKEP ROOM BY ESKOM AF	SAKE	2007	2	16
ESKOM BREI BESTEDING TOT R150 MJD. UIT	SAKE	2007	3	16
'KRAGPRYS-VERHOOGINGS MOET INFLASIE KLOP'	SAKE	2007	3	19
ESKOM IN JAAGTOG OM OU KRAGSTASIES WEER IN BEDRYF TE STEL	SAKE	2007	4	16
GCABASHE BLY BY ESKOM VIR ONDERSOEK NA INFRASTRUKTUUR	SAKE	2007	4	17
KRAGPRYSE MOET OP, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2007	4	19
ESKOM SE TARIEF BO INFLASIE 'ONGESOND'	SAKE	2007	4	20
NERSA 'IS 'N REGULEERDER, NIE 'N ONDERHANDELAAR'	SAKE	2007	5	3
ESKOM BEKYK SONAANLEG NABY UPINGTON	SAKE	2007	5	15
ESKOM SE LES OP IN PARLEMENT	SAKE	2007	5	24
ESKOM KYK NA 5 TERREINE VIR KERNKRAG	SAKE	2007	5	28

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
HOER KRAGPRYSE MOET BETAAL VIR NUWE STASIES, BETER DIENS	SAKE	2007	5	30
BETAAL VERHOOGINGS OF DIT IS NAG VIR ESKOM	SAKE	2007	7	20
ESKOM GAAN VAN KRAG TOT KRAG MET REKORDWINS	SAKE	2007	7	20
DUURDER ELEKTRISITEIT GAAN SA EN SY VERBRUIKERS LAAT NADINK	SAKE	2007	7	23
ESKOM BEGIN GOU MET NOG EENHEDE IN MOSSELBAAI	SAKE	2007	7	26
IMPAK VAN BEOOGDE WINDPLAAS BEKYK	SAKE	2007	7	31
WINDSTILTE WAG VIR ESKOM IN WOELIGE TURBINE-MARK	SAKE	2007	8	23
ESKOM GAAN GLO KRAG GOEDKOOP OORSEE VERKOOP	SAKE	2007	9	13
REGERING VRA SAKELUI SE HULP TEEN KERNKRAG-PERSPESIES	SAKE	2007	10	2
KERNKRAGSENTRALES SE FINALE SAKEPLANNE BYNA GEREED	SAKE	2007	10	3
VERMOE KAN VERHITTING MET SONKRAG POOTJIE	SAKE	2007	10	9
ESKOM BEWILLIG MILJARDE OM SONGEISERS TE BEVORDER	SAKE	2007	10	12
NYWERHEDE HELP ESKOM KRAG SPAAR - TEEN VERGOEDING	SAKE	2007	10	30
MYNE BEREID OM 18% MEER TE BETAAL VIR KRAG	SAKE	2007	11	23
REGULEERDER BEHEER KRAGPRYS	SAKE	2007	12	7

**Table B4: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2008)**

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
KERNKRAG	BURGER	2008	1	15
KRAGKRISIS 'N GELDRAMP	BURGER	2008	1	18
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	1	22

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
NOG NAG VIR ESKOM	BURGER	2008	1	22
RANTSOENE DIE BESTE UITWEG	BURGER	2008	1	23
KERN-KENNIS KORT	BURGER	2008	1	29
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	1	29
PARLEMENT SIT VANDAG NET OOR KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2008	1	30
GEEN PILLE TEEN ONBEVOEGDHEID	BURGER	2008	1	31
'ESKOM MOET KOM VERDUIDELIK'	BURGER	2008	2	1
ONDER ES-KOMBERS	BURGER	2008	2	2
STADSRAAD PRAAT OOR ESKOM-KRISIS	BURGER	2008	2	5
SONKRAG HELP ESKOM STRAKS	BURGER	2008	2	14
ESKOM-HOOF SE OOR DIE ANC-KONNEKSIE	BURGER	2008	2	21
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	2	22
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	2	23
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	3	6
ESKOM-SKOK	BURGER	2008	3	7
HOE LANK KRY ESKOM NOG KANS OM OP TE MORS?	BURGER	2008	3	22
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	3	22
STAAT BESKERM ARMES	BURGER	2008	3	22
BEURTKRAG-WARBOEL 'RIG GROOT SKADE AAN'	BURGER	2008	4	1
BUFFERSONE RONDOM KOEBERG 'MOET DRINGEND BEPAAL WORD'	BURGER	2008	4	3
KAAP IS 'N KRAGVRAAT	BURGER	2008	4	10
JULIE 'IS DIE KRAGSPAAR-SPERTYD	BURGER	2008	4	11
CARTOON	BURGER	2008	4	11

Heading	Source	Date		
BEURTKRAG 'GEEN OPLOSSING'	BURGER	2008	4	24
KRY TOT 20% KORTING OP SONKRAG-GEISERS	BURGER	2008	5	20
KRAFTARIEWE	BURGER	2008	6	19
KRAFTSTELSEL DRIE WEKE KWESBAAR - ESKOM	BURGER	2008	7	23
PEPERDUUR GASTURBINES HOU GLO KRAGONDERBREKINGS WEG	BURGER	2008	7	28
ESKOM GAAN STEENKOOL VERMINDER	BURGER	2008	7	29
KOEBERG REFUELLING COULD MEAN POWER CUTS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	8
ROLLING POWER OUTAGES UNDER WAY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	10
ESKOM SHOWDOWN LOOMS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	17
ZILLE ORDERS POWER CRISIS PROBE AMID 2010 FEARS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	22
BRIGHT IDEAS THAT SAVE POWER AND HELP TO CUT MONTHLY BILLS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	23
POWER CUTS 'DAMAGING TOURISM'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	23
THE WAY TO A POWER CRISIS - AND HOW TO DEAL WITH IT	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	23
WHAT'S WATT - LIGHTING THE WAY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	1	23
BLACKOUT: 'IT COULD HAPPEN AGAIN'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	4
CITY STEPS UP MAINTENANCE OF POWER NETWORK	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	5
VISION OF A GREEN ENERGY FUTURE AS CITY SET TO LAY OUT SAVINGS PLAN TODAY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	6
ESKOM POWERED UP BY INCREASED COAL DELIVERIES	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	12
CAPE TOWN LIT UP LIKE THERE'S NO TOMORROW	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	14
ESKOM'S 5-YEAR PLAN	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	15
NOW FOR ESKOM'S RATIONING SYSTEM	CAPE ARGUS	2008	2	18
FIFA WANTS 'FIRM ASSURANCE' FROM ESKOM OVER 2010 POWER	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	4

Heading	Source	Date		
LOAD-SHEDDING EXPENSIVE FOR MUNICIPALITIES	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	10
A COUNTRY WHERE IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO FAIL	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	13
CITY WILL GET BLACKOUTS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	14
NEW ESKOM PLANT WILL 'CUT POLLUTION TO A MINIMUM'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	18
GOODBYE TO CHEAP ELECTRICITY, SAYS MINISTER AS OUTRAGE SWELLS OVER PRICE	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	20
CARTOON	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	20
CONSUMERS ALONE SHOULD NOT FOOT ESKOM BILL - DA	CAPE ARGUS	2008	3	28
DELAYED LOAD SHEDDING STARTS TODAY ... REALLY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	4	1
ESKOM'S PUBLIC VOWS CRUMBLE	CAPE ARGUS	2008	4	2
'ESKOM NEEDS ANOTHER OPTION'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	4	8
ANC VOWS TO TAKE ON ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2008	4	15
CITY IN THE DARK OVER NEW POWER TARIFFS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	5	20
MANIPULATING OUR TIME COULD HELP SAVE THE DAY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	6	11
MUTED REACTION TO ESKOM INCREASE	CAPE ARGUS	2008	6	19
DEMAND GROWS FOR PRIVATE ELECTRICITY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	7	3
'CIVILIANS MUST SPEAK UP ON CLIMATE CHANGE'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	7	24
GOVERNMENT POWERS AHEAD AFTER ENERGY GAINS	CAPE ARGUS	2008	8	12
NUCLEAR POWER 'MAKES BETTER SENSE THAN COAL'	CAPE ARGUS	2008	8	12
ESKOM'S HISTORY IS ONE OF DARK HUMOUR - MOSTLY AT THE COST OF IRATE CONS .....	CAPE ARGUS	2008	9	1
COUNCIL REJECTS CLAIMS IN POWERLINE ROW	CAPE ARGUS	2008	9	4
ROW DEEPENS OVER POWERLINES BETWEEN OVERBERG VILLAGES	CAPE ARGUS	2008	9	11
PEBBLE BED REACTOR NO RISK TO HEALTH OR SAFETY, SAYS STUDY	CAPE ARGUS	2008	10	14

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
ESKOM BLACKOUT FORECAST COULD HURT ECONOMY MORE	CAPE ARGUS	2008	11	4
KOEBERG MAINTENANCE 'WON'T BRING CHAOS'	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	9
ESKOM CALLS FOR OVERSEAS BIDS TO BUILD PROPOSED NEW NUCLEAR POWER STATION	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	14
MUSHWANA TACKLES ESKOM ON 'DEVASTATING' POWER CUTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	17
NUCLEAR IS WAY TO GO	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	23
STOP MOANING AND START SAVING POWER - CHAMBER	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	23
CRISIS SUMMIT ON BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	24
LEADERS AGREE TO REVIVE ELECTRICITY CRISIS COMMITTEE	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	25
JUST DO IT	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	28
IDEA OF A DEVELOPMENTAL STATE MUST BE PUT ON ICE	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	6
REVISED PLAN WILL TAKE MORE POWER FROM CAPE USERS	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	14
EXPERTS SLAM DECISION TO SEEK ONLY NUCLEAR BIDS	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	15
DA CALLS FOR AN END TO POLITICALLY-LINKED STATE CONTRACTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	22
ONLY THREE AT NUKE PLANT MEETING, POOR ADVERTISING BLAMED	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	25
PLANS FOR NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS FLY IN FACE OF WHITE PAPER	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	25
ESKOM PROGRAMME TO EXTEND POWER SOURCES GETS STARTED	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	29
GOVERNMENT 'THREW A BOLT IN ESKOM'S EXPANSION PLANS'	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	29
WAVES COULD HELP POWER SA - EXPERTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	3
SUBSIDISED SOLAR-WATER HEATERS FLYING OFF THE SHELVES	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	11
UNDERSTANDING ROOT CAUSES OF POWER CRISIS IS THE FIRST STEP TO A BRIG. F UT.	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	13
SHEDDING NO LIGHT	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	14
ESKOM'S SKEWED PRICE STRUCTURE HAS WORKERS SUBSIDISING PROFITS OF BIG CAPITAL	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	17

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
DARK FUTURE	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	24
POWER CUTS NEEDED FOR MAINTENANCE, SAYS ESKOM	CAPE TIMES	2008	4	2
FIX THIS CRISIS FIRST	CAPE TIMES	2008	4	4
SKEWED ENERGY TARIFFS	CAPE TIMES	2008	4	17
ESKOM HAS MUCH TO ANSWER FOR OVER POWER CRISIS	CAPE TIMES	2008	5	12
DANGER OF BLACKOUTS RECEDES, BUT COULD RETURN	CAPE TIMES	2008	7	28
CARTOON	CAPE TIMES	2008	7	31
ESKOM'S PROPOSED REACTOR FALLS SHORT OF US STANDARDS	CAPE TIMES	2008	9	4
NUCLEAR FALLOUT	CAPE TIMES	2008	9	9
PROPOSED SITES FOR DEMO REACTOR RULED OUT	CAPE TIMES	2008	10	1
ESKOM APPLIES TO CITY FOR REZONING OF THE KOEBERG NUCLEAR POWER STATION LAND	CAPE TIMES	2008	10	20
RENEWABLE ENERGY THE ONLY OPTION AFTER NUCLEAR ABOUT TURN	CAPE TIMES	2008	12	15
ESKOM 'FEED-IN TARIFFS' FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY SUPPLIERS OUT	CAPE TIMES	2008	12	17
ONS SNY BUURLANDE SE KRAG AF WANNEER SA SUKKEL, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2008	1	18
ESKOM SE KRAG TE MIN VIR SEKERE BEDRYWE	SAKE	2008	1	19
'N DONKER NAWEEK VIR SA	SAKE	2008	1	19
NOG JARE VOOR VERLIGTING KOM, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2008	1	19
STAAT MOET HAND IN DIE SAK STEEK OM ESKOM TE HELP UITBREI - EKONOM	SAKE	2008	1	19
NOG DONKERDER ESKOM-DAE LE VOOR	SAKE	2008	1	21
ESKOM, SAKELUI VORM TAAKSPAN TEEN KRAGKRISIS	SAKE	2008	1	22
GROOT UITDAGING OM KRAG-KRISIS TE OORLEEF	SAKE	2008	1	22
ESKOM SAL NOG MOET LEEN VIR KRAGSTASIES	SAKE	2008	1	23

Heading	Source	Date		
DEFEKTE KOS ESKOM IN 2 DAE 15,7% KRAGVERMOE	SAKE	2008	1	30
ESKOM SNY DIEP OM DUISTERNIS TE KEER	SAKE	2008	1	30
ESKOM SKUIL AGTER NATTIGHEID	SAKE	2008	2	4
ESKOM WAARSKU OOR TRAAGHEID MET STEENKOOLLISENSIES	SAKE	2008	2	4
ESKOM VERANDER BESTUUR EN KRY 'N REGRUK-SPAN	SAKE	2008	2	5
ESKOM-HANDELSNAAM KLAAR ERG GESKEND, MEEN NAVORSERS	SAKE	2008	2	11
MEDIA DEEL SO IN SKULD VIR SA SE KRAGKRISIS	SAKE	2008	2	14
COEGA-SMELTER 'MOET WAG' OOR TE MIN ESKOM-KRAG	SAKE	2008	2	15
LOS KLEINSIELIGHEID OOR ESKOM	SAKE	2008	2	18
ESKOM KOOP 45 MILJOEN TON EKSTRA STEENKOOL	SAKE	2008	2	20
R60 MJD VIR KRAG SE KAPITAALPLANNE	SAKE	2008	2	21
WERKSESSIE BEKYK OSEAANKRAGPOTENSIAAL	SAKE	2008	2	25
ESKOM STEEK KRAGFEITE WEG	SAKE	2008	3	6
AVENG GLO HY EN VIER KERNREUSE KAN ESKOM-BOD INPALM	SAKE	2008	3	11
ESKOM MAAK REG VIR ENORME BEDRYFSVERLIES	SAKE	2008	3	11
DIE KRAG 'N SONSTRAL ION ESKOMDUISTER	SAKE	2008	3	14
HOEKOM DIE PRYS VAN ELEKTRISITEIT MOET STYG EN WAAROM DIT GOED IS	SAKE	2008	3	28
BETROUBAARHEID VAN KRAGSTASIES PLA	SAKE	2008	4	3
ESKOM GELOOI OMDAT HY 'LIEG'	SAKE	2008	4	8
ESKOM HET IN 2007 LAAS KRAG AAN ZIMBABWE GEGEE	SAKE	2008	4	9
DAN IS DIE ESKOM-MEDIASIRKUS SKIELIK NIE MEER SO SNAAKS NIE	SAKE	2008	4	17
ESKOM MISLEI SA OOR 'GOEDKOOP KRAG' - SCHUSSLER	SAKE	2008	4	25
KAAP LOOI ESKOM OOR KRAGPRYSPLANNE	SAKE	2008	4	25

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
REGERING MOET PA STAAN VIR ESKOM SE KAPITAALSKULD	SAKE	2008	4	30
ESKOM KAN LAAT WAAI MET KOEKENAAP-PLAN	SAKE	2008	5	9
67% VAN DIE ESKOM-KUNDIGES WIL GOED VAT EN LOOP	SAKE	2008	5	14
ANC-LEIERSKAP BAL SY KRAGVUIS	SAKE	2008	5	16
ESKOM GRAWE VIR HOM EN SA 'N GAT MET DESEMBER-LAKSHEID	SAKE	2008	5	20
ESKOM SLOER LANGER AS JAAR, SE NERSA	SAKE	2008	5	20
ESKOMBESTUUR SIT DIE NAG IN NAGMERRIE	SAKE	2008	5	20
KRAG-INSTANDHOUDING MEER AS DUBBEL IN KRISIS	SAKE	2008	5	20
GEE ONS ONS DAAGLIKSE KRAG	SAKE	2008	5	23
SKERP VRAE OOR ESKOM SE KOLE	SAKE	2008	5	24
LIG AAN'T OPKOM OOR ESKOM	SAKE	2008	5	26
ESKOM-TARIEFVERHOOGING KOS 55 000 WERKGELEENTHEDE	SAKE	2008	5	28
OUD-ESKOM-HOE WAARSKU IN 1998 REEDS	SAKE	2008	5	29
KAPASITEIT, NIE VAARDIGHED, IS KNELPUNT - ESKOM	SAKE	2008	6	2
BOU ENERGIESLIM EN KRY KRAG - ESKOM	SAKE	2008	6	3
NETTO TOENAME IN VRYSTELLING VAN KOOLSUURGAS NOG TOT 2015 VERWAG	SAKE	2008	6	10
ESKOM BEGIN WEER GROTER KWOTASIES UITREIK	SAKE	2008	6	13
SONSTRAAL SKYN SO IN KRAGREKENING	SAKE	2008	6	25
MAROGA SE NEE DANKIE VIR BONUS	SAKE	2008	6	27
HOE ESKOM DIE KITAAR BEGIN SLAAN HET	SAKE	2008	7	4
MILJARDE NODIG VIR BETER PLATTELANDSE ELEKTRISITEIT	SAKE	2008	7	10
SA IS AL DEUR KRAGKRISIS MET KWOTAS	SAKE	2008	7	11
OU FOUTE VAN VERLEDE DRA OOK BY TOT ESKOM-KRAGKRISIS	SAKE	2008	7	18

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
SO KAN SUID-AFRIKA IN 2010 DIE LIGTE AANHOU	SAKE	2008	7	18
30% MEER BEDANK BY ESKOM, MAAR MAATSKAPPY LOK NOG BAIE	SAKE	2008	7	21
NUWE DAG BREEK VIR SA EN ESKOM MET KUSILE-KRAGSTASIE	SAKE	2008	8	6
MOODY'S GEE ESKOM LAE HOU	SAKE	2008	8	12
TE MIN VAARDIGHEDE KAN KRAGKRISIS TOT NA 2012 REK	SAKE	2008	9	8
ESKOM SOEK NOG GELD	SAKE	2008	9	15
ESKOM OORWEEG KRAGSTASIES IN WATERBERGE EN SASOLBURG	SAKE	2008	9	18
DIS NOU JOU BEURT OM BEURTKRAG TOE TE PAS, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2008	10	13
BAIE WIL PRIVATE KRAG LEWER	SAKE	2008	10	21
ESKOM DOEN VANJAAR MINDER KRAGKOPPELINGS	SAKE	2008	10	23
ESKOM SE NUWE PLAN STUUR OP 'N RAMP AF, WAARSKU SAKELUI	SAKE	2008	10	25
ESKOM BEPLAN KRAGPRYSSKOK	SAKE	2008	11	21
ESKOM VRA MYNE OM KRAG TE SPAAR VIR 2010-SOKKER	SAKE	2008	11	25
NUWE ESKOM-KRAGDROOM	SAKE	2008	12	11
GESPREK IS OOP OOR ENERGIETARIEF-PLAN	SAKE	2008	12	22
ESKOM HAS PLAN FOR 20 000 MW BY 2025	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	10
GAS TURBIONES ARE 'THE ONLY WAY' TO BEAT POWER CUTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	16
POWER OPTIONS: ESKOM MUST WEIGH UP COST AND SPEED OF NEW CAPACITY	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	18
BUSINESS HIT AS POWER CUTS CONTINUE	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	18
WET COAL THREATENS ESKOM POWER OUTPUT	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	24
LIGHTS ARE GOING OUT ON MBEKI AND HIS REGIME	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	28
ALL POWER PLANTS UNDER CAPACITY	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	29
ESKOM LOOKS TO STATE FOR POWER STATION FUNDING	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	1	30

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
POWER BOSS AT ESKOM IS SIDELINED	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	2	5
CHANCELLOR HOUSE TO EXIT ESKOM DEAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	2	21
ESKOM AND ALSTOM SIGN R15BN DEAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	2	29
FEAR AND LOATHING AS LOAD SHEDDING LOOMS AGAIN	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	3	6
UTILITY BUILDS UP ITS COAL STOCKPILES	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	3	7
COAL STOCKS COMING UNDER CONTROL, SAYS ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	3	11
ESKOM WANTS 67% TARIFF INCREASE	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	3	19
CONSUMERS MUST PAY - MAROGA	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	4	3
YOU'RE NOT LISTENING, SAYS ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	4	4
ESKOM'S LIGHT BULB PLAN TOPS ITS LIST OF BRIGHT IDEAS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	4	10
NO INVESTORS FOR ESKOM SOLAR PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	4	25
REGULATOR BLASTS ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	5	20
ESKOM STEAMS AHEAD TO REDUCE GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	6	23
ACT NOW TO AVOID 2010 BLACKOUTS, REPORT WARNS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	7	15
CABINET TO VET GODSELL'S APPOINTMENT AS ESKOM CHAIR	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	7	15
GODSELL'S ACUMEN MAY BE A GODSEND TO ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	7	16
POWER BLACKOUTS: WE'RE NOT IN THE CLEAR YET	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	8	3
RISE IN ESKOM'S GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	9	8
MAINTENANCE RAISES GHOST OF BLACKOUTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	9	11
TWO OPTIONS FOR ESKOM: PRICE INCREASE OR DARKNESS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	10	21
NUCLEAR PROGRAMME FACES COST SQUEEZE	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	10	21
PRIVATE SECTOR IS HOT FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	11	10
5500M LOAN WILL HELP ESKOM POWER AHEAD	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	11	11

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
STATE POWER UTILITY'S NUCLEAR PLANT FACES DELAY OR EVEN HALT	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	11	14
SA DISCARDS PLAN TO BUILD NUCLEAR PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	12	7
COMMERCIALISATION OF PBMR FACES SETBACKS	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	12	7
ESKOM PULLS THE PLUG ON NUCLEAR-1 POWER PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	12	8
COSTS FOR MEDUPI POWER PLANT INCREASE	BUSINESS REPORT	2008	12	11

**Table B5: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2009)**

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
SA TRAAG OM SONKRAGPANELE AAN TE BRING, SE ESKOM	BURGER	2009	2	5
KAAPSE HAWE URE LANK SONDER KRAG GELAAT	BURGER	2009	3	11
NAVORSING OOR POUEN EN KRAGDRADE	BURGER	2009	3	24
PBMR WERK AAN PLAN VIR TOEKOMS	BURGER	2009	3	30
MERKBARE AFNAME IN KRAGGEBRUIK MET EARTH HOUR	BURGER	2009	3	30
REGERING MOET PAK VAT OOR KRAG	BURGER	2009	4	1
STRAFTARIEWE VIR EERS UITGESTEL	BURGER	2009	4	2
ESKOM SWYG OOR KOEBERG	BURGER	2009	4	7
KERSE SAL NIE NODIG WEES VIR SOKKER	BURGER	2009	4	29
KRAGTARIEF STYG IN JULIE MET 33% IN KAAPSTAD	BURGER	2009	5	13
ESKOM SE JEREMIADE VIR PRYSVERHOOGING KOM ONDER SKOOT	BURGER	2009	6	8
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	6	10
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	6	11
SONDER DUURDER KRAG GROET ONS SA, SE HOGAN	BURGER	2009	6	11
'TYD OM SA ENERGIEBELEID TE HERSIEN'	BURGER	2009	6	11

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
KOEBERG SE EENHEDE WERK NOU ALBEI VIR EERSTE KEER IN DRIE WEKE	BURGER	2009	6	30
ESKOM SE WINDPLAN SO EFFE AFGEBLAAS, MAAR ANDER WOEKER	BURGER	2009	7	3
VARKE EN BEESTE MAG ESKOM NOU HELP MET HUL 'VERGASSERS'	BURGER	2009	7	22
KOEBERG SE KERNAFVAL KWEL	BURGER	2009	7	23
REGERING BEPLAN DRIE REUSE-KERNKRAGSENTRALES AAN SA KUS	BURGER	2009	7	24
NOG 'N SKOKGRANAAT VAN ESKOM IS OP PAD	BURGER	2009	8	10
ESKOM-SKOK	BURGER	2009	8	11
BOERE, ONDERNEMINGS VREESBEVANGE OOR 40%-VERHOOGING VAN KRAG..	BURGER	2009	8	12
KAPENAARS MOET OPDOK VIR ESKOM SE TARIEFVERHOOGINGS	BURGER	2009	8	20
ESKOM-BAAS SE SALARIS MET BYNA R1 MILJOEN VERHOOG	BURGER	2009	9	15
SASOL WIL MEER KRAG OPWEK	BURGER	2009	9	15
MAROGA SE SALARISVERHOOGING IN PARLEMENT VERDEDIG	BURGER	2009	9	16
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	9	17
ESKOM-HOOF SE VERHOOGING 'KLAP IN VERBRUIKER SE GESIG'	BURGER	2009	9	17
NOG 'N KRAGSKOK OP PAD	BURGER	2009	10	5
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	10	6
HOE PRYSE KNOU VERAL SAKELUI EN BOERE ERG	BURGER	2009	10	6
ESKOM WIL MEER GRATIS KRAG AAN ARM VERBRUIKERS GEE	BURGER	2009	10	7
'GROOT BESLUIE' KOM AS ESKOM NIE SY HOE TARIEWE KRY	BURGER	2009	10	7
GRATIS KRAG: ESKOM SMEER HEUNING OM VERBRUIKER SE MOND	BURGER	2009	10	8
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	10	8
VERBRUIKER MOET MAAR NET BETAAL	BURGER	2009	10	9
ESKOM SE 45% GAAN GROOT EN KLEIN TREF	BURGER	2009	10	14

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
SA PLUK ESKOM SE BITTER VRUGTE	BURGER	2009	10	15
GROOTHEIDSWAAN VAN LEIERS KOS LAND BAIE	BURGER	2009	10	17
'N GEWELDIGE SKOK' VIR VERBRUIKER	BURGER	2009	10	20
IPSA WIL STEEDS ELEKTRISITEIT BY COEGA OPWEK	BURGER	2009	10	22
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	11	4
HOGAN SKERM VIR ESKOM SE MAROGA	BURGER	2009	11	5
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	11	7
ONSEKERHEID HEERS OOR MAROGA SE POSISIE	BURGER	2009	11	9
NEERDRUKKENDE ESKOM-SAGE	BURGER	2009	11	11
SPOTPRENTE	BURGER	2009	11	11
'ESKOM KNOU NIE SA BEELD'	BURGER	2009	11	11
ESKOM EN DIE VERSTAAN VAN SEKERE SPELREELS	BURGER	2009	11	12
MINISTER SLAAG NIE DAARIN OM GODSELL TERUG TE LOK	BURGER	2009	11	17
CARTOON	BURGER	2009	11	18
LAAT DIE MARKTE TOE OM DIE WERK TE DOEN	BURGER	2009	11	19
WESTINGHOUSE KRY KOEBERG-KERNKONTRAK	BURGER	2009	12	1
ESKOM KRY LENING VAN R13 MILJARD IN FRANKRYK	BURGER	2009	12	29
SUN, WATER ARE A FRICA'S ENERGY HOPES, SAYS WORLD BANK EXPERT	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	1	8
RENEWABLE ENERGY AN ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	1	26
STATE WILL FOLLOW UNIFIED ENERGY PLAN	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	1	29
ESKOM FAILS TO IGNITE SOLAR POWER DEMAND	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	2	9
UTILITY TO BUILD TWO MORE FOSSIL FUEL STATIONS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	2	12
ESKOM TO SEEK HEFTY POWER TARIFF HIKE FROM REGULATOR	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	3	17

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
PBMR TO RUN OUT OF CASH IN A YEAR	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	3	31
MOOSA FLOUTED POLICY - MUSHWANA	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	5	6
ESKOM'S 31.3% RISE A BLOW FOR CONSUMERS BATTLING HIGH FOOD COSTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	5	20
ELECTRICITY WILL HEAT UP INFLATION - EXPERTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	5	26
NUCLEAR POWER TIMETABLE SKETCHED	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	5	26
PLAN PICKS UP TO MEET AFRICA'S POWER NEEDS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	5	26
ESKOM'S TARIFF HIKE REQUEST SLAMMED BY ALL COMERS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	6	8
ESKOM USED 2M TONS OF EXPORT COAL TO EASE CRISIS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	6	9
WHY RENEWABLE ENERGY MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	6	12
THIS POWER PRICE HIKE IS JUST FIRST OF MANY MORE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	6	26
ESKOM DELAYS THREE PROJECTS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	6	30
POWER SHORTAGES THREATEN AS ESKOM PUTS FIVE PROJECTS ON ICE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	7	21
ESKOM POWERS INFLATION SHOCK	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	8	5
SOLAR WATER HEATERS COULD REPLACE A POWER STATION	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	8	11
ESKOM'S SOLAR HEATER PLAN SLOWLY GAINS MOMENTUM	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	8	20
ESKOM CHIEF FACES GRILLING ON STAFF LETTER, COAL WOES	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	8	28
ESKOM SEEKS EQUITY PARTNER FOR DEMO SOLAR PLANT	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	9	2
ESKOM REDUCES CO2 EMISSIONS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	9	14
POWER HIKE IS INEVITABLE, SO FOCUS ON CUTTING USE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	9	14
ENERGY MIX TO REDUCE RELIANCE ON COAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	9	15
MORE ESKOM HIKES INEVITABLE, BUT WHO PAYS BILLS?	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	9	28
PBMR COST, RISKS SHOULD GIVE CABINET LONG PAUSE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	1
POWER USE IS LIGHTING UP, SAYS ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	2

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
ESKOM STARTS COUNTING THE COSTS OF COAL DEPENDENCY	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	8
CARTOON	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	13
EXXARO UPBEAT ABOUT SOLAR POWER FUTURE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	14
DOCUMENTS REVEAL DIM SIDE OF ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	15
UTILITY AIMS TO BREAK EVEN AFTER WORST LOSS IN 86 YEARS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	16
ESKOM'S FEE PLEA SHOWS A TOTAL LACK OF DISCIPLINE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	16
POWER PRICES MUST TREBLE, ESKOM SAYS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	19
RAPID PRICE HIKE IS NOT ESKOM'S ONLY OPTION	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	10	23
ESKOM: WHO IS IN CHARGE AND WHAT ARE THEY DOING?	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	2
ESKOM COST CHAOS IS A REAL THREAT TO ECONOMY	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	2
ESKOM BOARD ACCEPTS THE RESIGNATION OF MAROGA	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	6
HEADS CLASHED OVER STRATEGY FOR ESKOM FUTURE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	8
SPECULATION MOUNTS OVER MAROGA'S PROBABLE SUCCESSOR	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	9
CARTOON	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	9
MAROGA REPORT A FASCINATING READ ON RACE POLITICS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	10
GODSELL QUILTS AS MAROGA STAYS ON	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	10
ESKOM EX-CHAIR GODSELL EXPLAINS WHY HE QUIT	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	10
ESKOM INFORMATION BLACKOUT CONTINUES	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	11
ACTING ESKOM CHAIRMAN TO SMOOTH RUFFLED FEATHERS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	11
SHOW OF SUPPORT AS GODSELL GOES	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	11
HOGAN HAMMERED OVER HANDLING OF MAROGA DEBACLE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	12
MALEMA'S CLAIMS ON ESKOM SAGA BASELESS	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	13
ESKOM TO REVISE TARIFF PROPOSAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	16

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
ESKOM'S REAL QUANDARY IS ITS CHOICE OF TECHNOLOGY	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	17
RISK IN ESKOM SOLAR PLANT IS 'MASSIVE'	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	18
WORLD BANK CONSIDERS \$3.75BN LOAN TO FUND ESKOM'S EXPANSION	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	22
'ESKOM NOT AT FAULT IN IPP DELAYS'	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	24
IT'S TIME WHITE AND BLACK WORK TOGETHER	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	11	26
IPP INVESTMENTS COULD LOWER THE COST OF ELECTRICITY	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	12	2
NEW ESKOM TARIFFS BETTER, BUT ...	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	12	2
MINISTER, ESKOM AT ODDS OVER KUSILE	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	12	4
THE REAL PRICE OF ELECTRICITY COULD BE TRULY SHOCKING	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	12	9
PEBBLE BED MOVES CLOSER TO GREEN LIGHT	BUSINESS REPORT	2009	12	11
'RISK OF LOAD-SHEDDING NOT OVER YET'	CAPE ARGUS	2009	1	7
ESKOM CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR SUITABLE SITE FOR PLANNED NUCLEAR POWER STATION	CAPE ARGUS	2009	2	2
PORT HIT BY POWER FAILURE	CAPE ARGUS	2009	3	10
ESKOM HIRES 4 000 IN A YEAR TO ADDRESS CRISIS	CAPE ARGUS	2009	3	11
R1.6BN TURBINES TO BOOST KOEBERG'S OUTPUT AND 'RELIABILITY'	CAPE ARGUS	2009	3	20
ESKOM IS TO BLAME FOR PRICE HIKES	CAPE ARGUS	2009	4	1
BEAUTY THREATENED BY ESKOM BEAST	CAPE ARGUS	2009	4	9
CHAMBER FIGHTS ESKOM'S BID FOR 34% TARIFF HIKE	CAPE ARGUS	2009	5	29
CITY PUSHES FOR INFLATION LIMITS FOR ESKOM HIKE	CAPE ARGUS	2009	6	9
NUCLEAR POWER AND THE NOCEBO EFFECT	CAPE ARGUS	2009	6	23
WHAT'S THE POINT OF MAKING THE POOR RICH AND THE RICH POOR?	CAPE ARGUS	2009	6	24
WARNING OVER NUCLEAR POWER STATION REPORT	CAPE ARGUS	2009	7	1

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
NOTHING WRONG WITH EIA FOR ESKOM POWER PLANS	CAPE ARGUS	2009	8	6
SUN NUKES ITS RIVALS IN ELECTRICITY STAKES	CAPE ARGUS	2009	8	11
NUCLEAR POWER THE MOST SWITCHED-ON OPTION	CAPE ARGUS	2009	8	17
ESKOM YET TO SUM UP COST OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANS	CAPE ARGUS	2009	8	17
OPTIONS FOR ESKOM	CAPE ARGUS	2009	10	15
ESKOM WILL TAKE WHOLE COUNTRY DOWN WITH IT	CAPE ARGUS	2009	10	20
ESKOM TO BUILD A 100MW WINDFARM AT KOEKENAAP	CAPE TIMES	2009	1	7
TULBAGH POWER LINE WILL BE A DISASTER, SAY RESIDENTS	CAPE TIMES	2009	1	12
ACTION GROUP SEEKS MORE TIME TO PREPARE COMMENTS ON PROPOSED ESKOM POWER LINE	CAPE TIMES	2009	1	13
CALL FOR END TO RED TAPE ON RENEWABLE ENERGY PLANTS	CAPE TIMES	2009	3	6
ESKOM WILL NEED TO TOE LINE ON GREEN ENERGY TARIFFS - ACTIVISTS	CAPE TIMES	2009	4	2
ESKOM NOT THE BEST BODY TO DRIVE RENEWABLE ENERGY EFFORT	CAPE TIMES	2009	4	3
ESKOM REVIVES PLANS TO BUILD MORE NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS	CAPE TIMES	2009	5	26
NUKE POWER PLAN SEEN AS THREAT TO RESIDENTS	CAPE TIMES	2009	5	29
ESKOM CONFIDENT OF SUPPLY DESPITE MAINTENANCE	CAPE TIMES	2009	6	1
SULPHUROUS DECISION	CAPE TIMES	2009	6	9
ESKOM FAILED TO PLAN FOR GROWTH, NOW WE MUST FOOT THE BILL	CAPE TIMES	2009	6	18
OPPOSITION, COSATU SLAM 31% ELECTRICITY PRICE RISE	CAPE TIMES	2009	6	29
IT'S TIME ESKOM SAW THE LIGHT ON GREEN ENERGY	CAPE TIMES	2009	8	7
ESKOM PLANS TO FEED WIND ENERGY INTO NATIONAL GRID	CAPE TIMES	2009	8	11
27 % PAY HIKE FOR ESKOM BOSS NOT ALL IT APPEARS	CAPE TIMES	2009	9	16
ESKOM'S CRAZY COSTS	CAPE TIMES	2009	9	17

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION	CAPE TIMES	2009	9	17
'FLEET' OF NUCLEAR REACTORS WILL FEED NATIONAL DEMAND FOR	CAPE TIMES	2009	9	18
PBMR PUT ON ICE INDEFINITELY DUE TO LACK OF FUNDS - JOURNAL	CAPE TIMES	2009	9	22
BRACE FOR YEARLY POWER PRICE HIKES OF 30% TO 60%	CAPE TIMES	2009	10	6
CLEAN ENERGY IS COSTLY, BUT WILL BENEFIT SA	CAPE TIMES	2009	10	13
POLITICALLY CHARGED	CAPE TIMES	2009	11	10
'HELL YES, YOU MUST GOVERN'	CAPE TIMES	2009	11	13
ESKOM SE INSTANDHOUDINGSWERK HELP BEURTKRAG VASVAT	SAKE	2009	1	6
DIE WET VAN ESKOM-KRAG: BETAAL MEER, OF DIS NAG	SAKE	2009	1	8
ESKOM SE DUUR SONKRAGGEISERS KRY BRA KOEL ONTVANGS	SAKE	2009	1	9
REGERING GEBRUIK ESKOM-KERNKRAG PLANNE OM GELD, TYD TE BESPAAR	SAKE	2009	1	14
ESKOM SOEK PLAN OM SONGEISER GEWILD TE KRY	SAKE	2009	1	16
KRAGKRISIS VERLOOR ANGEL	SAKE	2009	1	24
ESKOM SE REGRUKPOGING SLUK GELD SOOS DORS KAMEEL	SAKE	2009	1	26
FRONSE OOR ESKOM AS ALLEEN-AANKOPER	SAKE	2009	1	27
NERSA SE VOORSTELLE DALK 'N RAMP	SAKE	2009	1	30
ESKOM IN DILEMMA MET PRORAM OM KRAG TE BESPAAR	SAKE	2009	2	9
ESKOM: HIER KOM GROOT (KRAGWOORD)	SAKE	2009	2	13
SONKRAG KOM GANS TE STADIG, WAARSKU BANKBAAS	SAKE	2009	2	26
KRAGNETWERK AL MANKER	SAKE	2009	3	4
JOU EIE WINDLAAIER WORD 'N OPSIE	SAKE	2009	3	6
O KRAGTIE, GEE ONS KRAG VIR ESKOM SE NUWE TARIEWE	SAKE	2009	3	18
SA MAAK PLAN TEEN KLIMAATSV ERANDERING	SAKE	2009	3	20

Heading	Source	Date		
		Year	Month	Day
KRAG EN MOTORS SKOK SA	SAKE	2009	4	3
VRAE OOR TOEPASSING VAN 'GROEN'-TARIEWE	SAKE	2009	4	3
ESKOM SE 'N VERHOGING VAN 34% IS NET DIE BEGIN	SAKE	2009	5	16
DUISENDE NUWE WERKERS BY ESKOM? WONDER VAKBONDE	SAKE	2009	5	25
OMGEWINGSIMPAK VAN 3 KERNAANLEGTE NOG BEKYK, ONDANKS FINANSIE	SAKE	2009	5	27
WARM VRAE BY NERSA GESTEL	SAKE	2009	6	10
TRANSNET BETAAL 158% MEER VIR KRAG OOR 5 JAAR	SAKE	2009	6	25
LEPHALALE DRA FAKKEL VAN HOOP	SAKE	2009	6	26
IPSA SIT NOU KRAGTELOOS TUSSEN SASOL EN ESKOM	SAKE	2009	6	26
HOER ELEKTRISITEITSPRYS MAAK FIRMAS, BELEGGERS SEER	SAKE	2009	6	29
TRANSNET KYK 20 JAAR VOORUIT	SAKE	2009	7	6
STAAK-PROSEDURE BEGIN BY ESKOM	SAKE	2009	7	17
GELD, POLITIEKE WIL VERDOF SONKRAG IN SA	SAKE	2009	8	4
SASOL, ESKOM SAL SA SE GROEN-LOT SO BEPAAL	SAKE	2009	8	11
62% VAN ESKOM-WERKERS WIL WAAI, TOON OPNAME VAN VAKBOND	SAKE	2009	8	12
ANC WIL SO TENDERPROSES VIR KRAGLEWERAAR VERSNEL	SAKE	2009	8	13
SA MOET DIE LIG SIEN EN DIE SON INSPAN VIR HERNIEUBARE KRAG	SAKE	2009	8	14
SA SE SEXY, 'GROEN' JOULE OOK SAG OP SAK	SAKE	2009	8	28
BILLITON KNOU ESKOM	SAKE	2009	8	28
HOE GROOT GAAN ESKOM SE 'ALUMINIUM-SUBSIDIE WORD?	SAKE	2009	8	31
DIE LIGTE IS AAN BY ESKOM, MAAR IS IEMAND BY DIE HUIS?	SAKE	2009	9	3
TEIKEN VIR HERNIEUBARE KRAG HAALBAAR, AL IS WEGSPRING LAAT	SAKE	2009	9	4
MAROGA HET VAN KRISIS BY ESKOM GEWEET	SAKE	2009	9	11

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
MAROGA POS BOODSKAPPER	SAKE	2009	9	14
HOEKOM HET MAROGA NIE GELUISTER NIE?	SAKE	2009	9	14
AGENDA VAN LIBERALE RASSISTE WIL MAROGA KELDER, SE VAKBOND	SAKE	2009	9	17
ESKOM OP DUN YS MET TARIEFVERHOOGINGSAANSOEK	SAKE	2009	10	1
PRIVATE KRAG KAN SA GOU RED	SAKE	2009	10	12
ESKOM BEPLAN REUSE-SONKRAGPROJEK BY UPINGTON	SAKE	2009	10	13
BETAAL DRIE KEER MEER, VRA ESKOM	SAKE	2009	10	14
DIE REGTE VRAE OOR ESKOM SE PRYSVERHOOGING VAN 45%	SAKE	2009	10	19
LAAT DIE SON OPKOM OOR ESKOM-DONKERTE	SAKE	2009	10	23
SOMER-KRAGPRYS REM INFLASIE DALK IN SEPTEMBER	SAKE	2009	10	26
HOER ESKOM-TARIEWE DALK 'N GELEENTHEID VIR GROENBOU	SAKE	2009	10	27
ESKOM-DIREKSIE WROEG OOR MAROGA	SAKE	2009	10	31
ZUMA GRYP IN BY MAROGA-SAGE	SAKE	2009	11	4
VYTJIE LE DIE LAT IN OOR MAROGA	SAKE	2009	11	7
GODSELL WEN DALK STRYD TUSSEN KRAG EN RAS	SAKE	2009	11	9
MOENIE INDIVIDU VOOR LAND PLAAS	SAKE	2009	11	10
WAT WAG ANDERKANT DIE CHAOS VAN DIE ESKOM-BESTUURSBULT?	SAKE	2009	11	11
ESKOM EN SY MAATS NIE INDIVIDUE SE POLITIEKE SPEELBALLE	SAKE	2009	11	13
ENORME UITDAGINGS WAG OP GODSELL AS HY WEL TERUGKEER	SAKE	2009	11	16
ESKOM TJOEPSTIL OOR GODSELL, TARIEWE	SAKE	2009	11	16
STAAT SOEK B-PLAN VIR HOER KRAGTARIEF	SAKE	2009	11	19
DAAR IS 'N GROENER OPLOSSING VIR SUID-AFRIKA SE KRAGUITDAGINGS	SAKE	2009	11	20
ZUMA STUT ESKOM-LENING	SAKE	2009	11	24

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
KRAG IN SA TUSSEN 2005 EN 2014 633% DUURDER	SAKE	2009	11	24
MEDUPI SKIELIK R24 MILJARD DUURDER	SAKE	2009	12	1
SCHUSSLER BEVONK OOR ESKOM-PRYSDISKRIMINASIE	SAKE	2009	12	4
MEER KERNKRAG MOET KOM	SAKE	2009	12	8
MEDUPI-VOLTOOIINGSDATUM BLY DIESELFDE - ESKOM	SAKE	2009	12	10
ONAFHANKLIKE KRAGOPWEKKERS KAN ESKOM SE KRAGPRYS SNOEI	SAKE	2009	12	12

**Table B6: Data used for quantitative content analysis (2010)**

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
ESKOM SE TARIEFVERHOGINGS NIE REGVERDIGBAAR - MENINGSPEILINGS	BURGER	2010	1	13
HOE LADING OP MIDDELKLAS-PAK DONKIE	BURGER	2010	1	22
ESKOM SE 'FEITE' IS 'N BOL WIND	BURGER	2010	1	23
CARTOON	BURGER	2010	1	26
VERBRUIKERS MOET BETAAL OF HUL VIR DONKERTE STAAL	BURGER	2010	1	26
LAEGEHALTE-STEENKOOL LAAT (GEVAAR)LIGTE FLIKKER	BURGER	2010	1	29
ANGLO OORWEEG OM IN KUSILE TE BELE	BURGER	2010	2	3
STAATSENTITEITE KRY WAARBORG-MILJARDE	BURGER	2010	2	18
EERSDAAGS DALK NAG VIR ESKOM, HELE SA	BURGER	2010	2	23
CARTOON	BURGER	2010	2	26
'GROOT KRAGPLAN' BELIG STAAT SE VISIE	BURGER	2010	2	26
GENOEG KRAG VIR 2010, MAAR JARE DAARNA WEK KOMMER	BURGER	2010	3	3
KOEBERG SLUIT VIR INSTANDHOUDING	BURGER	2010	3	15
LIGTE AF AS ESKOM DIE LENING NIE KRY	BURGER	2010	3	15

Heading	Source	Date		
ESKOM-TARIEFVERHOOGING: NERSA KAN DIT NOG HERSIEN	BURGER	2010	3	15
HOFBEVEL	BURGER	2010	3	18
ESKOM IN DIE HOF	BURGER	2010	3	19
SOET EN SUUR VAN ESKOM-SYFERS	BURGER	2010	6	08
ESKOM KOOP NOG KRAG	BURGER	2010	6	18
NUWE ESKOM-HOOF	BURGER	2010	6	22
BESPROEINGSBOERE KAN VOU WEENS HOE KRAGPRYSE	BURGER	2010	7	12
STAATSGELD VIR STAATSKELMS	BURGER	2010	7	22
INLIGTINGWET ESKOM WIL SY EIE GEHEIME BEWAAR	BURGER	2010	7	22
ESKOM-KLANTE SAL MEER MOET OPDOK	BURGER	2010	7	23
STADSRaad WIL NIE MEER ESKOM-KRAG AAN ARM INWONERS SUBSIDIEER N	BURGER	2010	7	29
DIE WERELDBANK EN ESKOM	BURGER	2010	8	05
INWONERS GAAN LANGER WAG VIR KRAG	BURGER	2010	8	27
GROENKRAGVERSOEKE DIE NAWEEK GEPUBLISEER	BURGER	2010	9	23
BLOOTSTELLING VAN KOEBERG-WERKNEMERS GAAN ONDERSOEK WORD	BURGER	2010	9	23
STADIGE SONGEISER-PROGRAM GEKRITISEER	BURGER	2010	10	21
KUSILE HAAL WEER ASEM NA HY WAARBORG VAN STAAT KRY	BURGER	2010	10	29
NUWE KRAGLYN BY UPINGTON SAL SONKRAG VERSPREI	BURGER	2010	10	29
KERNKRAG IS DIE ANTWOORD VIR SA, SE ESKOM SE HOOF	BURGER	2010	11	10
ESKOM-BOUPROGRAM KRY NUWE WOEMA	BURGER	2010	11	15
DAMES AANGESTEL IN VOLHOUBAARHEIDSKOMITEE	BURGER	2010	12	08
ESKOM BUIT ONS UIT, TREE SKANDALIG OP	BURGER	2010	12	09
KOEBERG 1 AF WEENS HOE RADIOAKTIWITEIT	BURGER	2010	12	16

Heading	Source	Date		
TULBAGH-INWONERS MOR OOR ESKOM SE PLANNE MET KRAGDRADE	BURGER	2010	12	27
WITZENBERGERS TREK LAER OOR ESKOM-KRAGDRADE	BURGER	2010	12	28
RENEWABLE ENERGY GAINS GLOBAL VOICE	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	1	29
PRAGMATISM NEEDED IN PRIVATE POWER DEBATE	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	1
ESKOM HAS PUT A HEAVY BURDEN ON OUR FUTURE	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	5
BUILDING PROJECTS TO GET GREATER FUNDING	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	18
'SA NEEDS PRIVATE INVESTORS IN ENERGY'	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	24
POWER HIKE TO LIFT INFLATION	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	25
NERSA RULING GARNERS MIXED REACTIONS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	2	25
DRC TO GO SOLO ON 5 000MW INGA 3 PROJECT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	1
ANC'S SLICE OF ESKOM PIE IS TINY - HOGAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	2
ESKOM UNABLE TO MEET SOUTH AFRICA'S POWER NEEDS FROM 2011	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	3
OPPOSITION TO LOAN FOR ESKOM VEXES GORDHAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	5
SA IN EYE OF WORLD BANK STORM OVER COAL POWER	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	9
CLASH LOOMS OVER ESKOM'S SECRET DEALS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	12
TIME TO END SECRECY OVER SUBSIDISED ELECTRICITY DEALS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	12
FUTURE OF BASELOAD ELECTRICITY IS NUCLEAR	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	15
GOVERNMENT DEFENDS BID FOR R27.7BN WORLD BANK LOAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	15
ANC MUST EXIT HITACHI TO FULFIL ITS MANIFESTO	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	18
ESKOM TO FACE COURT TO DISCLOSE BILLITON'S LOW RATES	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	19
SUSTAINABLE GROWTH FIRST, THEN WE CAN GO GREENER	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	25
A LOOK INTO ESKOM'S CAN OF WORMS NEEDED	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	3	29
BHP BILLITON TO RENEGOTIATE SECRET ESKOM DEAL	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	7

Heading	Source	Date		
SMELTERS 'SMOOTH ELECTRICITY REVENUE'	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	7
BHP BILLITON AND ESKOM REVISIT TARIFF DEAL, IN SECRET	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	7
DECISION TIME FOR WORLD BANK ON ESKOM LOAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	8
LOAN VOTE A TOUGH DECISION FOR BANK DIRECTORS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	9
CARTOON	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	12
ESKOM WORKS ON NEW FUNDING PLAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	12
ESKOM'S SPECIAL PRICE DEALS WITH BIG COMPANIES 'NEED SECOND LOOK'	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	16
CO-GENERATION DEAL TO BE SIGNED IN MAY	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	21
ESKOM TIED TO DIRT CHEAP DEAL	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	22
ESKOM ALSO PRODUCES INFORMATION BLACKOUT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	4	26
DOOR WIDE OPEN TO RENEWABLE ENERGY	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	5	7
ESKOM USES CONTROL OF KUSILE AS BAIT FOR INVESTORS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	5	13
POWER UTILITY SHOULD BE BROKEN UP - MCREA	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	5	20
GENERAL ELECTRIC WINS ESKOM BID	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	5	20
ESKOM, PARTNERS SEAL WORLD CUP EMERGENCY PACT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	5	25
ESKOM FAILS TO LIVE DOWN EVEN ITS BAD REPUTATION	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	6	9
ESKOM SCORES A REPRIEVE FOR CUP	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	6	14
NEW CAPTAINS TO STEER ESKOM THROUGH TROUBLES	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	6	17
ESKOM POWER BEATS THE CHILL	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	6	21
DA GRILLS ESKOM ABOUT SECRECY OVER BHP BILLITON AGREEMENT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	6	24
CARTOON	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	7	5
ESKOM'S ELECTRICITY TARIFF HIKES SHOCK MAIZE, WHEAT FARMERS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	7	12
ESKOM LOAN FACES PROBE	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	8	4

Heading	Source	Date		
ESKOM WOOS PRIVATE POWER SUPPLIERS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	8	12
ESKOM IS SOUTH AFRICA'S RENEWABLE ENERGY LEADER	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	8	18
WWF TURNS HEAT ON ESKOM TO SUSPEND COSTLY KUSILE PROJECT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	8	18
CASE FOR RENEWABLES NOT A CLEAR-CUT ONE	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	8	30
ESKOM MUST ACT FAST TO OPEN GRID ACCESS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	9	6
IPPS NEED CLARITY ON ENERGY FEED-IN TARIFFS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	9	6
DA CALLS FOR INQUIRY ON KOEBERG	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	9	22
NO MORE POWER SHORTAGES OR BLACKOUTS EXPECTED	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	9	23
ESKOM RACES AGAINST TIME TO BEAT POWER CRUNCH THREAT	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	10	25
MEDUPI AND KUSILE PLANTS FACE DELAYS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	10	26
GOVERNMENT RAISES ESKOM GAURANTEE TO R350BN TO SECURE SA'S POWER	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	10	29
ESKOM GETS R15BN LOAN TO 'KEEP THE LIGHTS ON'	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	11	4
ESKOM SEEKS SUPPLIERS FOR WIND, SUN PLANTS	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	11	5
ESKOM ROLLS OUT FUTURE PLAN	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	11	24
ESKOM MANGAMENT STRUCTURE STILL FAILING	BUSINESS TIMES	2010	12	13
'WE'LL FIGHT ESKOM HIKE ON STREETS'	CAPE ARGUS	2010	1	21
UNITE AND PROTEST AGAINST ESKOM'S PROPOSED HIKES	CAPE ARGUS	2010	1	26
ESKOM IS AN ENEMY OF PROGRESS	CAPE ARGUS	2010	1	28
HOW ESKOM HIKE WILL HIT YOU	CAPE ARGUS	2010	2	25
WE'LL KEEP THE STADIUM LIGHTS BLAZING, ESKOM ASSURES MPS	CAPE ARGUS	2010	3	3
COAL-FIRED POWER STATION IS THE ONLY PRAGMATIC SOLUTION TO SA'S PRESSING NEEDS	CAPE ARGUS	2010	3	24
ESKOM FINGERS FARMERS FOR ELECTRICITY THEFT	CAPE ARGUS	2010	3	25

Heading	Source	Date		
MEETINGS TO DISCUSS NEW NUCLEAR PLANT	CAPE ARGUS	2010	4	20
CITY SLAMS 'POOR' ESKOM REPORT ON NUKE PROPOSAL	CAPE ARGUS	2010	6	02
CITY TO STOP SUBSIDISING ESKOM CLIENTS ELECTRICITY	CAPE ARGUS	2010	7	21
NUKE POWER IS ON THE CARDS FOR SA, BUT WHERE?	CAPE ARGUS	2010	12	03
NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH	CAPE ARGUS	2010	12	10
'IT'S PART OF WORLD HERITAGE'	CAPE ARGUS	2010	12	16
TOURISM HEAD IN ABOUT-TURN ON LOCAL ANTI-NUCLEAR INITIATIVE	CAPE TIMES	2010	1	15
WWF POKES HOLES IN PUBLIC HEARINGS ON POWER PRICE	CAPE TIMES	2010	1	18
ESKOM RATES HIKES COULD HIT MIDDLE-INCOME PEOPLE WITH TRIPLE ...	CAPE TIMES	2010	1	21
ESKOM IS THE TAIL WAGGING THE NERSA DOG, REGULATOR TOLD	CAPE TIMES	2010	1	22
TAKE A HIKE, SAYS ESKOM	CAPE TIMES	2010	2	25
THE POWER TO CHOOSE	CAPE TIMES	2010	2	26
HOUSEHOLDS RUSH TO GET SOLAR GEYSERS AS ESKOM MORE THAN DOUBLES ITS SUBS IDY	CAPE TIMES	2010	3	1
ESKOM SAYS IT CAN SUPPLY ALL THE POWER THE WORLD CUP NEEDS	CAPE TIMES	2010	3	3
SITE NEAR CAPE ST FRANCIS IS PREFERRED FOR NUCLEAR-1 POWER...	CAPE TIMES	2010	3	8
ESKOM'S SECRET DEALS GIVE 138 COMPANIES CUT-PRICE POWER	CAPE TIMES	2010	3	10
INTELLIGENT POWER: SA IS THROWING IT ALL AWAY	CAPE TIMES	2010	4	7
ESKOM TO BUILD THREE NEW NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS AT COASTAL ...	CAPE TIMES	2010	4	8
SAFETY FEARS RAISED OVER PLAN FOR NEW KOEBERG SITE	CAPE TIMES	2010	6	02
BRIGHT SPARK	CAPE TIMES	2010	6	21
RESIDENTS FIGHT NUCLEAR PROPOSAL	CAPE TIMES	2010	7	19
FEEDING FRENZY AT THE PARASTATAL TROUGH	CAPE TIMES	2010	7	20
DARKNESS BECKONS	CAPE TIMES	2010	8	24

Heading	Source	Date		
ENERGY EXPERTS SLAM ESKOM'S STANCE ON WIND ENERGY	CAPE TIMES	2010	8	27
LIGHT AT TUNNEL'S END	CAPE TIMES	2010	10	05
INCENTIVE TO KEEP ELECTRICITY USAGE LOW 'TAKEN AWAY'	CAPE TIMES	2010	10	12
MORE POWER FROM NUCLEAR STATIONS	CAPE TIMES	2010	11	11
2008 BLACKOUTS WON'T HAPPEN AGAIN - STUDY	CAPE TIMES	2010	11	12
VESTED INTERESTS SHAPING ENERGY PLAN	CAPE TIMES	2010	11	29
FUEL DEFECT SHUTS KOEBERG	CAPE TIMES	2010	12	16
STRYD OOR KRAGPRYS BEGIN	SAKE	2010	1	12
LAER TARIEWE KAN ESKOM POOTJIE	SAKE	2010	1	15
MERIETE BO, HOOR ESKOM OOR LEIERSPOS	SAKE	2010	1	18
KABINET WIK OOR KRAGSTASIE-VERKOPE	SAKE	2010	1	21
TREK KUSILE-PROP UIT, VRA SAKELEIERS	SAKE	2010	1	22
EKSBAAS VAN ESKOM SE EIS: STAAT SE NEE	SAKE	2010	1	25
SUKSES VAN WINDKRAG HANG VAN ESKOM AF	SAKE	2010	2	12
ELEKTRISITEITSBEDRYF GEKAP IN EGI-VERSLAG	SAKE	2010	2	20
KRAGPRYS, BBP SLEUTEL TOT LAER RENTE	SAKE	2010	2	22
VERHOOGDE TARIEWE KAN KRAGDIEFSTAL MET 10% LAAT TOENEEM	SAKE	2010	2	25
KRAGPRYSE SAL LEI TOT MUNISIPALE GELDKNYP	SAKE	2010	2	26
OPLOSSING VIR ESKOM LE IN PRIVATE SEKTOR	SAKE	2010	2	26
WWF WIL STOKKIE VOOR ESKOM-LENING STEEK	SAKE	2010	2	27
GENOEG KRAG VIR 2010, MAAR JARE DAARNA WEK KOMMER	SAKE	2010	3	3
COSATU DREIG MET ALGEHELE STAKINGS	SAKE	2010	3	5
GROOT SKOK VIR ESKOM SE KRAG-KLIENTE	SAKE	2010	3	8

Heading	Source	Date		
REGERING MOET WINSJAGTER-MUNISIPALITEITE VASVAT	SAKE	2010	3	10
SKERP STYGING IN ESKOM, ACSA SE TARIWE SLEG VIR SA	SAKE	2010	3	15
SO SNEEUBAL DIE KOSTE VAN STAATSPROJEKTE HALSOORKOP	SAKE	2010	3	16
EIB SE GELD FOKUS OP, ONDERSTEUN GROEN-INISIATIEWE	SAKE	2010	3	16
SO WIL ESKOM R308 MILJARD KRY OM UITBREIDINGS TE FINANSIER	SAKE	2010	3	17
PLAASLIKE AANKOPE, VERKRYGING MOET BEVORDER WORD - BUSA	SAKE	2010	3	17
SAKE 24 VAT ESKOM, BHP BILLITON HOF TOE	SAKE	2010	3	18
SPOORLYN VIR STEENKOOL TUSSEN MAJUBA EN ERMELO KOM BINNE 5 JAAR	SAKE	2010	3	19
ESKOM EN BILLITON SE OOREENKOMS MOET HERSIEN WORD	SAKE	2010	3	19
GORDHAN VRA AMERIKANERS OM ESKOM-LENING TE STEUN	SAKE	2010	3	23
ESKOM, BILLITON GAAN KONTRAKTE HERBEDING	SAKE	2010	4	6
WERELDBANK SNY DIE ANC UIT LENING UIT	SAKE	2010	4	7
DEMOKRASIE SO VERNIETIG - ZILLE	SAKE	2010	4	8
WERELDBANK KEUR ESKOM-LENING GOED	SAKE	2010	4	9
SA MOET FOKUS OP VOLHOUBARE ENERGIEBELEID, SE KENNERS	SAKE	2010	4	12
VERKEERDE INLIGTING LEI TOT VERKEERDE BESLUIT	SAKE	2010	5	11
WERELDBEKER KAN KOM, ESKOM IS REG VIR HOM	SAKE	2010	5	25
PRIVATE SEKTOR, ESKOM PRAAT OOR NOG 5 000 MW SE KRAG	SAKE	2010	5	03
ESKOM OP WEF-BERAAD GEKAP OOR HY MET STEENKOOL-KRAGOPWEKKING	SAKE	2010	5	07
VERKEERDE INLIGTING LEI TOT VERKEERDE BESLUIT	SAKE	2010	5	11
WERELDBEKER KAN KOM, ESKOM IS REG VIR HOM	SAKE	2010	5	25
COASTU DREIG MET STAKING TYDENS WB OOR KRAGPRYSE	SAKE	2010	5	28
ESKOM SOEK HULP BY STAAT OOR WANBETALING	SAKE	2010	6	03

Heading	Source	Date		
ESKOM BESTEE MINDER AAN NUWE PROJEKTE AS BEOOG	SAKE	2010	6	04
ESKOM SE R3,6MILJARD-WINS STOOK LOON-VUUR VERDER	SAKE	2010	6	04
ESKOM HET GEEN BEWYSE VIR SY BEWERINGS OOR MAROGA, HOOR HOF	SAKE	2010	6	09
ESKOM EN BILLITON SE KRAGPRYS IS HUL GEHEIM	SAKE	2010	6	10
KFBA WIL ESKOM-VAKBONDE, BESTUUR VERSOEN	SAKE	2010	6	17
VAKBONDE BLYKBAAR IN HUL SKIK MET ESKOM SE NUWE LOONAANBOD	SAKE	2010	6	18
ESKOM KOOP NOG KRAG	SAKE	2010	6	18
SASOL KRY SA SE EERSTE KRAGLISENSIE	SAKE	2010	6	22
ESKOM HERINNER WERKERS: JULLE MAG NIE STAAK	SAKE	2010	6	25
HERNIEUBARE KRAG OP ESKOM-AGENDA	SAKE	2010	6	25
NUWE KRAGSTASIES OP PAD	SAKE	2010	6	29
ESKOM-STAKING SE KRAGPROP UITGETREK	SAKE	2010	7	05
R100 MJD. GEPLOEG IN KRAGPLANNE	SAKE	2010	7	27
EXXARO SE KONTRAK MET ESKOM EINDELIK AFGEHANDEL	SAKE	2010	8	13
KRAG-INFRASTRUKTUUR KORT R28 MJD. SE ONDERHOUD	SAKE	2010	8	27
MEDUPI KAN '6 MAANDE, JAAR SELFS 2 JAAR' VERTRAAG WORD	SAKE	2010	9	15
ESKOM SE OMGEWINGSTUDIES VIR KERNKRAGSTASIES GLO ONGELDIG	SAKE	2010	9	20
ONS TOEKOMS?	SAKE	2010	9	23
VERSLAG VERKLAP KRAG-'GEHEIME' VAN SMELTERS	SAKE	2010	10	11
HERNIEUBARE VERSKAFFERS KLA OOR ENERGIEPLAN	SAKE	2010	10	15
ESKOM SIT DALK WEER DIE LIGTE AF	SAKE	2010	10	21
SWAK KOOL = MINDER KRAG	SAKE	2010	10	25
ESKOM SE TOEKOMS LE IN KERNKRAG EN DIE SAOG	SAKE	2010	10	26

Heading	Source	Date		
KERNKRAG GAAN SUID-AFRIKA TOT R1000 MILJOARD KOS, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2010	10	27
60% VAN SA KRAGDIEFSTAL DEUR SAKESSEKTOR GEPLEEG	SAKE	2010	10	27
MEER AS WETTE IS NODIG OM ELEKTRISITEITSDIEFSTAL TE BEKAMP	SAKE	2010	11	03
LOGGE ESKOM KAN EKONOMIE NIE ALLEEN OP DIE PAD NA GROEN-EKONOMIE PLAAS	SAKE	2010	11	12
WEGGOOI STEENKOOL AAN ESKOM GELEWER	SAKE	2010	11	18
ESKOM SUKKEL NOG MEER MET ONBETAALDE TARIWE	SAKE	2010	12	02
TRANSMISSIE SAL ESKOM KOS	SAKE	2010	12	06
MAROGA KRY NIKS, BETAAL ESKOM SE REGSKOSTE	SAKE	2010	12	13
ESKOM HIKES DRAW STRONG OPPOSITION AT HEARING	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	12
PAPER SECTOR FIGHTS ESKOM HIKE PROPOSAL	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	13
ESKOM MAY STRUGGLE TO FIND KUSILE PARTNER	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	14
PUBLIC HEARINGS TURN UP HEAT ON ESKOM	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	19
WIND IS CHEAPEST - MAINSTREAM BOSS	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	25
ESKOM PRICE HIKE WILL CRIPPLE MINING INDUSTRY, NERSA HEARS	BUSINESS REPORT	2010	1	25

**Table B7: Data used for qualitative content analysis (2006)**

Heading	Source	Date		
ESKOM SE SOORTGELYKE HAAKPLEKKE NIE VOORSIEN	BURGER	2006	1	3
OPWEKTOESTEL GLO DIE REDE VIR KOEBERG SE GEHINKEPINK	BURGER	2006	1	5
ESKOM SWYG OOR LOS BOUT	BURGER	2006	1	9
KRAG: KRISIS DREIG	BURGER	2006	1	16
BOUT KAN KAAP VERLAM	BURGER	2006	1	20
NAG VIR KAAP SE KRAG	BURGER	2006	1	21

Heading	Source	Date		
KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	1	23
Kragtoer	BURGER	2006	1	26
HERSTELWERK BEGIN AAN Kragopwekker by Koeberg	BURGER	2006	1	27
Koeberg sal R300 m opdok vir Opwekker	BURGER	2006	1	31
Koeberg beraam nuwe plan vir Krag	BURGER	2006	2	9
ESKOM in duister	BURGER	2006	2	10
Tegniese probleme lei tot Kragodnerbrekings oral	BURGER	2006	2	20
Cartoon	BURGER	2006	2	21
Wanbestuur	BURGER	2006	2	21
ESKOM 'verswyg iets'	BURGER	2006	2	21
Nag tot Saterdag	BURGER	2006	2	22
Antwoorde	BURGER	2006	2	22
Vasbyt tot Maandag	BURGER	2006	2	23
Koppe moet rol	BURGER	2006	2	23
Redes vir Kragherrie gesoek	BURGER	2006	2	23
Cartoon	BURGER	2006	2	24
Krag 'moreaand reg'	BURGER	2006	2	24
Koeberg 'nie die oorsaak van Kragchaos in Wes-Kaap'	BURGER	2006	2	24
ESKOM kort 'n les in goeie Kommunikasie	BURGER	2006	2	25
ESKOM belê miljoene in Zim	BURGER	2006	2	25
Nog Kragonderbrekings kom	BURGER	2006	2	27
Cartoon	BURGER	2006	3	1
Dit is 'n krisis!	BURGER	2006	3	1

Heading	Source	Date		
DIS NOU NAG IN DIE KAAP(a)	BURGER	2006	3	4
SIT DIT AF, SIT AF - VOOR DIE BIBBERWEER KOM	BURGER	2006	3	4
ESKOM BEGIN LIG SIEN IN KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	3	4
DIS NOU NAG IN DIE KAAP(b)	BURGER	2006	3	4
ESKOM-KRAG WANKEL STEEDS	BURGER	2006	3	8
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	3	22
ESKOM MAAK NOU BENOUDE SPRONGE	BURGER	2006	3	23
EN WIE GAAN TAMAAI ROTOR VAN DIE HAWE AF ABBA?	BURGER	2006	3	30
PLAN MET KRAG	BURGER	2006	3	31
Cartoon (rotor)	BURGER	2006	3	31
KRISISTYD VAN 90 DAE VIR DIE WES-KAAP	BURGER	2006	4	1
ESKOM 'NIE DOELTREFFEND GENOEG' IN KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	4	3
ROTOR VIR KOEBERG VANDAG IN TAFELBAAI VERWAG	BURGER	2006	4	5
SAS DRAKENSBERG BRING LIG MET KOSBARE VRAG	BURGER	2006	4	6
ROTOR KOM TEEN 15KM/H BY KOEBERG AAN	BURGER	2006	4	8
KAAPSE KRAG SAL GOU WEER AF WEES	BURGER	2006	4	25
ENERGIEKRISIS	BURGER	2006	4	26
ESKOM BEGIN TANDE WYS	BURGER	2006	5	15
KOEBERG SUKKEL GLO OM AAN DIE GANG TE KOM	BURGER	2006	5	16
CARTOON	BURGER	2006	5	16
EKSUUUS	BURGER	2006	5	16
ESKOM-BAAS OP DIE TRAPMEUL	BURGER	2006	5	17
EENHEID 1 IS WEER AAN DIE GANG	BURGER	2006	5	18

Heading	Source	Date		
SA SE KRAGRESERWE 'BAIE MIN'	BURGER	2006	5	25
KOEBERG SE EENHEID 1 LOL WEER	BURGER	2006	5	27
KAAPSE KRAGTOEVOER IN WEEGSKAAL	BURGER	2006	5	29
ESKOM HOU AGTERDEUR OOP OOR KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	5	30
KAAP DONKER NA FOUT BY KOEBERG	BURGER	2006	6	9
WES-KAAP SUKKE NOG DIE NAWEEK MET KERSKRAG	BURGER	2006	6	10
HELE SA SAL MOET ANDERS DINK OOR KRAG	BURGER	2006	6	22
KRAGKRISIS VERBY NA KOEBERG SE EENHEID 2 WEER OP BEEN IS	BURGER	2006	7	25
ESKOM 'MOET PAK VAT'	BURGER	2006	8	15
ESKOM	BURGER	2006	8	17
KOEBERG DRAAI KRANE BIETJIE TOE	BURGER	2006	9	7
BOUT TOE NIE DIE REDE VIR KRAGKRISIS	BURGER	2006	9	14
KOEBERG SE EENHEID 2 SKAKEL WEER AF OOR FOUT	BURGER	2006	11	7
KOEBERG-EENHEID WEER AANGESKAKEL	BURGER	2006	11	8
EARTHLIFE LASHES ESKOM FOR KEEPING QUIET OVER KOEBERG POWER ...	ARGUS	2006	1	10
USED SPARES OPTION FOR KOEBERG REPAIRS	ARGUS	2006	1	20
WE MUST FIX THIS, OR FAIL	ARGUS	2006	1	24
3 MORE DAYS OF DARKNESS	ARGUS	2006	2	20
COUNTING THE COST OF POWER CUTS	ARGUS	2006	2	20
POWER OUTAGES 'AREN'T ESKOM'S FAULT'	ARGUS	2006	2	22
SO WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT THE CRISIS?		2006	2	22
DON'T KEEP US IN THE DARK		2006	2	23
HOLD THUMBS FOR TOMORROW		2006	2	23

Heading	Source	Date		
HERE WE BLOW AGAIN	ARGUS	2006	2	28
SABOTAGE CLAIM MYSTERY	ARGUS	2006	3	1
WINTER POWER MISERY LOOMS	ARGUS	2006	3	16
ESKOM POWER FAILURES NO CRISIS, SAYS MBEKI	ARGUS	2006	3	31
NEW CUTS LOOM AS ESKOM RACE AGAINST TIME	ARGUS	2006	3	31
STAND BY FOR TWO MONTHS OF CHAOS - ESKOM	ARGUS	2006	5	10
ESKOM IGNORED 2000 SUPPLY ALERT, SAYS CHAMBER	ARGUS	2006	5	10
BACK TO ROLLING BLACKOUTS TODAY	ARGUS	2006	6	9
KOEBERG UNIT BACK ON FULL POWER, BUT SAVINGS URGED	ARGUS	2006	6	12
TIME FOR ENERGY LEADERS TO START SEEING THE LIGHT	ARGUS	2006	7	7
EARTHLIFE AFRICA GRANTED LIFELINE IN ITS BATTLE AGAINST PBNR	ARGUS	2006	7	10
KOEBERG POWER UNIT READY TO GO LIVE NEXT WEEK	ARGUS	2006	7	20
REGULATOR 'TO SLAM ESKOM FOR NEGLIGENCE'	ARGUS	2006	8	15
GET READY FOR MORE BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	1	16
SABOTAGE PROBED AT KOEBERG	CAPE TIMES	2006	1	20
MORE POWER FAILURES LOOM	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	20
DARK DAYS	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	21
WE CAN'T COPE, ESKOM ADMITS	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	21
LIGHT AT END OF THE TUNNEL?	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	23
'ESKOM NOT PLAYING OPEN CARDS ABOUT POWER BLACKOUTS'	CAPE TIMES	2006	2	27
OVERCOMING POWER CUTS TO TAKE UNTIL MAY NEXT YEAR	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	6
ESKOM HAS BEEN CAUGHT WITH ITS PANTS DOWN	CAPE TIMES	2006	3	10
CAMPAIGN TO SAVE POWER AIMS TO AVERT ROLLING BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	5

Heading	Source	Date		
DELIGHT AS ROTOR FOR KOEBERG GENERATOR ARRIVES IN HARBOUR	CAPE TIMES	2006	4	6
ESKOM WARNS OF POSSIBLE ROLLING POWER BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	10
WESTERN CAPE HIT BY FIRST BLACKOUTS OF THE WINTER AFTER KOEBERG SHUTS	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	23
CONSUMERS NOT CUTTING BACK ON ELECTRICITY	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	25
LEAKING FUEL ROD 'NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT'	CAPE TIMES	2006	5	29
ENERGY CRISIS 'HAS ROOTS IN RESTRUCTURING OF ESKOM'	CAPE TIMES	2006	6	29
CARTOON	CAPE TIMES	2006	8	17
HUMAN ERROR	CAPE TIMES	2006	8	17
UTILITY SETS OUT PLANS FOR NEW AND REFURBISHED POWER PLANTS	Business Report	2006	1	31
SA WIL MEET WINTER POWER NEEDS - ESKOM	Business Report	2006	3	24
ESKOM PLANS FIVE NEW POWER STATIONS	Business Report	2006	8	25
'WAAI, WIND, WAAI' IS HOE SA OOR KRAG MOET BEGIN DINK/ Windkrag volgens sommige in SA meer wind as krag	Sake	2006	5	18
ESKOM KRY HULP UIT SWITSERLAND MET KRAGTOEVOER	Sake	2006	8	28
ARNOT-SENTRALE OPGEKNAP TEEN R1,1 MIL	Sake	2006	10	5

**Table B8: Data used for qualitative content analysis (2008)**

Heading	Source	Date		
KERNKRAG	BURGER	2008	1	15
NOG NAG VIR ESKOM	BURGER	2008	1	22
RANTSOENE DIE BESTE UITWEG	BURGER	2008	1	23
KERN-KENNIS KORT	BURGER	2008	1	29
ESKOM-SKOK	BURGER	2008	3	7
HOE LANK KRY ESKOM NOG KANS OM OP TE MORS?	BURGER	2008	3	22

Heading	Source	Date		
BEURTKRAG-WARBOEL 'RIG GROOT SKADE AAN'	BURGER	2008	4	1
BEURTKRAG 'GEEN OPLOSSING'	BURGER	2008	4	24
ESKOM GAAN STEENKOOL VERMINDER	BURGER	2008	7	29
KOEBERG REFUELLING COULD MEAN POWER CUTS	ARGUS (Argus)	2008	1	8
ROLLING POWER OUTAGES UNDER WAY	ARGUS	2008	1	10
BLACKOUT: 'IT COULD HAPPEN AGAIN'	ARGUS	2008	2	4
ESKOM POWERED UP BY INCREASED COAL DELIVERIES	ARGUS	2008	2	12
NOW FOR ESKOM'S RATIONING SYSTEM	ARGUS	2008	2	18
LOAD-SHEDDING EXPENSIVE FOR MUNICIPALITIES	ARGUS	2008	3	10
A COUNTRY WHERE IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO FAIL	ARGUS	2008	3	13
CITY WILL GET BLACKOUTS	ARGUS	2008	3	14
DELAYED LOAD SHEDDING Business ReportTS TODAY ... REALLY	ARGUS	2008	4	1
ESKOM'S PUBLIC VOWS CRUMBLE	ARGUS	2008	4	2
'ESKOM NEEDS ANOTHER OPTION'	ARGUS	2008	4	8
NUCLEAR POWER 'MAKES BETTER SENSE THAN COAL'	ARGUS	2008	8	12
PEBBLE BED REACTOR NO RISK TO HEALTH OR SAFETY, SAYS STUDY	ARGUS	2008	10	14
ESKOM BLACKOUT FORECAST COULD HURT ECONOMY MORE	ARGUS	2008	11	4
KOEBERG MAINTENANCE 'WON'T BRING CHAOS'	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	9
MUSHWANA TACKLES ESKOM ON 'DEVASTATING' POWER CUTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	17
STOP MOANING AND Business ReportT SAVING POWER - CHAMBER	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	23
CRISIS SUMMIT ON BLACKOUTS	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	24
LEADERS AGREE TO REVIVE ELECTRICITY CRISIS COMMITTEE	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	25
JUST DO IT	CAPE TIMES	2008	1	28

Heading	Source	Date		
IDEA OF A DEVELOPMENTAL STATE MUST BE PUT ON ICE	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	6
REVISED PLAN WILL TAKE MORE POWER FROM CAPE USERS	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	14
EXPERTS SLAM DECISION TO SEEK ONLY NUCLEAR BIDS	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	15
PLANS FOR NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS FLY IN FACE OF WHITE PAPER	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	25
GOVERNMENT 'THREW A BOLT IN ESKOM'S EXPANSION PLANS'	CAPE TIMES	2008	2	29
UNDERSTANDING ROOT CAUSES OF POWER CRISIS IS THE FIRST STEP TO A BRIG. F UT.	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	13
SHEDDING NO LIGHT	CAPE TIMES	2008	3	14
POWER CUTS NEEDED FOR MAINTENANCE, SAYS ESKOM	CAPE TIMES	2008	4	2
DANGER OF BLACKOUTS RECEDES, BUT COULD RETURN	CAPE TIMES	2008	7	28
ESKOM'S PROPOSED REACTOR FALLS SHORT OF US STANDARDS	CAPE TIMES	2008	9	4
NUCLEAR FALLOUT	CAPE TIMES	2008	9	9
PROPOSED SITES FOR DEMO REACTOR RULED OUT	CAPE TIMES	2008	10	1
ESKOM APPLIES TO CITY FOR REZONING OF THE KOEBERG NUCLEAR POWER STATION LAND	CAPE TIMES	2008	10	20
ESKOM HAS PLAN FOR 20 000 MW BY 2025	Business Report	2008	1	10
GAS TURBINES ARE 'THE ONLY WAY' TO BEAT POWER CUTS	Business Report	2008	1	16
BUSINESS HIT AS POWER CUTS CONTINUE	Business Report	2008	1	18
WET COAL THREATENS ESKOM POWER OUTPUT	Business Report	2008	1	24
ALL POWER PLANTS UNDER CAPACITY	Business Report	2008	1	29
FEAR AND LOATHING AS LOAD SHEDDING LOOMS AGAIN	Business Report	2008	3	6
UTILITY BUILDS UP ITS COAL STOCKPILES	Business Report	2008	3	7
COAL STOCKS COMING UNDER CONTROL, SAYS ESKOM	Business Report	2008	3	11
ESKOM'S LIGHT BULB PLAN TOPS ITS LIST OF BRIGHT IDEAS	Business Report	2008	4	10

Heading	Source	Date		
POWER BLACKOUTS: WE'RE NOT IN THE CLEAR YET	Business Report	2008	8	3
MAINTENANCE RAISES GHOST OF BLACKOUTS	Business Report	2008	9	11
NUCLEAR PROGRAMME FACES COST SQUEEZE	Business Report	2008	10	21
SA DISCARDS PLAN TO BUILD NUCLEAR PLANT	Business Report	2008	12	7
'N DONKER NAWEEK VIR SA	SAKE	2008	1	19
NOG DONKERDER ESKOM-DAE LE VOOR	SAKE	2008	1	21
ESKOM, SAKELUI VORM TAAKSPAN TEEN KRAGKRISIS	SAKE	2008	1	22
GROOT UITDAGING OM KRAG-KRISIS TE OORLEEF	SAKE	2008	1	22
DEFEKTE KOS ESKOM IN 2 DAE 15,7% KRAGVERMOE	SAKE	2008	1	30
ESKOM SKUIL AGTER NATTIGHEID	SAKE	2008	2	4
ESKOM VERANDER BESTUUR EN KRY 'N REGRUK-SPAN	SAKE	2008	2	5
MEDIA DEEL SO IN SKULD VIR SA SE KRAGKRISIS	SAKE	2008	2	14
LOS KLEINSIELIGHEID OOR ESKOM	SAKE	2008	2	18
ESKOM KOOP 45 MILJOEN TON EKSTRA STEENKOOL	SAKE	2008	2	20
DAN IS DIE ESKOM-MEDIASIRKUS SKIELIK NIE MEER SO SNAAKS NIE	SAKE	2008	4	17
ANC-LEIERSKAP BAL SY KRAGVUIS	SAKE	2008	5	16
ESKOMBESTUUR SIT DIE NAG IN NAGMERRIE	SAKE	2008	5	20
SKERP VRAE OOR ESKOM SE KOLE	SAKE	2008	5	24
LIG AAN'T OPKOM OOR ESKOM	SAKE	2008	5	26
OUD-ESKOM-HOE WAARSKU IN 1998 REEDS	SAKE	2008	5	29
SO KAN SUID-AFRIKA IN 2010 DIE LIGTE AANHOU	SAKE	2008	7	18
DIS NOU JOU BEURT OM BEURTKRAG TOE TE PAS, SE ESKOM	SAKE	2008	10	13
ESKOM VRA MYNE OM KRAG TE SPAAR VIR 2010-SOKKER	SAKE	2008	11	25

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>		
NUWE ESKOM-KRAGDROOM	SAKE	2008	12	11