Hearing the citizens: Inequality, access to journalists and the prospects for inclusively mediated spaces of political deliberation in South Africa

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Abstract

This study examines the extent to which material and social inequality in post-apartheid South Africa affect possibilities for poor citizens to gain access to mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation. Access is problematized in terms of the possibilities that exist for poor citizens to 'appear' in these spaces as emancipated citizens with political agency. The study is motivated by a perception that South Africa's middle-class and privileged citizens have more access to political deliberation because mainstream journalists pay more attention to their political concerns. Because mediated political deliberation provides a space for articulating the political will of citizens it is important that it reflects the multiple, and diverse range of voices that make up South Africa's polity. If the experience of socio-economically marginalised citizens is not registered in the same way as the experience of citizens with economic and political power, the balance of political decision-making continues to be skewed against the interests of the poor.

Rather than a media-centric approach, the study centres on perceptions and views of poor citizens about their relationship with mainstream journalists. The study combines information from group interviews with citizens from Hangberg, Cape Town with 410 news reports in 18 mainstream newspapers about Hangberg citizens over a 20-year period.

The interviews show that poor citizens feel largely excluded from mediated political deliberation; not because they do not appear in the news but because of *how* they appear in the news. The news reports confirm that mainstream journalists pay more attention to voices with political and economic power than to the voices of poor citizens. Even in news reports about Hangberg citizens, political leaders and non-governmental experts often talk about the

problems in Hangberg more than the citizens of Hangberg themselves talk about these problems.

Building on a relatively new scholarly interest in 'active' and 'political' listening in media studies and democratic theory (Bickford 1996, Dreher 2009, Couldry 2009, Dobson 2014, Wasserman 2013, Garman and Malila 2014), I consider listening as a constitutive element of the way in which journalists engage with poor citizens in mediated deliberative spaces. I ask whether different practices of listening can enable journalists to construct narratives that provide marginalised groups with different possibilities for equal access to, and participation in these spaces?

Keywords: Access, citizens, democracy, deliberation, journalism, listening, mainstream media, deliberative spaces, political deliberation, power, voice.

'We talk about it but we never hear them talking about it' – Hangberg citizen

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Abbreviations

ANC – African National Congress

CODESA – Convention for a Democratic South Africa

COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions

DA – Democratic Alliance

GEAR – Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme

HBCA – Hout Bay Civic Association – sometimes referred to in news reports as the Hangberg Civic Association

NP – National Party

NNP – New National Party

PMF – Peace and Mediation Forum

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACP – South African Communist Party

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Preface

To do a thesis, one needs spaces where you can talk, and where people will listen to you. I was fortunate enough to have a community of listeners without whom the invigorating, and sometimes, agonising task of writing would not have been possible.

Herman Wasserman and Anthea Garman, my supervisors at Rhodes University, opened their office doors, phone lines, skype lines, and sometimes even their homes to me. I could not have hoped for more incisive, and astute intellectual guidance, and thank both of them from the bottom of my heart. They also created spaces at the School for Journalism and Media Studies where I could listen and talk to other students and scholars. These spaces were, like my own research, largely supported by funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to the Humanities research focus area on Media and Citizenship: Between Marginalisation and Participation. I am grateful to the Foundation for this support.

The Kettering Foundation, where I was fortunate enough to spend two years while writing this thesis, was a luxurious and warm space to think, talk, and listen. The journalism and democracy work group at the Foundation helped me think through many of the concepts in this thesis. To single out colleagues at this marvellous institution will be unfair: There was not one person on that campus who did not at one time or another showed kindness when I needed it, and intellectual support when I needed that.

The citizens of Hangberg did not know me, but were willing to talk to me about their lives and all the fears, hopes, and anger contained in them. I am grateful to them.

Institutional boundaries provide supervisors and colleagues with some relief from freaked out students like myself. Friends and family do not have that luxury. To those who had to fake interest, make tea, show sympathy: thank you – you did it all with such relentless patience.

Roelof Oelofsen generously and patiently walked this road with me. He listened most of all.

Ek dra hierdie tesis op aan my ouers: my ma, Calie Potgieter, en my pa, Gerhard Potgieter. Hy is nie hier nie. Maar hy is.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"In my understanding, democracy is a project concerned with the political potentialities of ordinary citizens, that is with their possibilities for becoming political beings through the self-discovery of common concerns and of modes of action for realizing them (Wolin 1994, 11).

1. Introduction

If citizens have access to mainstream journalists, does it make a difference to the power citizens have to participate in mediated spaces of political deliberation?

Embedded in this question are assumptions about the role of journalists in democracy, the participatory power of citizens in democracy, and the value of political deliberation in democratic decision making.

Access to the media is assumed as an important cornerstone of democratic freedom because journalists provide access to spaces where citizens engage virtually in political deliberation with other citizens and political decision makers. Citizens are assumed to assert their political will when they participate in elections but that in between election cycles their political will is asserted and considered in deliberative spaces like those offered by the mainstream media. These deliberative spaces are assumed to be spaces where the representative quality of democratic decision making, and democracy itself, gets deepened.

In South Africa, the problem seems to be that middle class and privileged citizens have more access to mediated spaces of political deliberation because mainstream journalists pay more attention to their political concerns. It seems as if poor and socioeconomically marginalised citizens have less access to mainstream political deliberation because mainstream journalists pay less attention to the particularities of their lived experience and their political concerns. This means that the political power of socio-economically marginalised citizens either goes unrecognized or gets (mis)represented in mediated political deliberation. It also means that the balance of political decision making gets skewed against the interests of the poor because their experience does not register in the same way as the experience of citizens with more economic and political power.

One could argue that the ballot is the most powerful assertion of political will, and because the poor in South Africa are a majority, and because they vote, that they already hold the most powerful political card. In reality, more than 20 years of democratic elections have not changed the racialized nature of poverty for the majority of Black South Africans. Black South Africans remain poor and underserved when it comes to provision of housing, health services, sanitation, education and employment. Taking just one indicator of socio-economic wellbeing namely employment, the 2011 census (2012a) shows 30.5% of [1]Black African men and 21% of so-called coloured men being unemployed compared to 5% of white men.

Could it be that the attention mainstream journalists pay to citizens with socio-economic power in between election cycles are more compelling to political decision makers than the attention paid to citizens on the socio-economic margins of South African society? If mainstream journalists pay more attention, or a different kind of attention, to the lived experience of middle-class and privileged citizens, to what extent does this skew democratic decision-making power against the interest of poor citizens? And to what extent does it weaken the transformative power of poor citizens in political decision making?

If mainstream journalists are perceived by poor citizens to be part of the politically powerful elite, and if poor citizens perceive themselves to be absent from mainstream deliberative political spaces, what are the implications for how poor citizens conceive of, and construct their own sense of transformative, and participatory power in political decision making? In this context, how do poor citizens create or construct other forms of engagement to compel journalists and politicians to pay attention to their participatory power in political deliberative spaces?

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1 References to race in this thesis conform to protocols used by Statistics South Africa. Racial classification is problematic but necessary to understand the enduring legacy of apartheid classification in South Africa's political, social, and economic narrative. Capitalisation of racial categories also signifies a political choice. My choice not to use the capital C when referring to people of colour in this thesis conforms to styles used in academic articles written by so-called coloured academics referenced in the study, and also by what seems to be the style guide in most South African newspapers. It is mostly guided by the quote on page 59, which I repeat here: They call us the coloured people but we are not the coloured people. The system made coloured people (Kaganof 2010).

In this thesis, I examine the extent to which material and social inequality in post-apartheid South Africa affect the access poor citizens have to mainstream journalists, and how this affects the way in which the participatory power of poor citizens is visible and acknowledged in mediated spaces of political deliberation. Embedded in the examination are questions about the role of journalists in a democracy, the meaning of political participation in a democracy, and deliberative practices with potential to expand access to political decision making.

2. Key conceptual frames

2.1 Access

Access in this study is problematized and understood as visibility and presence in spaces of mediated political deliberation. In this conception, access cannot merely be quantified or translated in terms of audience consumption of media products. Rather, access has to be conceptualised as a function of journalistic facilitation of space to appear. Access therefore, has to do with normative journalistic practice that may require different habits of interaction with poor and otherwise marginalised citizens. Access for marginalised citizens raises questions about how journalists use their power of recognition and authorisation to legitimise marginalised voices in mainstream spaces. The conception of access in this study further raises questions about ways in which journalists make themselves accessible to cultural codes, symbols and institutional reference point beyond the mainstream cultural, social and institutional frameworks in which they are most likely to be embedded. I therefore examine access as a framework that requires new understandings on the part of journalists of the plurality of spaces and practices where poor citizens can negotiate an authoritative, legitimate part in political decision making – the context, and / or the physical spaces, from which citizens access the media.

Dreher (2009) argues that access to media platforms set aside for minority or marginalised voices do not provide the same recognition as access to the mainstream news discourse.

> The hierarchies of value and esteem accorded different identities and cultural
> productions mean that speaking up in media marked as 'community', 'ethnic' or
> 'alternative will rarely achieve the recognition accorded the 'mainstream' media
> (2009, 447).

Dreher argues for establishing listening as a modality in mainstream media to shift the "focus and responsibility for change from marginalized voices and on to the conventions, institutions, and privileges which shape who and what can be heard in the media" (2010, 85). A focus on listening, Dreher argues, turns attention to "receptivity and recognition and brings the discursively privileged into analysis" (2009, 446).

Access to journalists on the part of citizens and access to citizens on the part of journalists change the transformative potential of political power because it is through this interconnected access that political power becomes visible in the public realm where it is recognised in the presence of other citizens and political decision makers.

I examine access to mainstream journalists in terms of the ways in which poor citizens perceive their interaction with mainstream journalists, and ways in which mainstream journalists pay attention to – engage with, talk and listen to – socio-economically marginalised citizens in post-apartheid South Africa. After Wasko (1992) I want to imagine what the political dynamic in democracy could look like if poor and disempowered citizens had the same access to mainstream newspapers as those citizens with economic and social power.

2.2 Journalists in democracy

I understand the work of journalists as inherently ideological and political (Newbold 2006, Carpentier and Cammaerts 2006, Jacobs and Krabill 2005) in that it has the potential to connect "decentered, anonymous networks of flowing and interconnecting conversations" to the "decisional public sphere" (Benhabib interviewed by Wahl-Jorgensen 2008, 964). To do this political work, journalists draw from references embedded in patterns of social relations, cultural codes, symbols and language that are familiar to them. In their engagement with citizens, journalists tend to reproduce these familiar codes, symbols and language because their power is invested in these (Newbold 2006, 328). This has implications for how journalists work as providers of points of "common contact" to shape a collective sense of what citizenship means in post-apartheid South Africa (Jacobs and Krabill 2005, 157).

In South Africa, reliance on references embedded in a history of unequal social relations create the potential for journalists to prevent access to deliberative political spaces where they continue to rely on cultural codes, symbols and language that are familiar to them but

unfamiliar or alienating to others. The use of cultural codes, symbols and language are closely related to communication practices which in turn link to the dynamics of democracy (Jacobs 2002). The media is increasingly a platform through which society communicates: "Concern for democracy, therefore necessitates a concern about the media" (Jacobs 2002, 280).

Hagen (1992) distinguishes between democratisation through the media and democratisation in the media. He argues that the former is about participation of citizens in dialogue, debate and deliberation facilitated in the media, while the latter is about involving citizens in the production of content and decisions about the structure of the media. In this study, I am more concerned with democratisation through the media than democratisation in the media. In this regard the distinction between public journalism and citizen journalism – two approaches that are often conflated – is pertinent. I see public journalism as an approach that examines possibilities for democratisation through the media, while citizen journalism involves citizens in producing journalism. While citizens journalism is an important field for investigation, this study is more interested in approaches related to those proposed in what I would loosely term, public journalism: journalism concerned with "making public life possible and cultivating and ethic of citizenship rather than cults of information and markets" (Carey 1999, 51).

I therefore interrogate public life in terms of its relationship to citizenship and political life. As the nature of the state invoke certain kinds of citizenship (Bickford 1996, 180, Chipkin 2009, 50, Wolin 1994) "the media shapes us as certain kinds of listeners" (Bickford 1996, 180). Bickford's questions to democracy's journalists are pertinent: What kinds of attention do journalists foster? What kinds of citizens do journalists construct? And, what kinds of power do journalists prevent or produce? (1996, 180).

2.3 Democracy

This study assumes definitions and conceptions of democracy as "requiring the idea" that those affected by decisions of the state can participate in decision-making by the state (Couldry, Livingstone, and Markham 2010, 6). This 'idea' suggests two parties 'communicating' or negotiating over decisions about the use of public resources: those affected by decisions – the citizens, and those who make the decisions – the state. Different understandings of democracy have implications for defining whether the weight of decision

making power lies with citizens or whether it lies in the state's representative power. This study emphasises democracy as a citizen-centred, rather than state-centred project. It is therefore most concerned with democratic spaces available to citizens to cultivate possibilities for becoming "political beings" – that is, spaces where citizens discover concerns shared with other citizens and where citizens take action to realise their political potential (Wolin 1994, 11) to affect democratic decision making.

2.4 Citizens and political participation

My emphasis in this study is on conceptions of the citizen as "the main actor in democratic society" (Wolin 1993, 465). Rather than limiting citizenship to legal status or a rights-based framework – important as these are – I assume participatory power in political decision making as being inherently part of citizens' status as sovereign agents in democracy. In other words, authority to participate in political decision making is not authority bestowed on citizens by the state. I recognize that it is the nature of the state to want to set limits to the participatory authority of citizens. Wolin describes this propensity of the state to create boundaries, as the politics of "regularized policy and rationalized administration" (1994, 14). This version of democracy creates conditions for "continuous, ceaseless, and endless" public contestation over "access to resources available to the public authorities of the collectivity" (Wolin 1994, 11).

I examine the participatory authority of citizens in terms of possibilities for this authority to appear, or become visible in deliberative political spaces where action is "transacted in words" (Arendt 1958, 26).

2.5 Deliberation

The use of the word 'deliberation' has multiple meanings and contains diverse ideological camps within democratic theory, which I will interrogate in more detail in the next chapter. At this point it is important to state that l use of deliberation as it emanates from a conception of democratic politics and political participation in which "shared speech" (Bickford 1996, 1) gives citizens agency as political actors. Wolin's assertion that "public deliberations" animate the political potential of ordinary citizens to "become political beings" – to discover common concerns and act on it (Wolin 1994, 11) is also an important conceptual starting point.

Bickford's use of "communicative interaction – speaking and listening together" as a means of "deciding democratically" and "under conditions in which all voices are heard, what course of action makes sense" (1996, 2) may be a better description for what I mean when I use deliberation in this study. However, I propose deliberative democratic theory as a useful starting point to examine different conceptions of deliberation as it proposes to move "the heart of democracy away from the vote and into the public sphere and practices of accountability and justification" (Chambers 2003, 311).

Recognition and reflection make up a range of elements that constitute Dobson's concept of dialogic democracy (2014), Dobson turns to democratic and political theory to explore the role of listening in democracy, and finds "the listening cupboard very bare indeed" (2014, 110). What he finds most surprising is how little attention listening receives in deliberative democratic theory. Dobson turns to Habermas – "the source of inspiration for deliberative democrats"(2014, 112) – and others (Giddens 1994, Tilly 2005, Young 2000) to focus on physical presence, the "uniqueness of the interlocutors", trust, and recognition in deliberation.

> My argument is that making dialogue central to deliberation – and this means paying independent attention to the practice and conditions for good listening – will improve deliberative democracy and make it better to realize its promise (Dobson 2014, 114).

Dobson's frame of 'dialogue' holds promise for examining the face-to-face moments of interaction between mainstream journalists and marginalised citizens.

In keeping with the emphasis on the practical and the relational aspects of political deliberation I refer, where possible, to citizens, journalists, and representatives rather than civil society, the media, or government. This preference indicates a premise of this study, that relationships between citizens, not institutions, determine the state of deliberative political spaces.

3. The South African context that motivates the study

The long lines of voters in South Africa's first democratic elections are an enduring image of "a triumph for the democratic ideal' and the 'resounding defeat of racism as an organising principle of government" (Southall 1994, 629). The 1994 election ended apartheid and

provided fresh opportunities for all South Africans to appear as recognised and visible participants in South Africa's deliberative political spaces.

The preamble of South Africa's progressive, rights-based constitution articulates a governing framework based on the "will of the people" and a commitment by elected representatives to "improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person". The constitution's founding provisions are clear about how the South African State positions citizens in terms of a "common South African citizenship": equal entitlement to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship, and equal "subjection" to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. "At the heart of the constitutional guarantee of dignity for everyone lies the idea that citizens must be treated as individuals with human agency and thus that citizens must be allowed to direct how they are governed" (De Vos 2014).

A constitution is clearly an abstract ideal of being a citizen and belonging to the polity. It captures the state's intention, not the daily reality of how people make sense of their lived experience. Faced with making decisions about improving their 'quality of life', or 'freeing' their potential, citizens don't ordinarily invoke the constitution. On a daily basis, citizens get on with the political work of weighing options, making choices, and taking decisions about what to do. Based on what we know, we use the power available to us to map a course with transformative potential. This is a familiar process in private life. It is also a template that transfers to deliberations in political spaces where we "make our lives" as members of "a social species designed for the game of coalition building in search of food, mates, and protection" (Appiah 2011, 92).

3.1 South Africa's democracy

South Africa's institutional framework signifies that democracy is in place. There are regular elections, an operational parliament, an independent judiciary and a progressive constitution that protects political, social and economic rights.

Heller (2009), compares the evolution of democratic practice in India and South Africa, and distinguishes between "consolidating democracy" and "deepening democracy" (2009, 124). Heller argues that while India and South Africa have been successful in consolidating democracy by creating and establishing democratic institutions, the capacity of citizens to

participate in policy-making and engage in public life – the capacity to deepen democracy – remains a "core deficit" (2009, 126).

Leading up to the transition, and in the two years following the first democratic election in South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) embodied a framework that seems to have envisioned a governance sphere beyond mere consolidation. The RDP, implemented in 1994, encapsulated the promise of representative and collaborative decision-making in the project of building a new, more equal society. In the preface of the RDP framework, Nelson Mandela framed the policy as one "not drawn up by experts … but by the very people who will be part of its implementation" (1994). Building on the tradition of the Freedom Charter – the founding document of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1955 – the RDP was the result of a consultation process reflecting a vision of a decisional public sphere in which people who are affected by decisions participate in decision-making. "Regardless of race or sex, or whether they are rural or urban, rich or poor, the people of South African must together shape their own future. Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry" (1994, 5).

The participatory vision of the Freedom Charter and the RDP could be seen as belonging to a discursive tradition of African intellectuals dating back to the 19th century and traditional procedures of public engagement and collaborative, consultative decision making in South Africa (Hamilton 2009, 357). It continues to be part of the language of participation in the contemporary governance sphere:

> Public involvement in our country has ancient origins and continues to be a strongly creative characteristic of our democracy. We have developed a rich culture of imbizo, lekgotla, bosberaad, and indaba. Hardly a day goes by without the holding of consultations and public participation involving all 'stakeholders', 'role-players', and 'interested parties', whether in the public sector or the private sphere. The principle of consultation and involvement has become a distinctive part of our national ethos (Justice Albie Sachs in Calland and Nakhooda 2012, 916).

The dismantling in 1996 of the office that drove the implementation of the RDP – "the most tangible symbol of the new direction" (Barberton, Blake, and Kotzé 1998, 6) – also dismantled part of the scaffolding that contained a space for citizen participation at the centre of the governance sphere. The implementation of the market driven Growth, Employment

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and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) in 1996, marked a shift in governance strategy from being "a forum for participation" to an "instrument of delivery" (Heller 2009, 134). The state became more conducive to control and less open to participation (see chapters 3 and 4 of Saul and Bond 2014 for a history of the dismantling of the RDP).

There now seems to be disillusionment about the space that is available for an expanded, reciprocal democratic process:

> It is … clear that the ANC is seeking to curtail rather than extend the limited democracy that flourished in the elite public sphere after apartheid. Decisions about, say, how to regulate the media, the judicial system or the public broadcaster are clearly not being taken in a manner that demonstrates any commitment to democratisation as an ongoing process of expansion and deepening (Pithouse 2014).

The promise of the constitution – quality of life, realising individual potential, and equality before the law – is not the lived experience of many of South Africa's citizens.

Twenty years into the project of building a new democratic dispensation the lived experience of many South Africans is still "untransformed and undignified" (Lefko-Everett, Nyoka, and Tiscornia 2011, 19). Most South Africans continue to face the frustration of "unrealised expectations of liberation" (Robins 2005, 3).

Protests over the delivery of basic services – often proxies for dissatisfaction with any number of governance concerns – are common. More than half of South African citizens do not have access to services they regard as "minimum, essential features of a decent and dignified life" (Lefko-Everett, Nyoka, and Tiscornia 2011, 19) – water, sanitation, electricity, and refuse removal. According to the latest population census (2011), less than a third (28.4%) of the population older than 20 years have completed secondary school. Almost one out of 10 South African citizens (8.6%) older than 20 did not attend school at all[2]. Data on earnings between 1993 and 2008 show rising inequality in South Africa within and across race populations (Leibbrandt, Finn, and Woolard 2012). Unemployment affects more than

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[2] http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2011/census_products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf, retrieved 15/12/2016

27% of the population[3]. This affects the extent to which citizens have options for mapping viable routes out of the subordinated, and marginalized state of poverty.

Viable routes out of the unequal, race-based, and unjust legacy of apartheid are not easy. McLennan (2009) describes the different approaches of the post-apartheid government to deal with the challenge of providing access to services as a "constant tension between the institutionalised inequalities of apartheid and the promise of democracy" (2009, 23). The problem is, says McLennan (2009, 2007) that the South African government has opted to approach service delivery as a set of politically neutral, and technical solutions: By opting to address "visible obstacles" to service delivery – regulatory structures, management deficits, lack of technology and technological expertise – the "less visible" (2009, 22) obstacles – residual effects of colonialism and apartheid that have established particular patterns of economic and social interaction – are not recognised. These include the informal spaces, networks, and markets used by citizens who "eke out a marginal livelihood" outside of formal institutions and official channels of governance and delivery (2007, 7).

Since 1994 South Africans have asserted their political will through voting, but also, increasingly, through collective protest action in what Duncan terms "spaces for autonomous political mobilisation and dissent" (2010, 106). This is an indication of praxis of agency and associational capacity that do exist among poor and marginalised citizens. The problem is that this goes unacknowledged and is not recognized in the public realm for its decision-making authority. This is in part due to a history of inequality, but also because of persisting patterns of inequality *after* apartheid.

To make these invisible practices visible, McLennan argues for a different understanding of power that "highlight a politics of association incorporating the social processes which legitimize the role, authority and voice of different actors in decisions about the distribution of public goods and the structuring of development" (Leftwich 2000 and McLennan 2000 in McLennan 2007, 7).

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[3] http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=737&id=1, retrieved 15/12/2016

3.2 South Africa's media

After 1994, expectations of the media centred on mechanisms and institutions that would bolster the media's potential as a "positive agent" in democratising the public deliberative space (Jacobs 2002, 295). This vision of the media as partners in building the identity of a new nation were arguably based on the experience of support from the alternative press during the struggle to end apartheid. During this time, alternative media were instrumental in "reviving the mass movement inside South Africa that would finally bring an end to the apartheid era" (Switzer and Adhikari 2000, 38). Journalists saw their work as making people, events and issues visible "that were too often invisible" and to provide "a voice to alienated communities that were too often voiceless" (Switzer and Adhikari 2000, 39).

In drafting media policy to carry South Africa's transformation, the ANC focussed on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The ANC knew that the National Party (NP) used the national broadcaster to effect support for its political, social and economic policies and that the NP controlled its content and structures through the appointment of the SABC Board of Control by the President (Teer-Tomaselli 1994). "The powerful impact that broadcasting was understood to be able to exercise over voters in the forthcoming multi-party elections elevated the position of the SABC to that of the jewel in the ANC's media policy" (Teer-Tomaselli 1994, 75).

As with the approach to creating, and implementing the RDP as a macro-economic framework in the initial phase of transformation, the approach to create a new media and communication policy for South Africa was decentralised and representative of a broad spectrum of interests (Teer-Tomaselli 1994, Horwitz 2001, Wasserman and De Beer 2005a, Sparks 2009). By the time the ANC and the NP had negotiated a settlement in 1993[4], the

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[4] Constitutional talks between the ANC and the National Party, known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) started in November 1991. The negotiations stalled in June 1992 when the ANC withdrew from the process after 46 people were killed in what became known as the Boipatong massacre. Negotiations resumed in 1993 and culminated in the signing of the Interim Constitution, Act 200 of 1993 (http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/timeline-interim-constitution-1991-1993). See also Jacobs (2002, 281-285) for an account of the negotiations to end apartheid from 1990 to the first national elections in 1994 and the first local government elections in 1995-1996.

media in South Africa were free to criticise the government, there were unprecedented access to state-held information, the state no longer had the monopoly over broadcasting and mechanisms were in place to ensure the diversification of commercial print media (Jacobs 2002, 279).

The government insisted that the media were important in reconsidering South African and African identity, nation building and support for the development state (Barnett 2004b, Wasserman 2011b, Botma 2011). Despite its claims as a "dispassionate observer" the media had become "an active economic, social and political role player" in South Africa's democratic transition (Wasserman 2011a, 117).

What were the options for the media to respond to the transitional landscape in South Africa?

There are parallels to Heller's argument in distinguishing between the consolidation of democracy and the deepening of democracy (2009), and the way in which South Africa's media have responded to the evolving, transitional dynamic since 1994. In the same way that an institutional framework for democracy has been consolidated, but falls short on deepening democracy, one could argue that the institutional framework for a different normative approach in the media has been consolidated but this framework falls short of deepening the values encapsulated in the framework: ownership and staff configurations are more aligned to reflect South Africa's demographic diversity; self-regulation replaced the legal restrictions under Apartheid; there is a legally mandated framework to broaden access to community broadcasting and community newspapers (Wasserman and De Beer 2006). The problem is, says Jacobs, that in the same way that economic questions were left to be solved through the market and development policy, access to democratic institutions – like the media – were reduced to "policy questions to be corrected by laws and state intervention" (Jacobs 2002, 287).

There are examples of media practice in other transitional democracies of facilitating the newly acquired democratic citizenship in different ways. Voltmer (2010) describes how the

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media – in particular the print media – in six "third-wave" democracies in Europe and South America positively impacted on "willingness to participate in political life", and fostered a "sense of civic competence" and "the belief that individuals have an impact on the course of politics" (2010, 139). But, African scholars suggest that even though journalists in South African and elsewhere on the continent consider themselves as key to democratic process, evidence shows that their own performance undermines the role they imagine for themselves. Nyamnjoh refers to research in Africa on media and elections which shows that the media have not been involved in voter education and have failed to explain voting processes to voters during election campaigns (Nyamnjoh 2005, 56). Mattes presents evidence from post-Apartheid South Africa that suggests little positive impact in terms of media use on levels of political interest, political discussion, political knowledge and the extent to which South African citizens believe they can make elected officials listen, and have their voices heard between elections (Mattes 2012, 148). Greater access to the media, in other words, did not encourage citizens to take a greater interest in political issues, or political discussion. Greater access to the media could not convince South African citizens that they could impact the course of politics or that their voices were audible to other citizens and political decision makers in between elections.

This could be explained by diverse views on the normative role of journalists in society, and whose interest journalists serve. In South Africa, journalists themselves have committed to working in the public interest (Wasserman and De Beer 2005a, 45). But, as Wasserman and De Beer point out, this commitment is open to interpretation: does it mean journalists see themselves as defenders of citizens' interest from abuse of government power, or – and here I take some liberties in slightly changing the language in the original text – does this commitment mean that journalists see themselves in a political role as facilitators of democratic participation in virtual deliberative spaces (Wasserman and De Beer 2005a, 45-46)? These questions are important, not only in South Africa, but also elsewhere in the world because these questions are at the heart of what constitutes professional and ethical journalism. In South Africa, like elsewhere, journalists seem reluctant to reflect on their professional position as journalists beyond the "wearisomely familiar" and persisting "traditionalist" watchdog version of the media in democracy (Curran 1991, 29).

But even if South African journalists argue that being watchdogs and part of the fourth estate means defending the interest of citizens against abuse of state power, and in so doing they are

by default serving the interests of the poor, commentators and scholars point to a more significant problem: South Africa's mainstream media – those who "offer privileged access" – do so "through the eyes and the ears of the middle class" and the common reality represented is that of the middle class (Friedman 2011, 107). Even the public broadcaster – in television and radio services– are now more focused on the black South African middle class, and the emergent urban working class (Glenn and Mattes 2011).

Jacobs and Krabill (2005) argue that the media are further complicit in maintaining an "appearance of non-racialism" (2005, 160) in its narrow focus on the emerging black elite and the black middle-class. Another segment of South African society, the category of poor citizens, often become visible in the political deliberative space only in times of crises – shack fires, floods, or strong winds, for example. Because these crises, say Jacobs and Krabill, are often the result of 'natural disasters', media framing of the crises in terms of acts of god rather than poor policy design allow the state to obscure policy weaknesses by buying into the 'act of god' narrative. The solution in this scenario is to give the 'victims' blankets and food baskets rather than addressing, for example, the problem of housing standards or other structural deficits that affected the lived experience of rights-bearing citizens. Poor people have little say in how they get represented, or to tell their stories of their lived experiences before, during, and in the aftermath of these crises.

This example of reporting on the problems poor citizens experience shows that it is not simply a problem of the absence of poor voices that that limits the "shape and the size of the post-apartheid public sphere" (Jacobs and Krabill 2005, 171). The problem is also the way in which poor people are represented – the way in which they appear to other citizens and political decision makers – in mediated spaces of political deliberation.

3.3 Political participation in South Africa

Barberton et al (1998) suggest that most citizens – especially those previously disadvantaged through Apartheid – were optimistic about the spaces that opened up for participation in decision making immediately after the first democratic elections in 1994. The RDP provided opportunities and energy for participation that were about more than casting votes. "Just as the rain falling on flat ground can flow in nearly any direction, so it was with politics in South Africa" (Barberton, Blake, and Kotzé 1998, 5). People in communities set up RDP forums to kick-start development where they lived. "People were active and involved,

looking forward to play their part in the envisaged 'people-driven development' process" (Barberton, Blake, and Kotzé 1998, 4). Addressing poverty was a priority for the new government. The Community Based Public Works Programme was based on principles of "participative community-based development" (Everatt and Zulu 2001, 6), and one of many programmes implemented to deliver new infrastructure, especially to rural areas.

Twenty years after the first democratic elections there is growing evidence of disillusionment. Citizens feel that their representatives in government are not interested in their problems (Lefko-Everett 2010). Since 2004, participation by marginalised, poor South Africans through what has generically, and controversially, become known as 'service delivery protests' has been growing. "South Africa has more social protests per person than anywhere in the world" (Bond 2008, 23). Police data show that violent incidences during public protests had increased by 57% between 2010 and 2014 and by 234% in the decade since 2004 (Wagner 2014 quoting Lizette Lancaster who heads the Crime and Justice Hub of the Institute for Security Studies in South Africa). But, says Friedman (2010) because the protestors are poor and often led by organisations or social movements that are unable to participate in national policy debates, their priorities are not heard (2010, 124). "Those who live in poverty are spoken about endlessly but never speak themselves, except perhaps when they vote" (Friedman 2015b).

Possibilities for democratic participation are implied in theoretical frameworks that describe citizens as "co-creators" (Boyte 2004, 59) of democracy. Eminent South Africans have also urged citizens to work with government to solve problems of service delivery (Tutu 2012, 1) and to become active participants against "political cultures that are characterised by the weak accountability of those in power" (Ramphele 2011, 13). These calls suggest that the balance of democratic forces in South Africa would be restored if apathetic and uninterested citizens come to the table 'to work with government'.

A closer consideration of the spaces that are available for South Africans to participate in the political and in politics reveals an underlying asymmetry in the power to negotiate the conditions under which citizens can 'work together' with representatives in government. Friedman (2010) and others (Heller 2001, Barberton, Blake, and Kotzé 1998) problematize South Africa's public decisional sphere in terms of this imbalance. Friedman argues that a vibrant civil society has become a normative indicator of the quality of democracy. The problem, says Friedman, is that the political realm in South Africa has become limited to

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those citizens who are represented through organised civil society. Engagement and the right to be heard is therefore "open only to those able to organise, and this usually means that a section of society remains outside it" (2010, 117-118).

Heller (2001) agrees with Friedman that the problem is not organizational capacity or cohesion, but he argues that "working class political power", even in organized form, "does not necessarily cumulate into transformative capacity" (2001, 132). Poverty further limits the influence citizens exert at an institutional level because poverty affects the control citizens have over public resources (Barberton, Blake, and Kotzé 1998, 4). The problem, it seems, is not whether poor people can organize – protest action clearly shows that they can, and do – the problem is that poverty affects the extent to which the voices of poor people are taken into account in the decisional public sphere by representatives in the governance sphere and by journalists in the media sphere. Participation in democracy, says Friedman, becomes a reality when all citizens have an equal right to participate and when "all citizens can take part fully in all decisions which affect them and in which they desire a say" (2010, 119).

I propose that two narratives of political participation seem to be developing in South Africa: One is a narrative of an open democracy with space for all citizens to participate in political decision-making; another narrative emerges from the socio-economic margins where the political power of citizens remains invisible, and unrecognised by journalists and political decision makers. This exclusion affects the sanctioning power of citizens in transformative political decision-making.

4. The focus of the study

I have shown so far how South Africa's constitution and other policy frameworks – also those related to media transformation – deliberately created new possibilities for recognising *all* citizens as visible participants in political processes. I suggested that these opportunities were subsequently eroded, and that the transformative political power of socio-economically marginalised citizens, has, in fact, become less and less recognised and visible in political decision making post-1994.

If there is a problem with the way in which the lived experience of poor, and socio-economically marginalized South Africans, is accounted for in political decision making, how can access to journalists change the configuration of what counts in deliberative political

spaces? Where is the problem situated? Is it a problem of inattentive journalists as suggested by Friedman earlier in this chapter? Is it a problem of disinterested (Dahlgren 2009) or inattentive citizens (Couldry, Livingstone, and Markham 2006)? Or is the problem that access to mediated deliberative spaces have become largely restricted to those with social, economic and political power – including professionally organised civil society and pressure groups – who set the tone and the content for policy debates on behalf of citizens (Jacobs 2002)?

The research question which focuses this study is:

> *If poor citizens have access to mainstream journalists, does it make a difference to the power they have to participate in mediated spaces of political deliberation?*

The focus on poor citizens is pertinent in two ways: Firstly, despite a "loud and vigorous" democracy, there is a tendency in South Africa "to reduce the poor to ideas to be debated rather than people with a voice". Poor people are spoken for and spoken about but they rarely speak for themselves. Street protests, the one outlet that poor people do use to make their voice heard, do not seem to put pressure on the government to change conditions of poverty because the protestors are not aligned with, or organised through recognised power holders (Friedman 2015b). Secondly, poor citizens make up one of many categories of marginalised groups that constitute plurality and difference in democratic societies – an on-going challenge to democratic norms of inclusivity and equality.

> Norms of democracy call for inclusion and political equality, because political outcomes can only be considered morally legitimate if those who must abide by or adjust to them have had a part in their formation. Even in democratic societies, however, struggles over resources and power motivate efforts to exclude many affected people from decision-making processes (Young 2000, 53).

The media, and in particular the news media – which is the focus of this study – is often assumed to have a central function in democratic societies – so central that "even students and practitioners are used to taking it for granted" (Christians et al. 2009, vii). But what does this function look like where the struggle over resources and power affect the function of journalists as interlocutors – mediating participants and interpreters – in spaces that are assumed to be inclusive spaces of political deliberation?

The idea of journalists as interlocutors between citizens and political representatives is not new. It is ordinarily framed in terms of 'serving the public interest'. But serving *what*, or serving *who*? Using language that describes serving in terms of entities – 'development', or 'democracy', or 'the public interest,' – obscures the more complex and messy task of serving citizens. This study explores the possibility of expanding current conceptions of serving the public interest beyond those circumscribed by roles as 'watchdogs' or the fourth estate. This requires a consideration of the relationship between journalists and citizens – for this study, in particular the relationship between mainstream journalists and poor citizens. To do this, the study explores the relationship between mainstream journalists and poor citizens in terms of what happens at the point of contact: how do mainstream journalists talk to poor citizens and more particularly, how do mainstream journalists listen to poor citizens? How do they listen to poor citizens in order to translate the lived experience to audiences who are unfamiliar with the lived experience of poor citizens? In other words, when mainstream journalists interact with poor citizens, what does this interaction look like? And how do poor citizens currently experience this interaction? Do poor citizens consider mainstream journalists as accessible? Do poor citizens consider mainstream journalists as agents who work in their interest, and validate those interests by providing them with access to deliberative political spaces?

I examine the kinds of attention mainstream journalists foster in political deliberative spaces in post-apartheid South Africa. I examine how poor citizens are registered and made visible in mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation and if, and how poor citizens respond by constructing alternative deliberative spaces to assert their own participatory, and transformative power in democratic political processes. Finally, based on citizens' experiences of political deliberation and engagement with mainstream journalists I ask what it is that journalists do, and can do, to bolster the recognition and visibility of poor citizens as equal participants in mainstream spaces of political deliberation.

5. The theoretical goal of the study

This study builds on and contributes to scholarly work that examines the role of the media in democracy. More specifically I examine how recognition of, and attention to, marginalised citizens in the media could potentially expand spaces of political deliberation and deepen democratic participation in political decision making.

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To do this, I pay particular attention to, and hope to build on, and provide additional insight on the work of scholars addressing the "theoretical neglect" (Bickford 1996) of the *act* of listening in contemporary democratic theory (Lacey 2013, Dobson 2014, Sass and Dryzek 2014). Recently, scholars in the media and cultural studies fields (Dreher 2009, Couldry 2009, Wasserman 2013, O'Donnell 2009) have put 'listening' on the agenda for new understandings of media in the context of multi-culturalism ((Dreher 2009, O'Donnell 2009) and new conceptions of the role of the media in generating and sustaining citizenship identities (Couldry 2010, Wasserman 2013, Garman and Malila 2014).

I engage with paradigmatic conversations at the intersection of media studies and democratic engagement as these relate to issues of citizenship and discursive participation in mediated spaces of political deliberation. I ask the following question as I enter these theoretical conversations: Why do mainstream journalists pay more attention to some citizens than others when and where they act as interlocutors in mediated spaces of political deliberation? What potential do these mediated spaces offer as negotiating realms for what gets recognised and authorised as legitimate political claims? What does the act of listening add to modes of deliberative engagement between journalists and citizens? And, if there is a shift in focus from talking to listening in deliberative frameworks of political association, how does this change the appearance of citizens in mediated spaces of political deliberation?

Dahlgren reminds us that most deliberation in public spheres or "communicative spaces", do not hold power of decision making; neither are these spaces the only spaces where citizens interact with each other and "power-holders of various kinds" (2006, 274). The assumption in this study about the democratic importance of access to spaces of mediated political deliberation is not predicated on an idea that deliberation in itself transforms the political conditions of poor citizens. Rather the importance of access to spaces of mediated political deliberation rests on the notion that, particularly in contexts of high inequalities, citizens need access to spaces like these to form opinions and generate solidarities (Heller 2009, 125). These are the capacities, Heller argues, that that deepens democracy. Citizens, says Heller, "make themselves" through "engaging in political life in a meaningful manner" (2009, 130-131). But, says Heller, in South Africa "associational capabilities are highly uneven across social categories" and associational capacity remains rooted "in specific histories of inequality" (2009, 131).

In this study, I propose that the subversion and disruption of privileged constructs of 'common concerns' in current mainstream spaces for mediated political deliberation, depends on a different construction of the way in which mainstream journalists listen to the concerns of marginalised citizens. Inclusive and universal access to mediated spaces of political deliberation is not predicated on whether citizens talk to journalists or journalists talk to citizens; this is commonplace in journalism practice. Rather, access to mediated political deliberation is predicated on how journalists listen to citizens without consideration for how privileged cultural codes, exclusionary language, and news values and conventions dictate "who gets paid attention to, who/what gets heard, and how (Bickford 1996, 96).

I conceptualise access to political deliberation in mediated spaces as a reiterative, if not linear, cycle of talking and listening: citizens talk to journalists, journalists listen to citizens, journalists talk to citizens, citizens hear other citizens' voices filtered by the journalists' ears, and use this information to form opinions and generate the solidarities as suggested by Heller (2009) earlier.

Empirically, I examine four aspects of talking and listening as these feature in the lived experience of poor citizens, and in newspaper reports: how and where does talking and listening provide entry points for poor and marginalised citizens to gain access to journalists, how and where are the entry points for journalists to gain access to poor and marginalised citizens, how are these interactions mediated in deliberative public spaces, and does recognition and visibility in deliberative public spaces validate the political accountability necessary to transform the lived experience of poor citizens?

In media and communication studies, Halloran distinguishes between achieving specific research goals and refining concepts, developing theory, or achieving social change (2006, 35). Rather than develop new theory, my objective with this study is to identify and describe some of the deliberative norms that dictate how journalists hear the lived experience of socio-economically marginalised citizens, and how these norms enable / disable the access poor citizens have to mainstream spaces of political deliberation. Access is examined not only in terms of visibility of poor citizens in mediated spaces of political deliberation; the more pertinent point is what do poor citizens look like, and sound like to other citizens and political decision makers when they appear in mediated spaces of political deliberation. The particular objective is to identify and describe habits and forms of listening as it occurs in deliberative norms between journalists and poor citizens.

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6. Research design and methodology

The research design and methodological choices were informed by three areas of interest, based on previous research and professional experience: 1. How do poor citizens think about their agency to participate in public spaces of political deliberation? 2. How and when do poor citizens approach journalists and what do these experiences look like and feel like to them? 3. How and when do journalists approach citizens, and how do these interactions translate in news coverage?

The research was also guided by evidence that the views of South Africans on democracy and media freedom were shifting; citizens were evidently losing their confidence and trust in the media to be free to publish without government control. Citizens seem to believe that the government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing news which "might harm society" according to an Afrobarometer survey (2012). I provide more detail about these findings in chapter four.

I used qualitative methods to collect and analyse information in this study. To explore issues that affect material and social inequality, access to journalists, and participation in political deliberation I conducted group interviews in Hangberg, outside of Cape Town in South Africa. The interviews probed perceptions of the most pressing problems in Hangberg, possibilities for talking about these problems in public spaces with other citizens, with political leaders, and with journalists. I also asked questions to explore perceptions of political participation, perceptions of access to journalists, access to political leaders, and perceptions of the participants' experience of what journalists do and can do to help them to make sense of their lived experience within the broader political experience in South Africa.

Because of its contested political environment, Hangberg presented an opportunity to examine mainstream media coverage of events in the community. Using the keyword, *Hangberg,* I generated a corpus of news reports published in mainstream newspapers in South Africa between 1994 and 2014. A detailed account of the titles and the justification for limiting the corpus to mainstream newspapers is captured in the methodology section of this study.

This study draws on interpretive and critical paradigms (Wimmer and Dominick 2000, 103-104) as frameworks for analysing the information emanating from the research. An

interpretive framework describes the ways in which socio-economically marginalised citizens use the media to give form and meaning to political participation. The critical framework is used to understand the ideological and power dynamics within the media and the political context that underpin the citizens' world of form giving and meaning making.

A more detailed description of paradigmatic considerations for methodological choices in this study appears in chapters three and four.

7. Ethical considerations

The proposal for this study was submitted for ethical review and approved by the ethical review committee of the School for Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University.

The participants targeted for the group interviews were not regarded as coming from vulnerable populations e.g. people living with HIV and AIDS or children.

It had been considered that some focus group participants may feel that questions about politics or political participation were sensitive. For this purpose, a printed document containing background information of the study, made it clear that questions of a political nature will form part of the extended questionnaire and the discussion guide. Participants were provided with enough time to read through the document before participating in the group interviews, and they were encouraged to ask questions. Participants joined the group interviews based on anonymity and provided written agreement to informed consent. Participants were also assured that their participation was in no way coerced and that they were free to opt out of the discussion at any time. The discussions were recorded, with the consent of the participants, with a digital recorder but there was no video recording of proceedings. No photographs were taken during focus group discussions.

In the next chapter I situate my work within the literature fields pertinent to the study. I emphasise listening and talking as means to recognition and visibility in the public sphere, how they relate to the fundamental nature of citizenship with transformative power, and how conceptions of democracy have normative implications for journalists as catalysts of political deliberation.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

"Theory is an interaction between things done, things observed, and the (systematic) explanation of these" (Williams 1983, 317)

1. Introduction

The epistemological considerations in this chapter are guided by the questions raised in the introductory chapter about the effect of poverty on access to mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation.

The South African context described in chapter one suggests that poor citizens continue to be excluded from participation in democratic decision-making processes beyond the act of voting. This exclusion arguably stems from a complex web of interrelated factors rooted in South Africa's colonial and apartheid past. But, the tendency to exclude citizens from meaningful participation in decision making is not unique to South Africa. Universally, states that profess to be democratic resist the radical nature of democracy – "the assertion that all humans are free and equal" (Mouffe 1992b, 1).

The study further stems from a conception of the work of journalists in democracy informed by the South African media's enduring links to a normative Western tradition. Schooled in the liberal framework, African journalists serve a tradition that imposes a certain hierarchy of national and world cultures that exclude or marginalise world views and cultures unless these guarantee profits. Bound by the routines and practices of this framework, African journalists are serving democracy in a "contrived liberal form" – a "democracy hardly informed by popular articulations of pluralism and social action in Africa, and media whose professional values are not in tune with the expectations of those they purport to serve" (Nyamnjoh 2010, 62).

But again, notions of the nature of journalism, particularly as these are being circumscribed by the political economy that affects liberal normative frameworks, are being problematized globally.

> There are profound inequalities in basic media access within nations and among continents. While global elites may be better connected everywhere, the same is not true for those who work for them. Media systems offer tremendous communication

resources to people who can function in Western languages, are able-bodied and have the necessary buying power (Couldry and Rodriguez 2016).

This study's empirical and theoretical interest is captured in these observations in chapter one:

- Access to, and participation in spaces of political deliberation is dependent on the kinds of citizens invoked by the state (Wolin 1994, Bickford 1996, Chipkin 2009) and requires "an analysis of the state itself" (Neocosmos 2005, 159). The state is therefore an integral part of the socio-cultural domain that shapes modes of political participation and deliberation. It is within this domain that journalists create deliberative possibilities that either account for, or discount the perspectives of poor and marginalised citizens as the "sense-making agents" of their "subjective realities of citizenship" (Dahlgren 2009, 5).
- The way in which mainstream journalists pay attention to poor citizens – for example, if they portray poor citizens as a mass of unfortunate victims – can prevent the state from being accountable to poor citizens' claims to structural and political changes to improve their lived experience (Jacobs and Krabill 2005). In this case, it is the way in which poor citizens appear in mediated spaces of deliberation that discredit their claims to citizenship. It also narrows the "acceptable scope of democratic discourse" and constrains the "shape and size" of the public sphere (Jacobs and Krabill 2005, 171)
- There are practices of political and economic association among citizens who "eke out a marginal livelihood" that are "less visible" (McLennan 2007, 7) but not less vibrant or less important than those practices that are visible and recognised within established patterns of social and economic interaction. To make these marginal practices visible requires new and different understandings of the power and authority that sanction the recognition of multiple voices in democratic decision-making. It further requires a focus on the spaces where the legitimacy of decisions about the distribution of public goods and the structure of development are negotiated. Mainstream mediated spaces of political deliberation are examined as such in this study.
- As the state invoke different kinds of citizens, the media shape citizens as "certain kinds of listeners" (Bickford 1996). Journalists do this work based on ideological and political references embedded in particular patterns of social relations and institutional systems. Journalists draw from these relations and systems and they reproduce its cultural codes, symbols and language because their power is invested in these (Newbold 2006). A focus

on listening as a modality in mainstream media shift the focus and responsibility for change "from marginalised voices and on to the conventions, institutions, and privileges" that shape who has access to, or "who and what can be heard in the media" (Dreher 2010, 85).

The objective of this chapter is to unravel those theories that offer a systematic explanation of what seems to be asymmetrical possibilities for South African citizens to access mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation.

In the previous chapter I clarified my conceptual position in relation to these terms and themes as I use them in this study: access, journalism, democracy, political participation, and deliberation. It may be useful here, to remind the reader of where these themes feature in the research question:

> *If citizens have access to mainstream journalists, does it make a difference to their power to participate in mediated spaces of political deliberation?*

This question implies an examination of how mainstream journalists pay attention to marginalised citizens – in the case of this study citizens marginalised through socio-economic conditions are the focus point. What do journalists do to fulfil their role as interlocutors in mediated spaces of political deliberation? The research question further implies questions about the potential of mediated spaces as negotiating realms for what gets recognised and authorised as legitimate political claims? What does the act of listening add to modes of deliberative engagement between journalists and poor citizens? And, if there is a shift in focus from talking to listening in deliberative frameworks of association between journalists and poor citizens, how does this change the appearance of poor citizens in mediated spaces of political deliberation?

I demarcate the review of the literature and theory into three areas of inquiry: Firstly, I examine the literature on democracy and citizenship: What does the shape and form of democracy mean for shapes and forms of citizens' participation in political decision making? I then review theoretical approaches to forms of public spaces for political deliberation. I then examine an emerging literature of 'political' or 'active' listening as a framework with which to examine appearance, or recognition and visibility, in mediated spaces of political deliberation.

Put together, these frameworks provide a theoretical narrative of the most likely scenario for poor citizens to be recognised in the media, and therefore by the state, as visible participants in political decision-making. The theoretical logic of this demarcation assumes a relationship between conceptions of citizen identity, citizens' access to and interaction in the public sphere, and "citizen discourse and association" (Fraser 1992, 56).

2. Democracy, democracy's citizens and democracy's journalists

The assumption of democracy as "requiring the idea that those affected by decisions can participate in them" (Couldry, Livingstone, and Markham 2010, 6) requires conditions in which participatory power can be realised.

Heller (2009) argues that citizenship is realised when citizens can "actually and effectively" exercise their political rights. And it is in civil society where citizens form opinions and generate solidarity to exercise these rights with transformative effect. It is in civil society where citizens exercise their "associational capacity" to "make themselves" by "engaging in politics in a meaningful manner" (Heller 2009, 131). Balibar (1988) adds a dimension in his definition of citizenship that is an important focus of this study: he argues against exclusionary "codified" definitions of citizenship. Balibar argues for citizenship to be understood "in its strict sense as the full exercise of political rights and in its broad sense as cultural initiative or effective presence in the public space (the capacity to be 'listened to' there)" (1988, 724).

Aphoristic representations of "active citizenship", and "participatory governance" as advocated in the rhetoric of the South African state, non-governmental organisations, and the donor community are not helpful (Robins, Cornwall, and Von Lieres 2008) for getting to grips with transformative participatory power. An understanding of engagement and participation based on the experience and perspectives of citizens themselves can provide a more substantive basis for considerations of the meaning of active and engaged "states" of citizenship (Cornwall, Robins, and Von Lieres 2011).

If, as I suggested earlier after Voltmer, that the media evidently facilitate "a sense of civic competence", and instil in citizens a belief that they could impact the course of politics (Voltmer 2010, 139), what do journalists consider as 'civic competence'? Or if, as Steenveld suggests, the function of information provided by the media in South Africa is one of the

ways in which "citizenship is secured and developed" (2004, 95), how do journalists conceive of what it means to be a citizen? And what does this function mean when the conversation about citizenship diverges between citizens with access to the elite media sphere, and antagonistic, protesting citizens who feel marginalised because they are poor and not important enough to be listened to by either journalists or political representatives (Wasserman and Garman 2012)?

2.1 Democracy

In 1989 Fukuyama suggested that all viable alternatives to liberal democracy had failed. The world, claimed Fukuyama, had reached "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and that the universalization of Western liberal democracy confirmed the 'unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism" (1989).[5] Fukuyama came under tremendous critique for his 'end of the world' analysis that first appeared in an article of The National Interest in the summer of 1989 (see Lieven 2006 for a critique of Fukuyama's End of History and other theories). This seems like a particularly pessimistic, and provocative analysis of the state of the world at a point when several countries under authoritarian rule in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Africa turned to democracy. Referring particularly to the turn from authoritarianism to democracy in Eastern Europe and Russia, Benhabib refers to the late 1980s and the early 1990s as the 'democratic moment' (1996).

Disrupting the trend of the 'democratic moment' – typified by instances like the fall of the Berlin Wall, democratization in Eastern Europe, and the end of apartheid in South Africa – were "oppositions and antagonisms", or politics, that centred around ethnic, national, linguistic, religious, and cultural differences (Benhabib 1996).

The 'democratic moment' did raise questions about the possibility of democracy to contain diversity and difference. It also raised theoretical and practical questions about the will-formation in self-government, the 'body' of the body politic, conceptions of the democratic citizen, and the institutional, cultural, representational channels available for the expression of difference (Benhabib 1996, 2-5). It also raised particular questions and renewed interest in

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[5] The article cited here is based on a lecture presented at the University of Chicago's John M. Olin Centre for Inquiry Into the Theory and Practice of Democracy in February 1989.

two other areas: civil society as a political realm beyond political institutions as defined by the state (Barker 2009, 11), and understandings of democracy other than prescribed by Western liberal models (Mouffe 2005b).

In both areas theorists consider the emergence of new democracies, not in isolation, but in response to, and in conversation with broader global trends. Bayart (2009), for example, argues that rather than the result of European pro-democracy events like the fall of the Berlin Wall, democratization in Africa had more to do with the "resurgence of old expectations and social movements of long standing able to assert themselves" (2009, xix-xx). In this analysis, the overthrow of apartheid in South Africa was arguably at least as inspired by the growing power of globalised civil society movements as it was by democratization in Europe or elsewhere. The global disillusionment with socialism spurred by events in Eastern Europe and the break-up of the Soviet Republics also made it more difficult for the new South African government to consider socialist interventions to address the legacy of apartheid's race and class inequalities (Robins 2005).

The upsurge of social movements added a global dimension to questions about the nature of democratic citizenship and the constitutive elements of belonging to a polity. A "new politics for recognition of collective identities" coalesced around issues of health, gender, and class (Benhabib 1996, 3). Demonstrating dissatisfaction with the negative effects of economic policies on development equity, good governance and environmental sustainability (Mhone and Edigheji 2003), these movements manifested power in civil society organisations that in many cases transcended the sovereignty of the state. It forced an understanding of the political and politics as an ongoing project of negotiation, contest, and representation of the "different grammars" (Benhabib 1996) of political life of the body politic.

Writing as I am in 2016, the neo-fascist movements in established democracies in Europe and North-America – those Benhabib and others signalled as responses to immigrant populations twenty years ago – are increasingly becoming part of a body politic who sees difference and diversity as a threat to national identity and homogeneity in the nation-state. Now, like Fukuyama then, Mbembe (2016) writes that the world as we knew it has ended.

> Another long and deadlier game has started. The main clash of the first half of the 21st century will not oppose religions or civilisations. It will oppose liberal democracy and

neoliberal capitalism, the rule of finance and the rule of people, humanism and nihilism (Mbembe 2016).

As neo-fascist movements in North America and Europe increasingly gain support and legitimation through the ballot box, Arendt's prognosis of earlier democratic transformations has an ominous ring to it:

> It was not out of a desire for freedom that people eventually demanded their share in government or admission to the political realm, but out of mistrust in those who held power over their life and goods (1960, 31).

An equal claim to a share in government and admission to the political realm – what Mouffe calls the "symbolic resources" of democracy (1992b, 1) – is indeed a radical idea. It is this political claim of citizens that the state or states intuitively tend to contain rather than expand. This tendency manifests in democratic politics "regularized as policy and rationalised as administration" (Wolin 1994, 14). And herein lies the paradox of democracy that Fukuyama, Mbembe, Mouffe, and Wolin – along with other critical democratic and political theorists – are struggling with: the loss of citizens' sovereignty, less tolerance with difference, and inequality at the same time as it promises the fulfilment of the sovereignty of the people, the accommodation of difference, and equality for all.

This paradox seems to be at the heart of a prevailing sense of disillusionment with democracy: "The collective engagement of a concerned citizenry for the public good – the bedrock of a healthy democracy – is eroding" (Benhabib et al. 2013). In a report, *What's gone wrong with democracy?* (2014b), The Economist asserts that democracy, "the most successful idea of the 20th century" is in trouble because, among other reasons, the institutions that are meant to provide models for new democracies seem dysfunctional and outdated in established democracies (2014, 9). In both established and in emerging democracies citizens seem to have developed a "habit of seeing the political system as indifferent and unresponsive to their problems and their circumstances" (Mathews 1999). Citizens feel they have been "abandoned or betrayed" by power elites who "continuously turn a deaf ear" to their efforts to intervene, undermining their willingness to participate (Dahlgren 2009, 16).

In South Africa, poor people take to the streets protesting the slow pace of delivery now almost on a daily basis (Suttner 2014, 24). Language of 'abandonment' and 'betrayal' is often used to describe the driving force behind the protest action. These are poor South African citizens who resort to protest action to claim back popular power because of democracy's failure to rise to their expectations (Southall 2014, 49).

The protests in South Africa create a perception of widespread dissatisfaction among particularly poor citizens with the way in which the ruling African National Congress (ANC) utilize the country's public resources. One would expect that this dissatisfaction would translate to similar defiance of the status quo when citizens go to the polls. Yet, in 2014, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) won decisively at the polls. The fact that the anger on the streets did not translate in alternate voting patterns confounded expectations of the "liberal middle class" and political analysts (Friedman 2015a). While voting has not completely lost its appeal as an important gain of the liberation struggle, the opportunity presented by freedom from apartheid has not turned the tide for South Africa's working class and unemployed citizens. As in Russia and Eastern Europe, South Africa's 'democratic moment' did not represent an unmitigated triumph of democratic values or the final manifestation of freedom, fraternity and equality. Duncan (2016) argues that the way in which the South African state deals with dissent and protesting voices will be an important test for claims to South Africa's successful transition to democracy (2016, 4).

The world, says Mouffe, is "undoubtedly living through the crisis of the Jacobin imaginary, which has, in diverse ways, characterised the revolutionary politics of the last two hundred years" (Mouffe 2005b, 9). And to deal with the crisis, says Mouffe, requires a radical lens to unlock the ideals rooted in the French Revolution. The problem with modern democracy, says Mouffe, is not its ideals, but "the fact that its political principles are a long way from being implemented, even in those societies that lay claim to them".

In earlier work Mouffe proposed that a radical lens of the modern democratic tradition does not necessarily imply a rejection of liberal democracy, or replacing it with a new form of political society through revolution in its traditional sense. Rather, she argued that it implies a "different attitude towards liberal democracy" and a recognition of its strengths and

shortcomings" (1992b, 1). In an interview in 2007[6], she conceded that possibilities for radicalising democracy had diminished in the face of neo-liberalism's attack on the "fragile" advances of social democracy:

> Through the politics of Reagan and Thatcher, neo-liberalism began its successful march and has since made great inroads worldwide. In Britain, Thatcherism managed to displace the hegemony of social democracy and install a neo-liberal one, which is still in place today. We currently find ourselves in a situation where we are obliged to defend basic institutions of the welfare state that we earlier criticized for not being democratic enough (2013, 134).

Neocosmos (2005) proposes that an 'emancipatory' alternative to democracy requires a rejection of liberal democracy; it cannot simply 'radicalise' liberalism (2005, 160). The radical challenge for emerging democracies in Africa, says Neocosmos, is the conception of an order beyond the "globally hegemonic" framework of liberal politics. Alternative conceptions of democracy are increasingly difficult because post-colonial and post-authoritarian countries in Africa are coerced into "Western, state-dominated, (neo) liberal political thought" through "massive" funding for human rights-based 'good governance initiatives" (Neocosmos 2005, 158).

Mouffe also warns against this coercion of neo-liberal democracy to see the world as a universe (Mouffe 2013, 19). If the strength of liberal democracy is its rootedness in the Jacobin imaginary, its weakness, argues Mouffe, is in its incapacity to deal with the inherent conflictual and antagonistic nature of democratic society. To deal with conflict – or antagonism – in democratic politics, says Mouffe, requires conditions for negotiating diverse identities or the "affirmation" of differences (2013, 19-23, 2005b). In an interview with Carpentier and Cammaerts (2006), Mouffe argues that negotiating diverse identities does not imply a "reconciled society" or just "putting together all different views in society":

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[6] This interview with Elke Wagner is published in *Agonistics – Thinking the world politically* (Mouffe 2013, 129-146). The interview first appeared in the anthology *Und Jetzt?: Politik, Protest, und Propaganda* [*And Now?: Politics, Protest and Propaganda*], ed. Heinrich Geiselberger, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2007. The interview took place in London in 2007.

That would in fact imply a society without politics. Democratic politics should create the conditions for the conflict to find its expression in agonistic terms, avoiding that it becomes antagonistic (Mouffe in interview with Carpentier and Cammaerts 2006, 973).

There are points of convergence in the conceptual shifts suggested by Neocosmos and Mouffe. Both theorists offer alternatives to current conceptions of the state and of civil society. Both offer conceptions of democracy as rooted in the agency and the emancipatory potential of civil society rather than democracy as rooted in the power of the state. These conceptions, through the normative optic of a mode of democracy that offers new and different understandings of the plurality of voices that constitute legitimate decision-making as suggested earlier by McLennan (2007), raise pertinent questions about the political identity of the participatory citizen.

The crisis of democracy in Africa, says Neocosmos, is not bad leadership – "the account beloved of journalists and politicians" (2005, 159) – but rather the character of the state itself. For Neocosmos, the nature of the state hinges on the relationship between the state and society. Invoking Balibar, Neocosmos calls for a reconsideration of particularly African democratization in terms of a 'genuinely' popular form of democracy that upholds the sovereignty of popular institutions and maintains the 'emancipatory' nature of politics. Neocosmos defines emancipatory politics in terms of a certain relationship between the state and society in which civil society is implicated *with* the state in the production of political power. The two are "fundamentally interconnected" (2005, 161-164). This implies a different conception of the state as well as civil society.

2.2 Democracy's citizens

Neocosmos uses 'politics of emancipation' (2005, 2012) as an alternative and critical conceptual frame with which to rethink the citizen as a participating agent in democracy. This is a kind of politics, based on the 'popular practice' Neocosmos observes among social movements constituted by poor shack-dwellers and landless people in South Africa. These politics, argues Neocosmos, are indicative of citizens surmounting "hegemonic perspectives" of what liberal democracy is and what democracy can be. It provides alternatives grounded in the lived reality of people's lives. These practices are universal in character, yet it remains 'marked' by its location (2012, 465).

Mouffe's conception of radicalized democracy also hinges on questions about the political identity of citizens. "'A radical democratic citizen must be an active citizen, who conceives of herself as a participant in a collective undertaking"' (1992b, 4). The shackles of liberal democracy, argues Mouffe, are the emphasis on "'individualistic and rationalistic premises" that have stripped notions of citizenship and community of their content. Radical democracy needs to retrieve, from liberal democracy, the democratic traditions of active citizen participation and pluralism (1992b, 3).

Neocosmos's emancipatory politics and Mouffe's radicalized democracy emphasize citizenship as an active and collective undertaking. The possibilities for both these enactments of political participation must be considered in terms of South Africa's current power dynamic in terms of decision making. The power elite in South Africa, argues Southall, comes from the political and the corporate sectors. In these positions, these are currently the actors in the 'commanding positions' of decision making power – their "'decisions or non-decisions have major consequences for masses of ordinary people ... who have little or no chance of changing them"' (2012). The context described by Southall poses substantive and radical challenges to perceptions of citizens as participants in the substantive routines of democracy and political decision-making.

Wolin (1993, 1994), Mouffe (1992b, 2005b, a, 2013), and Neocosmos (2005, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012) take up this challenge with their conceptions of the citizen as "the main actor in democratic society" (Wolin 1993, 465). All three agree that it is a liberal conception of democracy that is eroding the active position of the citizen in decision-making processes. Wolin's focus is on liberal democracy as it is constituted by forms, structures, and boundaries that contain rather than expand the political potential of citizens (1994). For Mouffe, it is liberal democracy's rationalism, and individualism that undermine possibilities for articulating the political demands of citizens. For Neocosmos it is how the hegemony of the rationale that liberal democracy is the only possible imaginary of governance is sustained in developing contexts through monetary coercion.

Wolin starts his theoretical challenge to democracy – he is reluctant to describe it as a 'form' of government – with his conception of what democracy ought to be:

> In my understanding, democracy is a project concerned with the political
> potentialities of ordinary citizens, that is with their possibilities for becoming political

beings through the self-discovery of common concerns and of modes of action for realizing them (1994, 11).

For Wolin, democracy is encapsulated in the 'moments of commonality' when citizens with diverse interests, "conditioned by bitter experience" (1994, 23), become engaged in the political work of talking about how to use their collective power to promote or protect the interests of a collective. Public deliberation is crucial to generate these rare, 'fugitive' *moments* of democracy.

It is important to be clear about Wolin's differentiation between the *political* and *politics*. The *political* is the deliberation and action that give birth to 'moments of commonality'. *Politics* is the "'continuous, ceaseless, and endless" public contestation over "access to resources available to the public authorities of the collectivity" (1994, 11).

Contrary to this understanding, argues Wolin, democratic politics are "regularized as policy and rationalized as administration" (1994, 14). In this institutionalised context, the political – public deliberation to generate power to act in the interest of the collective – is conferred to political leadership. On the presumption that they act in the interest of citizens, political leaders deliberate with corporate powers to 'organize' peace, security and guard the general welfare. In return, citizens are required to be patriotic, loyal, and obedient.

> What this means literally, is that democracy as we know it in the self-styled 'advanced industrial democracies' has been constituted, that is given forms, structure, and boundaries. Constitutional democracy is democracy fitted to a constitution. It is not democratic or democratized constitutionalism because it is democracy without the demos as actor. Its politics is based, not as its defenders allege, upon 'representative democracy' but on various representations of democracy: democracy as represented in public opinion polls, electronic town meetings and phone-ins, and as votes. In sum, a constitution regulates the amount of democratic politics that is let in (Wolin 1994, 13-14).

In Wolin's analysis, democracy cannot be conceived of as a political system. Rather, democracy manifests as the *political* – the 'moments' when citizens come together collectively to address problems of housing, employment, education, sanitation, the environment, and "a thousand other common concerns of ordinary lives" (1994, 24). For

Wolin, these moments personify the radical essence of democracy. It is the *political* that keeps the possibility of democracy alive.

> Democracy needs to be reconceived as something other than a form of government: as a mode of being which is conditioned by bitter experience, doomed to succeed only temporarily, but is a recurrent possibility as long as the memory of the political survives (1994, 23).

How does Wolin help to understand the identity of the democratic citizen vis-à-vis democracy, political participation and access to the media?

In the nation-state, institutional democracy creates boundaries that assert a citizen identity defined by the state (Chipkin 2009, Mamdani 2001, Cornwall, Robins, and Von Lieres 2011). The institutional framework of democracy creates boundaries that signify exclusion – "keep out!" – or containment – "keep inside" (Wolin 1994, 11)! Through containment and exclusion, the boundaries demarcated by the nation-state create the *impression* of a demarcated space in which people share the same citizen identity – those who were born there, who speak the same language, shared nationality, or citizens with equal rights. Likeness or similarity is valued because it is considered as the most important ingredient for unity. '"Unity, in turn, is thought to be the sine qua non of collective power" (1994, 12).

The state, says Wolin, deals with difference in a paradoxical manner: On the one hand differences are the bases for separation, exploitation, and exclusion. On the other hand differences are used to 'extol' pluralism as a 'distinctive political achievement' (1993, 464-465). Here, Wolin's distinction between 'diversity' and 'difference' is important. Wolin proposes that the politics of pluralism – an important theme of the 'democratic moment' – is more concerned with the dilemmas of 'difference' than with the 'comfort' of diversity. Let me explain through Wolin. "Diversity is blandly democratic; it recognizes mere unlikeness". Difference, on the other hand, "possesses a certain inner coherence that may indicate the presence of a hard core of nonnegotiability, some element that is too intimately connected with identity to allow for easy compromise" (1993, 467).

Mouffe poses a similar argument in her assessment that it is its preoccupation with consensus that weakens the potential of liberal democracy to hold plurality. In Mouffe's vocabulary difference, or plurality, embodies 'the political' – that crucial 'agonistic dynamic' in

democracy (Mouffe 2013). Elsewhere Mouffe argues that if this agonistic dynamic is ignored by an over-emphasis on consensus or recognition of 'mere unlikeness', it increases the "marginalization of entire groups whose status as an 'underclass' practically puts them outside the political community".

> A healthy democratic process calls for a vibrant clash of political positions and an open conflict of interests. If such is missing, it can too easily be replaced by a confrontation between non-negotiable moral values and essentialist identities (2005b, 6).

Mouffe's model suggests that contestation between groups that coalesce around different interests are a given; it is also *necessary* for dealing with the pluralist nature of modern democracy (2005b, 2013). If difference, in other words, is ignored, or made invisible by less threatening frames such as 'diversity', 'difference' changes from an 'agonistic form' to an 'antagonistic form'.

The most salient example in the case of South Africa is arguably the "choreographed unity" (Msimang 2015) in the image of the 'rainbow nation'. In Wolin's terms this image would arguably be described as a 'blandly democratic' recognition of diversity serving a myth of homogeneity. The homogeneity falsely establishes cultural perimeters within which *different* kinds of oppression disappears. Because citizens are amongst 'similars' – we are all South Africans – they will now be free to enjoy a good that is truly common. The vision is of a *political* in which being similar is equated with having things in common (Wolin 1994, 12). The 'common good' of being free from apartheid legitimises the state's authority and becomes the rallying point for a false sense of shared citizen identity. The rainbow nation signifies the "redemptive fantasy" (Hudson in Hassim 2009, 456) of "the fragmented subjects of apartheid" united in a singly polity (Hassim 2009, 456). It also makes dissenting voices suspect and depoliticizes deliberation about *difference* in the public sphere.

Twenty years into the South African transition to democracy, important aspects of Wolin and Mouffe's analysis resonate with theoretical and empirical critiques of the effect of institutionalised liberal democracy on possibilities for poor citizens to assert and articulate their *different* political presence. "Those who live in poverty are spoken about endlessly but never speak themselves, except perhaps when they vote" (Friedman 2015b). And yet, there are 'vibrant' practices of political and economic association among poor citizens as

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McLennan (2007) and Neocosmos (2012) suggested earlier. The problem is that these practices are less visible, and less recognized. In Wolin's terms: their power and authority as 'political beings' engaged in the *political,* remain marginalised. The spotlight on spaces of legitimate decision-making about the distribution of state resources remains focused on those in the 'commanding positions' that Southall describes (2012), and those who Friedman says, speak about poor citizens but who, in all probability, never listen to them (2015b).

Heller's (2009) prognosis for the deepening of South Africa's democracy hinges on the imbalance between the power logic of political society and the deliberative logic of civil society. He argues that political society acts on the basis of "actors and institutions that compete for, and regulate the right to exercise legitimate political authority". The mode of acting in civil society, says Heller, is based on "communicative practices" and the action "refers to forms of voluntary association" (2009, 124). The objective of action in political society is to gain power by combining or "aggregating" forces that would sustain its interest in power. The objective of action in civil society is "to reach new understanding through public use of reason" (2009, 124). The logic of political society is that they are faced with fixed strategic and instrumental choices for action. The logic of civil society is that change is possible.

To be clear, when Heller refers to civil society I assume he refers to a space or spaces where associational life and the public sphere merge in an "inclusive and well-articulated associational eco-system" with the potential to be a transformative force in society (Edwards 2004). This is different than an understanding of 'organised' civil society – institutional structures that, although sympathetic to the concerns of the poor, also have insufficient insight in the everyday lives of the poor to be able to represent the concerns and circumstances of the poor (Friedman 2010).

Heller does not go as far as Wolin's rejection of democracy as a form of government. Neither does Heller suggest a rejection of institutional democracy. But he does argue that the 'logic of political society' subordinates the 'deliberative logic of civil society in South Africa, which limits "the room for the practice of citizenship" (Heller 2009, 131). In Wolin's terms, the power of deliberation – *the political,* or Heller's deliberative logic – is subverted because the state, rather than citizens has become the "fixed center of political life" (Wolin 1994, 23).

The state-centred political life that Wolin describes, says Bickford (1996), predicts a kind of citizenship that limits participation by prescribing the boundaries of forms and spaces for political action. Referring specifically to Wolin's conception of state power intermingled with other institutional and societal elite forces, Bickford cautions, as Wolin does, that this political logic has an interest in producing a web of power in which political problems get de-politicised – "that is, prevented from appearing in the public realm" (1996, 179).

Citizens want to participate in 'meaningful' political interactivity, and many are active despite the cliché of non-participation and apathy. The problem, says Bickford, is that there are not enough "accessible and robust" forums for participation, and that the diverse "venues and institutions" that do exist, are not recognised as such.

> The deliberative, communicative contexts … are embedded in a broader cultural context, one that is forcefully shaped by the mass media and by what Sheldon Wolin has called the 'megastate' (1996, 179).

2.3 Democracy's journalists

Carpentier and Cammaerts argue that Mouffe's agonistic model of democracy requires particular attention to "discourses and identities" that fall outside of established patterns of social and economic power. "Mouffe's agonistic model not only allows theorising the increase of pluralism and agonism *within* journalism, but also the increase of pluralism and agonism *through* journalism" (2006, 972). It requires, in other words, attention to the contingency of social and economic exclusion and making connections that counter the weight of the prevailing power discourse.

Even as possibilities for ordinary citizens to be producers of, and participants in (the) media are increasing (Turner 2010), the assumed centrality and power of the media to sustain a 'public connection' and engage citizens in political action is in question (Couldry, Livingstone, and Markham 2010, Barnett 2004a). It seems that the more media have become an integral part of people's lives, the more the assumption of journalists as "a vital part of public life" (Sparks 1991, 58) has become a tenuous proposal.

The same tension referred to earlier between the 'is' and the 'ought to' in normative assumptions of democracy, emerge in assumptions about the position of journalists in modern

democracy. Nowhere is the fragility of the link between journalism and its effects on society more evident than in the evolution of the "rather over-ploughed terrain" (Carey 1975, 183) of audience effects research. Developing from a linear 'magic bullet' premise – the media directly affect responses to a range of societal matters including politics – effects research now has a more complex understanding of the media as one variable among many from which individuals in a particular social or cultural context derive meaning (Newbold 2006, 118). Media-centric approaches to effects research – 'what the media do to the people' – have now shifted to more complex considerations that include 'what people do with the media', and how people "choose to be affected by the media" (Newbold 2006, 121).

The analytical starting point for understanding what people do, and can do with the media, is the terms of access to the media as a means of self-representational power in the public space. That "self-representational power", says Couldry and Curran, depends on the "relative control" society has over "representational resources" (2003, 4). These resources are to a large extent embedded in the power of the media.

Instead of departing from the clichéd 'the media are powerful' conception, Couldry and Curran suggest a more nuanced analysis of where, or 'in what' media power is located. This analysis, they suggest, presents a paradox: on the one hand media power is dependent on the function of journalists to be 'conduits' for the content generated by other forms of power, like the state or the corporate sector. On the other hand, journalists remain the centre of processing power. The media do not only mediate forces battling for representational power; the media itself has representational power embedded in its means of production (Couldry and Curran 2003). In other words, the media's representational power lies in the "conventions, institutions, and privileges which shape who and what can be heard in the media" (Dreher 2010, 85).

Current media conventions – reporting on public opinion polls, and facilitating phone-ins – says Wolin (1994), tend to draw attention to politics through "pronouncements of television oracles, talk-show babble, and the political burlesque hustled by the pundits". This, Wolin argues, sets up an "illusory connection" between citizens and politics. It draws attention to 'representations of democracy'. Rather than paying attention to where and how citizens conceive of themselves as active participants in a "collective undertaking", journalists disempower citizens by representing them as passive recipients of the rewards of

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democracy's forms, structures, and boundaries – stability, general welfare, law and order (1994, 13-14).

Couldry, Livingstone and Markham are adamant about the limits to the possibility of journalists to foster attention to politics: "No amount of communication, however stylish and informative, will engage people in politics, unless they are paying attention, at least some of the time" (2010, 3). What is missing in this argument is the binary implicit in attention: journalists *draw* attention to, and they *pay* attention to; citizens *draw* attention to, and they *pay* attention to.

Another, more pertinent problem with Couldry, Livingstone and Markham's perspective of attention is that it places the burden on citizens: if they don't pay attention, journalists can't help them to be connected to spaces of shared or common political concerns.

This is a problematic assumption. And it is an assumption that Nyamnjoh (2010) challenges in principle: He argues that, even if there is disagreement about the effects of media on audiences, the media can be a vehicle of 'popular empowerment'. The media have power to provide information that enable citizens to participate "meaningfully in discussions about public issues" (2010, 62).

But what constitutes a 'meaningful' discussion about public issues?

Dreher (2009) argues that meaningful discussion is contingent on a shift in ways that journalists maintain hierarchies of language as an indicator of who gets paid attention to. The problem is not the number and variety of media platforms and new technology available to citizens in the battle for attention *of* the media. The real problem is the way in which a range of conditions systematically constrain the ability of journalists to pay attention *to* "the variety of news and accounts which they process daily *within the framework of a limited set of interpretations*" (Hall 1974, 21 own emphasis).

Earlier, I referred to Mouffe's notion that liberal democracy – or what has come to be assumed as democracy – has to be radically 'unsettled', or 'disrupted' (2013). Disrupting and unsettling liberal democracy, Mouffe argues, require at least three things: facing the contestational nature of politics, deciding on what the limits of the contestation are, and how those can be negotiated.

If Nyamnjoh argues that the media have power to facilitate meaningful participation in public discussion, is it possible to imagine a journalism that pays attention to the nature of political contestation, how contestation is negotiated, and the nature of the institutions and the forms with power to transform democracy?

3. Appearance, recognition, and political participation in public spaces

A common way of describing South African citizens post 1994 was in terms of being free, or being liberated from apartheid. Everyone was now free to participate as equal citizens in the political life of the country.

But the status of freedom, says Arendt, is not a given following the act of liberation. In addition to "mere liberation", freedom is dependent on a plurality of voices being able to articulate different experiences in the company of others. 'Appearance' – visibility and recognition – depends on "the presence of others who see what we see and hear what we hear" (1958, 50). Political participation is animated when free citizens gain access, through talk and action – "word and deed" – to the common public space of the "politically organized world" (1960, 29-30). "Without a politically guaranteed public realm, freedom lacks the worldly space to make its appearance" (1960, 30).

In the light of this study's rootedness in the contemporary South African context, the rationale for reconsidering mediated political participation through an Arendtian lens – a lens which is assumed as thoroughly grounded in a Western epistemology – may not be immediately obvious and could even be contentious. Without overstating the Arendtian reach, I want to argue that Arendt transcends narrow interpretations of the Western tradition.

Arendt is perceived as particularly controversial for her distinction between the public and the private realms, or between the social and the political. Her distinction in this regard has also been problematized with specific reference to post-apartheid South Africa (Christodoulidis 2011). But distinctions are tricky and can "enlighten as well as cloud an issue" (Benhabib 1992, 73). I would shortly address Christodoulidis's particular critique that Arendt's distinction between the social and the political de-politicizes poverty in South Africa.

My primary intention is to insert Arendt's voice for her conception of political action as action that is "transacted in words" (1958, 26). The capacity to talk and to act, says Arendt, is what makes us human. We 'appear' to others, who are different from ourselves, as we articulate our unique selves in the company of others. In the terms of this study: citizens get access to the plurality of one another's experiences when they articulate who they are in their own experience, in the company of others. This articulation of a plurality of experiences creates a common public space out of which a 'political realm' emerges where citizens talk and act together as equals despite their differences (1958, 198).

South Africa's own new beginning – or 'natality' in Arendtian terms – can be interpreted in terms of struggles of representations that reflect the "doing, seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, and touching" of the "African self" (Mbembe 2001, 6).

In Arendt's work, I find a helpful substantiation for a narrative with potential to re-imagine a public space that registers and recognizes different tones and different timbres of political participation. It raises the mark for journalists to *pay attention to*, and *draw attention to* a range of 'performative vocabularies' – some of which may not be in a language of enactment journalists are familiar or comfortable with. It raises questions about the language with which journalists construct, or represent poverty and poor citizens in the public space.

Benhabib suggests that Arendt engages a methodology that conceives of political thought as 'story telling' in order to regain her intellectual hold on events: "Such thought exercises dig under the rubble of history to recover those pearls of past experience, with their sedimented and hidden layers of meaning, so as to cull from them a story that can orient the mind in the future" (1992, 76).

In presenting or "re/presenting those whose stories we cannot hear or share first-person" (Benhabib 2008, 969), journalists can arguably retain their position as on behalf of, or they can relinquish the power of being the voice to being the 'hearer'. In this position journalists are arguably more likely to recognize the position of poor citizens as audible narrators of, and political actors in their own, different lived experiences.

First, I depart with Arendt on a journey to examine the *how* of political interaction in the public space of the political.

4. The language of 'appearance' in (the) public space(s)

In the first chapter I have described two narratives of political participation emerging in the post-apartheid political landscape: one is a narrative of an open democracy with a public space for all citizens to participate in political decision-making; the other narrative is of citizens on the socio-economic margins whose interests, even when these are articulated loudly in street protests, do not seem to carry authority in terms of decision-making power.

In my interpretation, Arendt's differentiation between the public and the private realm unlocks a lens for interpreting the inaudibility in the politically organized world of the loud and persisting voices of South Africans on the margins of the socio-economic landscape.

I will try to unravel this statement through Arendt's fairly abstract argument that she starts with her 'two orders of existence' schema in *The Human Condition* (1958). In *On Revolution* (1963), Arendt continues to argue the distinction – this time starting an articulation that centres more around the difference between the social and the political – with a proposal that the French and Russian revolutions failed because it 'unmasked' the social experience of poverty but failed to emancipate poor people as equal and free citizens of a body politic. In later conversations with other theorists (1979) Arendt is more concrete about the implications of her argument for articulating issues of poverty in a political way. It is also helpful to think about this differentiation with Bickford (1996).

Arendt articulates 'two orders of existence' in *The Human Condition*: one's private life and life in the public realm or the political 'common'. The two realms, she argues, require different modes of talking and different modes of action. The driving force for articulation and action in one's 'own' private life is the necessities for 'bodily nourishment'. The driving force for articulation and action in the public realm is what "can be seen and heard by everybody" (1958, 50).

Contrary to suggestions that Arendt proposes that poverty is not a political problem, Bickford argues that Arendt's concerns about conflating the private and the public realms are precisely important as a way for thinking about politics (1996, 72).

Arendt's concerns in separating the private and the public realms are important as a way for thinking about politics and plurality (Bickford 1996, 72) – in the case of this study, the

plurality denoted by poverty and wealth. Arendt's assertion is that poverty is more than deprivation; it is a state of "constant want and acute misery" marked by the "dehumanizing force" of public shame and disgrace (1963, 50). To break free of the shame and disgrace, poverty has to be framed in political, not personal terms. What does this mean? Is the personal not political?

To answer this question, I refer to Arendt's conception of the politically organized world as a realm with a plurality of voices, and where the voices, which represent different experiences, should be translated so that it 'can be seen and heard by everybody'. Arendt does not suggest that the experience of being poor should be ignored in the public realm; what she tries to convey is the opposite: poverty is such a 'misery' and so 'dehumanizing' that its articulation in the public realm can remain a translation that fixes on a generalised 'brutal misery' and the 'suffering poor'. In this depiction, the political agency of the *people* who experience the misery of poverty remain invisible.

Bickford articulates Arendt's dilemma of a narrative that conflates the private narrative of poverty with the political or the public narrative of poverty as a narrative that changes the identity of poor participants in the public realm:

> First, it changes who the participants are – or rather, changes them from 'whos' to 'whats.' Instead of being plural, unique individuals, they are interchangeably alike, with identical and predictable needs – in effect, a mass. And so, second, the activity appropriate to the social realm is not action or speech, but administration – the bureaucratic process by which we find efficient means to already determined ends (1996, 72).

When poor people thus 'appeared' in the political realm during the French Revolution, "necessity appeared with them" (1963, 50). This was the real revolution, argues Arendt.

> The idea that poverty should help men to break the shackles of oppression, because the poor has nothing to lose but their chains, has become so familiar through Marx's teachings that we are tempted to forget that it was unheard of prior to the actual course of the French Revolution (1963, 56).

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The problem is, as Arendt shows, that the fall of the French monarchy did little to change the relationship between rulers and the ruled. Here Arendt's argument about the 'subjective' state of being poor versus the 'objective' state of poverty sets a context, I would argue, for her distinction between the social and the public realm. In the democracy following the revolution, because they were now 'represented', poor people became the 'object' of the ruling class that now included the "men of the Revolution" (1963, 64). They became 'whats' instead of 'whos' – one mass object for compassion, instead of citizens with individual stories but part of a collective with equal agency and authority to define the political origins of their state of poverty (Arendt 1958, 175-188).

The significance of "being seen and being heard by others", says Arendt, lies in the fact that "everybody sees and hears from a different position" (1958, 57). But these positions must be relevant in the sense that other participants can see or rather, hear, what it is that they can take on as common cause for action. Relevance is what distinguishes talking or articulation as an act of political significance. "Wherever the relevance of speech is at stake, matters become political by definition, for speech is what makes man a political being" (1958, 3).

Why then, or more accurately, what does Arendt argue for when she makes a distinction between the public and the social realms? Or as Bickford puts it, "between questions of freedom and questions of poverty" (1996, 72)?

The distinction between the public and the social, or the public and the private starts with Arendt's understanding that because we are all different we need 'speech and action' to articulate our differences for us to act together on those things we have in common. By talking to others we initiate action; we set something in motion (1958, 175-177). In my understanding, Arendt's controversial distinction between how to talk, and what to talk about in the public realm is rooted in her proposal that a person's 'appearance' in the public realm is constituted at the same time by the 'who' and 'what' you are. Physical traits are revealed actively and do not need to be articulated; it is the passive, or more hidden traits of 'who' and 'what' you are – "qualities, gifts, talents, and shortcomings" – that need to be revealed by what you say and what you do.

> In acting and speaking, men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal
> identities and thus make their appearance in the human world, while their physical

identities appear without any activity of their own in the unique shape of the body and the sound of the voice (1958, 179).

The relevance of disclosure in the 'company' of others in the political or public realm is that it reveals the "agent in the act" (1958, 180). If the identity of the 'agent' – the 'who' and the 'what' – is subsumed within a mass identity of 'whats' instead of 'whos' it affects the authority and agency with which a person appears in the political realm.

It is not that Arendt disregards poverty as a political issue as Bickford (1996, 72) and Christodoulidis (2011) imply. Neither does Arendt argue that poverty does not belong as an issue in the social realm, or in society, which is the form where "mutual dependence for the sake of life and nothing else assumes public significance and where the activities connected with sheer survival are permitted to appear in public" (1958, 46). But it is in the political realm of the public – the realm that requires a particular courage to enter into (1958, 36) – where the challenge to articulate poverty becomes more complex. Poverty should be articulated in terms of the political – as a problem of common interest while still retaining its meaning as it is rooted in the lived experience of the individuals affected by being poor. A common world emerging from the public realm is contingent on the "simultaneous presence of innumerable perspectives" (1958, 56). All participants cannot assume the identity of the poor participants through compassion or pity.

> The political trouble which misery of the people holds in store is that manyness can in fact assume the guise of oneness, that suffering indeed breeds moods and emotions and attitudes that resemble solidarity to the point of confusion, and that – last, but not least – pity for the many is easily confounded with compassion for one person when the 'compassionate zeal' … can fasten upon an object whose oneness seems to fulfil the prerequisites of compassion, while its immensity, at the same time, corresponds to the boundlessness of sheer emotion (1963, 94).

It is therefore not that poverty is not a political issue, it is the 'who' and the 'what' of poverty that is political and fit for talking about in the public realm. Bickford is correct that Arendt argues that poverty is a-political in that there is no disagreement that people should have food to eat and clothes to wear (1996, 72). The disagreement in the public realm, the issues that should arguably be talked about, is, in Wolin's terms, the *politics* of poverty: the public

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contestation over access to the resources available to the collectivity through the public authorities (1994).

Arendt's distinction between the articulation of poverty in the private realm and the public realm further situates Wolin's understanding of 'difference' and 'diversity' in a context with specific bearing on socio-economic difference – a category of difference that Wolin implies but never specifies as such in his proof texts I refer to in this study, *Fugitive Democracy* (1994) and *Democracy, Difference and Re-cognition* (1993).

Mouffe's problem with the Arendtian lens is that it doesn't acknowledge the contestation or the 'antagonism' that is required to realise the radical potential of the political (2013, 9-12). Arendt acknowledges human plurality, says Mouffe, but to think politically is about more than seeing things from a "multiplicity of perspectives"; the public space is not a space where citizens come to agreement or consensus about conflicting views, it is a space that requires challenges to existing power constructs, and for "constructing new articulations and new institutions" (2013, 11).

Isaac (1993) has a different interpretation of Arendt's conception of talk and action. In *The Human Condition,* Arendt retrieves a "conception of agency and autonomy in a disempowering and degrading world" (Isaac 1993, 537). Invoking Arendt's views and involvement in civil obedience movements, Isaac argues that Arendt assumes antagonism as a constitutive element of agonism.

> Such action is deliberative, but it is not purely discursive nor is it naively teleological if we mean by this that it envisions a neat correspondence between means and ends or a secure consensus. It is demonstrative and indeed often quite messy, as Arendt on numerous occasions noted (1993, 538).

Imagining a public space in which the personal requires a particular language in order to be translated as the political poses challenges to public talking and listening: between citizens, between citizens and journalists, and between journalists and citizens. To imagine this, is to imagine a public space where journalists are conscious and reflective of their role as interlocutors in the politically organized world.

5. Listening as appearance and access to mediated spaces of political deliberation

The challenge in this study, is to propose practices of listening that enable journalists to articulate poverty in terms of the political: the 'who' and the 'what' of poverty that connects citizens with different lived experiences in mediated spaces of political deliberation. What kind of listening would make it possible to articulate poverty as a problem of common political interest while still retaining its meaning as it is rooted in the lived experience of the individuals affected by conditions of poverty?

Perhaps it is important at this point to be clear about the particularity of the relationship between journalists and citizens examined in this study. While acknowledging the power of the media as an institution, what is at stake here is what the connection looks like in those intimate spaces where journalists and poor citizens come face to face with one another. What does acts of listening look in those spaces if it were to create possibilities for poor citizens to appear as emancipated, equal agents in mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation?

A focus on listening puts the spotlight on the way in which journalists define their relationship, not with 'the public', but with citizens. This focus goes beyond ideas of journalistic approaches such as those proposed in the public journalism movement. Public journalism, important as it was to reconsider journalism's relationship with citizens in democracy, seemed to have fallen short in that it continues to provide access to mediated deliberation to those "already articulated networks of community leaders who generally participate in community affairs" and "exclude those who do not share this deliberative orientation" (Friedland, Sitorovic, and Daily in Haas 1999, 354). In the same way as citizens react with cynicism when governments play the "listening card" (Dobson 2014, 9), citizens seemed unconvinced by efforts of the media to bring them into the process of prioritising news agendas.

The intention is therefore to shift current conceptions of deliberative practice in democracy away from institutions to people. This means, for example, a re-interpretation of Dreher's challenge to 'mainstream media' to take on the responsibility of listening to marginalised voices (2009) rather than the responsibility of marginalised groups to be heard. This challenge, I propose, would find concrete meaning in an examination that focuses more closely on how journalists do their work as the *embodiment* of a "discursively privileged" *institution*.

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Spivak (1990) is often invoked in the literature about listening when she proposes that questions about who should speak are less important than questions about who will listen (1990, 59). But, earlier in the same text, Spivak speaks more pertinently to this study when she reflects on her own privilege:

> But if I think in terms of the much larger female constituency in the world for whom I am an infinitely privileged person, in this broader context, what I really want to learn about is what I have called the unlearning of one's privilege. *So that not only does one become able to listen to that other constituency, but one learns to speak in such a way that one will be taken seriously by that other constituency.* And furthermore, to recognize that the position of the speaking subject within theory can be an historically powerful position when it wants the other actually to be able to answer back (1990, 42 my emphasis).

Taking Spivak's position here as a metaphor for the position of mainstream journalists as interlocutors in spaces of political deliberation, clarifies the challenge of examining listening as a concrete, and political, journalistic practice. And a practice that enables appearance and access to deliberative political spaces of the plurality of voices that are embodied in a polity.

To develop this argument, I want to start with broader theoretical conceptions of public spaces, or the public sphere, as a site of political communication.

Aware of its baggage as a theoretical concept, I have so far avoided references to the public sphere unless it was referred to as such by a referent. Instead, I have opted to use 'deliberative spaces' firstly because that is a more accurate description for this study's interest in mediated appearance and visibility among members of the polity. Secondly, in the South African context the post-apartheid public sphere cannot be idealised as one monolithic concept. Rather, there are several spaces with fluid boundaries marked by "constant contestation" (Jacobs and Krabill 2005, 157) of at least race, class, language, and gender.

Mediated spaces of political deliberation have to contend with differences that constitute political practices beyond "matters of discourse and language" (Mbembe 2001, 6). These spaces have to consider "the constitution of the African self as a reflexive subject also involves doing, seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, and touching" (Mbembe 2001, 6). In this context, global discourses on 'emerging', 'new', or democracies in transition, which include

South Africa, must be accounted for in considering contextually relevant, but universally accounted for, analytical paradigms.

Mouffe's conceptualisation, in an interview, is pertinent:

> I tend to avoid using 'the public sphere' as much as possible. I prefer 'public space' in order to differentiate between the Habermasian model and the view I am trying to put forward. I also never speak of *the* public space but rather of public spaces, because I think there is a multiplicity of public spaces. There are many different forms of articulation between all the different public spaces and it is important to work at all those different levels (Carpentier and Cammaerts 2006, 973).

There are of course important reasons why Habermas's conceptualisation of the ideals of a deliberative public sphere (Habermas 1989) is such a recurring theme in democratic and deliberative theory. The main reason for this, says Fraser, is the enduring significance of his conception of the public sphere as the "theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk" (1990, 57). For Benhabib, the reason why Habermas's public sphere "returns in our work" is that it helps us understand how "to connect anonymous networks of flowing and interconnecting conversations to a decisional public sphere" (2008, 964). The emerging literature on active listening, and political listening as a potential framework to engage with the languages and practices of democracy (Couldry 2009) is part of an effort to understand the connecting tissue of the kind of conversations Benhabib describes.

Katz's (1996) description of political deliberation is appealing in its rendering of an ideal public sphere:

> If one were designing a participatory democracy, one would make provision for a central space in which all citizens could gather together and for dispersed places in which they could meet in smaller, more homogenous groups. Ideally the agenda would be agreed upon in the central space (forum, agora, town meeting), mulled over in the dispersed spaces (café, salon, club, trade union hall, party headquarters), and returned for debate and decision to the central space (1996, 23).

The central role Katz envisions for journalists in these spaces is to serve the "polity as a whole" and to inform citizens of what other citizens are thinking. This vision of participatory democracy remains part of the Habermasian imaginary of the symbiotic relationship between citizens, journalists, and political decision makers in the public sphere (1989).

For this purpose, Lacey's examination of listening in the public sphere as an auditorium is an interesting starting point. Katz's description is an effort to model contemporary spaces of political deliberation on what Lacey calls, the embodied activity and interactive politics of the ancient city republics where "public life was once lived out entirely in acoustic space" (Lacey 2013, 159).

> In the post-acoustocratic world, there *is* no public life before or outside of representation. No longer do citizens appear before each other in shared acoustic space. It is precisely the *mediation* of the public sphere which makes possible the imagining of a collective subjectivity and which serves as a common frame of reference (Lacey 2013, 160).

While Lacey's conception of a "post-acoustocratic world" is a useful frame for mediated political spaces, I propose that "shared acoustic spaces" do exist. Citizens appear before each other in, for example, community meetings, or spaces of protest action. The problem for journalists is to interpret what they hear, if and where they are present in these shared spaces, in ways that connect "decentered, anonymous networks of flowing and interconnecting conversations" to the "decisional public sphere" (Benhabib interviewed by Wahl-Jorgensen 2008, 964).

Bickford's interpretation of the purpose of mediation seems to be different from that of Lacey. For Bickford mediation of the public sphere means something different: Instead of creating possibilities for imagining a collective subjectivity or serving a common frame of reference, Bickford imagines listening as a mediating activity within a conception of politics in which the 'collective subjectivity' do not share a common frame of reference.

> Politics is not simply about shared interests or shared conceptions of the good; it is how we decide what to do in the face of conflict about all these things. Politics in this sense is constituted neither by consensus nor community, but by practices through

which citizens argue about interests and ends – in other words, by communication (Bickford 1996, 11).

This conception of politics, says Bickford, should sound familiar to proponents of participatory democracy, and of course it evokes Habermas's concept of communicative action. Bickford's problem with theorists of participatory democracy and Habermas's communicative action is their "transformative and consensual vision of politics" (1996, 14).

Like Mouffe and Wolin, Bickford puts a premium on practices with potential to deal with, rather than avoid, or ignore the conflict of interests and diversity inherent to democracy.

What is missing from most contemporary accounts of democratic deliberation, says Bickford, is an understanding of procedures of confrontation to deal with the adversarial nature of politics. These are procedures that neither dismiss deliberation in favour of contestation as she suggests Fraser does (1996, 17), nor stress the role of community and friendship in democracy as she suggests Mansbridge does (1996, 19). It is the presence of conflict that makes communicative interaction among citizens necessary (1996, 19). For Bickford then, listening is a crucial political activity that "enables us to give democratic shape to our being together in the world" (1996, 19).

When Bickford asks: what kinds of attention do journalists foster; what kinds of citizens do they construct; and what forms of power do they produce or prevent (1996, 180) her questions have to be seen in terms of how an emphasis on listening could help journalists to do their political work of shaping a polity to be together in the world.

Couldry (2009) describes the 'act' of listening:

> Listening here is, first and foremost, the act of recognizing what others *have to say*, recognizing *that* they have something to say, or, better, that they, like all human beings, have the capacity to give an account of their lives that is reflexive and continuous, an ongoing embodied process of reflection (2009, 579-580 Couldry's emphases).

Couldry's emphases are pertinent to examine Bickford's questions to journalists: The capacity of journalists to get to the 'who' of conditions of poverty, depends on listening skills that recognise that poor people *have to say*, and *that* they have something to say. The account

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of a poor person is *embodied* in a life; not an account of a condition experienced by 'the poor'.

Recognition implies an element of understanding on the part of the listener of who the speaker is, and of the structural underpinnings of the conditions that shape the 'embodied process of reflection' of the speaker. This is not an easy ask. Like the researchers Walsh talks about in her reflection about her work as an academic in poor communities, journalists are confronted with an "uncomfortable collaboration" (2008, 259) when they enter the domain of poor citizens. Their lived experience is different – in some, or most, cases, vastly different – from the lived experience(s) they are about to listen to. They talk a different language – in South Africa probably literally, but in most cases, certainly figuratively.

In contexts like these the power of references that journalists draw from, and that are embedded in patterns of social relations, cultural codes, symbols and language that are familiar to them, becomes political power. And this power is vested in reproducing these familiar codes, symbols and language (Newbold 2006, 328).

The difficulty, says Dobson (2014), is to oblige the powerful to listen to the less powerful. What if the mainstream media cannot be persuaded to relinquish their privileged positions and take up the responsibility – as Dreher challenges them to do – to give voice to marginalised groups? Those with power to grant a voice also have power to "grant or withhold a hearing to those without it" (2014, 58-59).

Dreher poses the question of change in terms of learning new ways for the *centre* to hear, rather than simply requiring the marginalized to speak up (Dreher 2010, 99 in, Dobson 2014). This is a first step in getting to the empirical and theoretical foundations of political listening, says Dobson. He suggests that more empirical work is needed to offer a "normative account of why those at the 'centre' *should* listen to the periphery", and to map out ways in which these normative claims can be made good in practice (Dobson 2014).

This study's citizen-centric, rather than media-centric, approach to gain insight in how the periphery perceives of being listened to may provide one of the stepping stones needed to do the kind of empirical work Dobson proposes.

To acquaint the reader with the context from which the citizens at the centre of this study emerge I pre-empt the methodology section in the next chapter to introduce the field setting. and the rationale behind the choice for this particular setting.

Chapter 3: Hangberg: A geography of political struggle

1. Introduction

In July 2013 I attended a screening of the documentary film, *The Uprising of Hangberg* (Kaganof 2010). The film covers the events that unfolded in Hangberg in September 2010 when the Metro Police in Cape Town, following orders from the City Council, arrived in Hangberg to demolish temporary housing and evict residents from houses the City Council deemed as 'illegal structures'. The documentary was a response to, what it called, the failure of the mainstream media to provide a 'balanced, objective and truthful version of events' (Kaganof 2010) on 21 and 22 September 2010.

The film pointed to several reasons why Hangberg would be a compelling field setting for my research: The people who lived there were mostly coloured South Africans who spoke Afrikaans as a first language. Apart from the events in September 2010, the community were involved in a political struggle over land and livelihood opportunities. The *Uprising* constituted a recent, and prominent encounter with journalists and the media to draw on as a reference point for the study. I assumed that because of the events unfolding before and after the September *Uprising*, Hangberg citizens were likely to have a particular understanding of political participation, and of engagement with mainstream media in general, and journalists in particular.

Because of the contested and dramatic nature of *The Uprising*, Hangberg also stood out as an opportunity to examine the attention Hangberg warranted in the mainstream media leading up to September 2010, the eviction saga itself, and coverage thereafter.

A third reason for choosing Hangberg is its place in the party-political struggle for voter support in South Africa. The Western Cape is the only province in South Africa ruled by the DA – the official opposition to the ruling ANC. The DA also rules the Cape Town Metropolitan Council. In the struggle for political power in the Province and in the City of Cape Town, the support of the so-called coloured voters is crucial for the ANC and the DA. I describe this party-political struggle and how Hangberg and Hangberg citizens are situated in this struggle in greater detail in chapter five.

Through researchers who worked in Hangberg before, I gained an entry point to the community through the manager of Hout Bay Cares – a community centre situated in Hangberg. The community centre houses a clinic, an advice office, and a rehabilitation centre for substance abuse.

In making the commitment as a qualitative researcher 'to see the social world from the point of view of the actor' (Bryman 1984, 77) I found myself in a similar position as mainstream journalists vis-à-vis poor citizens. Choosing Hangberg implied working in a field setting that falls outside of the boundaries of my own socio-economic, and possibly also outside of my own cultural experience. With my eyes and ears grounded in white, middle-class reality, I would be confronted with an unfamiliar setting, and listening to a narrative of lived experience familiar to me only through abstraction. I would find myself immersed in a 'discourse community' defined by different common goals, and different 'mechanisms of inter-communication among its members' (Wodak 2008, 15).

2. Hangberg and habitus

As a geographical and social space, Hangberg typifies Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* as a 'set of invisible relations' that 'structure a structure'(1990, 126).

> Hangberg is the area in Hout Bay, Cape Town, under the imposing mountain slope named the Sentinel. It is home to a struggling fishing community (Maregele 2015).

This description of Hangberg – the community where I interviewed citizens for this research – contains three narratives that shape the geographical and the social space of the citizens who live there: economy, race, and representation. In all three of these narratives there is a "set of invisible relations" (Bourdieu 1990, 126) which construct the social reality of the people who live here. The Sentinel mountain, has become a barrier to expansion of much-needed housing. The ocean – for generations the source of livelihood to many families who live in Hangberg – has now become the centre of a struggle for survival against corporate interests, exploitation and government patronage and corruption. Hout Bay, the adjacent affluent, and mainly white neighbourhood, stands as a reminder of how race continues to define where they live, and how they live.

Bourdieu uses 'habitus' to analyse space as a geographical as well as social concept. Habitus, says Bourdieu, consists of, or rather, is made up of, characteristics that a group of people share. Unlike characteristics that are associated with the word 'character' – that may be natural or 'inborn' – 'habitus' reflects characteristics produced by social conditions and history (2005, 44-45). The agents, or the actors sharing a habitus "make up a dynamic system of dispositions that interact with one another". These dispositions change as the habitus encounter "dispositions different from those in which they were constructed and assembled" (2005, 46). Habitus, as a "structured structure" is continuously engaged in a dialogical contest – a "dialectical confrontation" – that exposes the contradictions between the structured structure and "objective structures".

> "In this confrontation, habitus operates as a structuring structure able to selectively perceive and to transform the objective structure according to its own structure while, at the same time, being re-structured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of the objective structure" (Bourdieu 2005, 46-47).

The "structured structure" of the Hangberg habitus has been evolving in confrontation with "objective structures" of state and economic power at least since the early 1900s when the state restricted fishing activities to favour the interests of white industrialists (De Greef 2013, 2014). The change from being independent brokers in the fishing trade to becoming a "reservoir" of low-cost labour (De Greef 2014) locked the fishing community in a grammar of poverty. In the 1950s apartheid's segregation laws formalised race as another structuring layer of habitus when, designated as 'coloured', people were uprooted and forced by the Group Areas Act to move to Hangberg – mostly from the neighbouring Hout Bay which was now designated for white people.

The new democratic dispensation in South Africa seemed like a moment when the 'structured structure' of the Hangberg habitus could declare 'transformation of the objective structure according to its own structure'. Being 'coloured' was no longer at odds with the post-apartheid structure – a structure that itself was evolving out of the tension between the contradiction of the 'objective structure' that was apartheid and the structured structure of racial inferiority that dominated South Africa for more than forty years.

The post-apartheid government set out to transform the fishing industry and to broaden access for small-scale fishers, like those who live in Hangberg. But the transformation

process "stumbled" (De Greef 2013). Now, equitable access to economic resources remains a contestation between the 'structured structure' of the Hangberg habitus and new, post-apartheid 'objective structures'. Economic failures and social engineering continue to strain the evolution of the Hangberg habitus because of the significance of its geographical and social space (Bourdieu 2005, 47).

De Greef describes the people of Hangberg that he encountered and came to know through his research on illegal abalone fishing practices in South Africa:

> For many of them, stepping out of Hangberg entails being exposed to a hostile system of values and cultural norms, to widespread racial stereotyping and prejudice, and to internalised negative self-judgements of what it means to be coloured and poor (2014).

The "generative grammar" of habitus, its "principle of invention" and improvisation (Bourdieu 2005) is stunted in Hangberg because "the dispositions of agents, their habitus, that is, the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world, are essentially the product of an internalization of the structures of the social world" (Bourdieu 1990, 130-131).

An important layer of the structure of the Hangberg habitus is race. In the documentary film, *Uprising in Hangberg*, one resident says:

> They call us the coloured people but we are not the coloured people. The system *made* coloured people (Kaganof 2010).

'Being coloured' is an elusive concept (Zegeye 2002). It is a characterization made real in the arbitrary vocabulary of racial segregation invented by apartheid but as a category it remains "powerfully rooted in the materiality of everyday life" (Posel 2001, 109). This 'material' place in the racial hierarchy created by apartheid is evident in Hangberg.

Hangberg is one of three distinct communities that make up the Hout Bay valley. The other two communities are Hout Bay Village with mostly white, middle-class residents and Imizamo Yethu with mostly Black African, poor residents who started settling in the area in 1991/92. As a picture of a "mini-South Africa" the Hout Bay valley represents many of the contradictions and tensions that characterise South Africa after 1994 (Froestad 2005).

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Froestad describes these contradictions and tensions as emerging from a tiered structure of racial privilege that put white interests at the top, with some privilege to coloured people by declaring the Western Cape a "coloured labour preference area" and no privilege to Black Africans by denying them accommodation to limit the "influx of Black African people into the Western Cape (Froestad 2005, 338).

Coloured habitus in Hangberg, as in the rest of South Africa, is a complex "generative grammar" constantly producing "new sentences according to determinate patterns within determinate limits" (Bourdieu 2005, 46). Zegeye, for example, ascribes the "regression" in racial politics, in which coloured voters re-establish themselves as "coloured people" engendering "coloured politics" as a response to material competition with the Black African working class (2002, 327-328). Thus, the tensions and contradictions in the terms of co-existence between racially diverse groups determine the limits of the 'generative grammar' of coloured racial identity. Zegeye describes the dilemma of coloured identity formation in South Africa referring to the experience of Erasmus:

> In the end, growing up meant for Erasmus that she was *not only* not white, but *less than white;* also that she was *not only* not black, but that she was *better than black.* That was also how people in her community referred to Africans. The humiliation of being 'less than white' made being 'better than black' a very fragile position to occupy (2002, 328).

The Hangberg habitus exemplifies this fragile position. It continues to be structured by historical discourses of race and patterns of economic injustice. The paradox of democracy and the paradox of the media referred to in the previous chapter limit the generative dynamic beyond limits pre-determined by colonialism and apartheid.

3. Hout Bay, Hangberg, Hout Bay

One journalist describes the post-apartheid Hout Bay as a "once rustic village" divided in "three distinct enclaves":

> Black residents are confined to the overcrowded Imizamo Yethu, which sprawls over the slopes of Skoorsteenkop; coloured (sic) people live in the dense, bleak township

of Hangberg near the harbour across the bay; white people are sandwiched in the verdant armpit between – some in mansions up to R11-million[7] (Thamm 2006).

Another journalist describes Hangberg, in relation to Imizamo Yethu, as a 'coloured township clinging to the opposite side of the Hout Bay Valley' with 'Hout Bay proper, an almost exclusively white middle-class area locked away behind razor wire and hi-tech alarms' in between (Jordan 2007).

> The smallest group of residents, about 8000 people, are coloureds who live on the slopes of Hangberg, overlooking Chapman's Peak. In this community only four kids successfully finished their matric exam last year. An estimated 80% of high school kids have used tik[8]. About 40% of all black and coloured people in Hout Bay are unemployed (Joubert 2007c).

In South Africa, nomenclature, or how one refers to the areas where people live, has political significance. To the ear that is not familiar with the apartheid legacy of racial segregation and urban planning, these descriptions could be confusing and even misleading.

For example, of the three areas referred to – Hout Bay, Imizamo Yethu, and Hangberg – only Hout Bay would probably be referred to as a village in "naturally occurring language use" (Wodak and Meyer 2016, 2).

When Thamm (2006) describes Hout Bay as a "once rustic village" it is probably a reference to a time when most of the people who lived in Hout Bay were white; before poor Black African residents started settling in Imizamo Yethu in the early 1990s, and before Hangberg's bleakness became so visible from Hout Bay due to the increasing demand on land and housing. In naturally occurring language use in South Africa, sensitive language users would refer to Imizamo Yethu as an informal settlement; others would continue to refer to it as a 'squatter camp'.

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[7] At the time of writing ZAR1.00 is worth roughly US$13

[8] The popular name in Cape Town for the drug crystal methamphetamine

Language to describe the area of Hangberg is a bit more problematic. Most South Africans would not refer to it as a village, nor would it be referred to as an informal settlement although parts of it could be described as such. Newspapers, and indeed residents of Hangberg themselves, often use Hangberg and Hout Bay interchangeably. Some newspapers are consistent in referring to Hangberg as 'Hangberg in Hout Bay', or 'Hout Bay's Hangberg informal settlement' (Tolsi 2011). Newspapers would often use Hout Bay in a headline even if the report clearly refers exclusively to the Hangberg community, arguably for the sake of readers who are likely to be familiar with Hout Bay but unaware of Hangberg. Headlines of news reports from the same newspaper about fishing disasters that happened a few days apart are examples of what could arguably be interpreted as carelessness in the attention Hangberg and its citizens warrant from mainstream journalists: On 31 March, 2006 a headline in the *Cape Times* reads: "Hangberg fishing community packs memorial service" (Hartley 2006). Three days later, in the same newspaper, a headline reads: "Desperation sends Hout Bay fisher on fatal trip" (Dolley 2006a).

My own, anecdotal, experience is that many residents in Cape Town confuse Hangberg with Imizamo Yethu and Imizamo Yethu with Hangberg. Some, even some people who live in Hout Bay, do not know that the area adjacent to the Hout Bay harbour – is home to the Hangberg community.

Civic organisations representing Hangberg residents use the name Hout Bay as in the Hout Bay Civic Association (HBCA). The branch of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in Hangberg, for example, is called the Hout Bay SACP. The few letters to editors from Hangberg residents that form part of the corpus of newspaper texts under analysis in this study often state Hout Bay as place of residency rather than Hangberg.

When the people who live in Hangberg talk about where they live, they use Hangberg and Hout Bay interchangeably. As if it is the same place. As if it is an area *in* Hout Bay. But it is not.

Khoisan hunter-gatherers, living off the ocean, were the first inhabitants of Hout Bay. Their descendants were there when the Dutch East India Company arrived in the Cape to use the wood in the surrounding area as timber for ship repairs, buildings and fuel. In 1677 the first agreement was signed to rent land to settler farmers. In 1867 a German immigrant began to farm and fish in the area. At the time fish were caught in sufficient quantities to start

exporting to Mauritius (2000). It was this and a lucrative export market to Europe in the early 1900s, particularly for rock lobster, that resulted in measures implemented by industrialised fishing practices that started to exclude the small-scale Hout Bay fishers from access to the resources from the ocean that were their livelihood (see De Greef 2013 for a detailed account of the importance of fishing to Hangberg's past and present history).

In the 1950s the Population Registration Act of 1950 divided Hout Bay Village by race. The so-called coloured people – many of them descendants from the first Khoisan hunter-gatherers (Kaganof 2010) – who were forced to move from where they lived *in* Hout Bay to Hangberg, an area *of* Hout Bay.

Now almost 50,000 people live in Hout Bay: close to 10,000 live in Hangberg, more than 20,000 people live in Imizamo Yethu, and the rest of the people live in the former white residential area of Hout Bay.

For some Hangberg residents, referring to where they stay as Hout Bay is therefore a political statement in defiance to the appropriation of Hout Bay by middle-class and affluent, mostly white, people.

> When we grew up this was called Hout Bay, not Hangberg. It is the 'maddies' and the 'paddies' (white madams and white bosses) who call this Hangberg. The maddies who walk with the slingbags. *– female participant in group interviews*

The authorities, officialdom, or journalists may now refer to where they live as the 'Hangberg settlement' but as far as most residents themselves are concerned, they live in Hout Bay.

In the analysis of the information in chapters five and six, I refer to Hout Bay Valley as the area that includes Hangberg, Imizamo Yethu, and Hout Bay. When I refer to Hout Bay I refer to the previously white, middle- and upper-class suburb adjacent to Hangberg. For clarity, I will use Hangberg to refer to the area in which this study is situated and where I did my research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

1. Introduction

The empirical objective of this study is to understand access in terms of the relationship between poor citizens and mainstream journalists as interlocutors – mediating participants *and* interpreters – in spaces of political deliberation. To understand this relationship, the starting point for considering the nature of the research project is methods that would enable an understanding of the position of poor citizens in terms of their perceptions of participation in political deliberation and their interaction with mainstream journalists. I then compare and contrast these perceptions with ways in which mainstream journalists pay attention to poor citizens as reflected in news reports.

The design of the research project and methodologies with which to examine questions of access to mediated spaces of political deliberation, depends on a number of considerations. In my experience these considerations do not emerge in a linear fashion. Rather, an "intellectual map" (Brennen 2013, 7) emerges and unfolds along a number of sites: the local and global in which the study is situated, concerns in the researcher's particular field of interest, the community of researchers that forms the soundboard for these concerns, paradigmatic frames that raise the researcher's curiosity, and, perhaps most importantly, a set of personal priorities, values and concerns. The nature of a research project, and methodological choices are therefore "a conditioned or circumscribed attempt to construct (a) reality" and implicated by a researcher's personal priorities, values and concerns (Halloran 2006, 33-34).

2. Ontological considerations

As background to the sites and locales that form part of the 'intellectual map' of this study I start this section by drawing attention to assumptions evolving from personal, professional, and previous research experience, may have circumscribed and conditioned this study.

2.1 The 'I' in this research: media as a formative force

> *"I have invoked my positionality in this awkward way so as to accentuate the fact that calling the place of the investigator into question remains a meaningless piety in many recent critiques of the sovereign subject. Thus, although I will attempt to foreground the*

precariousness of my position throughout, I know such gestures can never suffice"
(Spivak 1988, 271).

My personal connection to the world described in this study is embedded in the comforting media rituals that were part of my childhood in 1960s South Africa: listening to the news, weather forecasts, the evening benedictions, radio dramas, and broadcasts of rugby and boxing matches. News media connected me not only to an adult world but also to a community outside of, beyond, and bigger than my childhood world. The information from the newspapers and the radio resonated in the conversation around dinner tables and family lunches: What to make of the latest government decisions, what would the weather do, why the latest episode of the radio drama did not live up to expectation, and why the rugby team was not performing as it should. Older, I could stay awake for election results that were broadcast live on the radio. A beep-beep-beep called everyone to the radio to jot down the numbers and make meaning of percentages and incremental wins and losses. We were white, we spoke Afrikaans, my politically active family worked and voted for the National Party, and I felt "slightly less alive when unhooked" (Carey 1989, 1) from the news media.

The radio, newspapers, and later, television, were integrated in how the people closest to me constructed and interpreted their lived experience. To interpret the anger of the young people in Soweto protesting the use of my mother tongue in June 1976, my 16-year-old vocabulary evolved from the political vocabulary of adults. When Steve Biko's death in police custody was announced on the radio in September 1977, I remember the awkward silence in our household. If I now analyse this silence critically I can see how the news about Biko's death was "intimately linked with the actions and opinions" (Richardson 2007, 1) of the then powerful Afrikaans and white social group that informed my worldview at the time. Did this news seed moral discomfort? Did this news report bring with it the first stirrings of an as yet unarticulated consciousness of the necessary disruption of the political status quo?

In the early 1980s I started working as a journalist at the Daily Dispatch newspaper in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. It was the province where Biko worked, where he was imprisoned, and it was, of course, the birthplace of Nelson Mandela. It was a part of South Africa where political contestation between race and culture was impressed on the past and the present.

The Daily Dispatch was the newspaper where Donald Woods – by this time the former editor, and in exile in London – exposed the details of Steve Biko's death in detention. By then I knew that Biko was a black consciousness icon and that his death was, in no small part, an injustice of apartheid. A state of emergency was in place for most of the decade or so that I worked at the newspaper. South Africa was being shaken with the volition of political change and "journalists were a vital part of public life" (Sparks 1991, 58).

The concept of democracy as a balance between the power of the state, the power of citizens, and the mediating power of the newspaper where I worked as a journalist was of real and daily consequence. News judgment, story framing, sourcing, and story form were more than journalistic routines – it was political choices about who to talk to, who to listen to, and what frames to use for particular events. Defying the voice of the state meant providing a voice to someone or something else. These were deliberate choices of recognising some voices over others and making some viewpoints more visible than others.

Later, working in the field of HIV and AIDS advocacy, my perspective on democracy shifted from the media to citizens. The experience of getting journalists to recognise more nuanced approaches to HIV and AIDS coverage, forced me to think differently about the potential of the media to catalyse inclusive conversations about political decision-making. The HIV and AIDS epidemic that was visible in mainstream spaces of political deliberation was often far removed from the epidemic that I recognised on field trips and in the research data I worked with.

I experienced the validating power of the media; and that this power could mean the difference between life and death. For example, media coverage of the benefits of vitamins or other so-called health regimes to treat AIDS was often framed as presenting both sides of the story. When AIDS patients dropped out of their anti-retroviral treatment – at best not a pleasant or easy regime to maintain – patients often told me and other researchers that they had dropped out because of something they read in newspapers or magazines. At a time when treatment was not universally available in South Africa, the switch patients made from a treatment regime backed by scientific evidence to medicines supported by pseudo-scientific evidence was arguably a death sentence.

There were many exceptional journalists who were thoughtful in their coverage of the epidemic, and committed to the highest ethical standards of health reporting. But in general,

HIV and AIDS were framed as an epidemic that only affected poor and black citizens. While it was true that it was an epidemic that mostly affected poor, Black South African citizens – mostly women – the media coverage created an impression that white or educated or middle class people were immune to HIV infection. This framing compounded the stigma of HIV.

It was not that the mainstream media did not create spaces for deliberation about possible courses for action to respond to the HIV and AIDS crisis, or that journalists did not talk to those affected by HIV and AIDS. The problem seems to be that when citizens affected by HIV and AIDS appeared in mediated deliberative spaces they appeared as 'others' – as citizens that more privileged citizens could remain distant from. When journalists talked about HIV and AIDS they were often more interested in talking to politicians and health experts than to people who were living with the illness and who had first-hand experience about what the problems were that fuelled the epidemic in their communities and what could be done about it. The language about the experience of living with HIV and AIDS therefore became a language that was as unfamiliar to citizens mostly affected by the epidemic, as it was to ordinary citizens who were unaffected by it. Those citizens – mostly privileged and middle-class – who felt they were unaffected by the epidemic remained distant and hesitant to participate in deliberative spaces created in the mainstream media.

I looked for empirical answers to what appeared to me as a diluted public and political conversation – in this case about HIV and AIDS – because of the media's predisposition for voices with political or expert power.

In my Master's thesis (Oelofsen 2010) I considered three theoretical frameworks – public journalism, democratic professionalism, and deliberative democracy – to reassess the political work of journalists and the political work of citizens in democracy. In that thesis, I contested the validity of the assumed centrality of the media in healthy democratic process. I argued that the political agency of citizens had been eroded partly because the media framed public concerns in ways that did not connect with the lived experience of citizens. In the media, the concerns and priorities of citizens were sidelined in favour of the priorities of powerful state, economic and other "experts" who had come to determine the news agenda. I argued further that representative government, or what is generally known as liberal democracy, was losing its currency because citizens regarded the political system as indifferent and unresponsive to their problems and their circumstances (Oelofsen 2010).

In preparation for this study, my interest shifted from an interest in theoretical frameworks to the experience of citizens themselves. Because of my experience with the marginalising effect of HIV and AIDS, and because of the prevailing conditions of poverty in South Africa post 1994, the marginalising effects of poverty was of interest to me. I wanted to move the empirical focus away from abstract and theoretical notions of mediated spaces to an understanding of what interaction between marginalised citizens and journalists looks like and sounds like. How do poor citizens talk about their lived reality? Who do people talk to, and where? Do poor citizens translate their lived reality in terms of political participation? What does political deliberation mean to poor citizens? Where and how do they participate in political deliberation? How do they talk to, and about journalists and the media? How and where do journalists working in the mainstream media talk to poor citizens? How does that translate in the narrative about poor citizens in mediated spaces of political deliberation? And, what does this reveal about the inclusivity in South Africa's spaces of mediated political deliberation?

Insight in the terms of engagement between journalists and marginalised citizens, I hope, would contribute to an understanding of how mainstream mediated spaces of political deliberation could be more inclusive and more politically accountable to differently disposed citizens of the South African polity.

2.2 Assumptions about healthy democracies, citizens, and journalists

In a healthy democracy citizens and political decision makers talk and listen to each other. Healthy democracies are "indeed very talkative" (Posel quoted in Garman 2005, 201). Voting is one manifestation of the power of decision making citizens entrust to their political representatives. In between, citizens talk to, shout at, and may occasionally listen to each other. These forms of deliberation are some of the mechanisms that give form to the normative promise of self-government: political representatives make decisions sanctioned by the authority of citizens.

The process of sanctioning involves a complex network of connections between political representatives and citizens to legitimise a representative basis. One such connection is through voting. Another connection is through public meetings. Sometimes political representatives meet citizens face-to-face. Most of the time, in contemporary democracy, the

connection between political representatives and citizens is mediated and sustained through journalists who have access to the ears of citizens, and the ears of political representatives.

Journalists "provoke and promote the talk" (Garman 2005, 201) between citizens and political representatives. In hearing what citizens think should be done about public problems, and in hearing what political representatives decide to do about these problems, journalists catalyse a cycle of engagement that is visible in the public realm. Through journalists, citizens talk, political representatives respond, citizens respond again, political representatives adjust their responses, and so on.

This cycle of engagement is not linear, and it may or may not be iterative. Talking and listening between citizens, between political decision makers, and even between journalists themselves, make up a web of conversations, some of which become part of a public cycle of engagement, some of which remain dislodged from catalytic spaces, and some of which are mediated by mainstream journalists.

There are other important spaces where citizens have contact with one another to form opinions and consider decisions about what to do about common concerns. In some cases, the contact is with other citizens in the communities where they live and it concerns problems they experience in that community. In some cases, this interaction is structured – as in a public meeting organized by a civic group or by a political party – but most of the time it is not; citizens find one another on the street while waiting for children to finish school, or at the clinic, waiting for medical assistance. Or they meet for a drink at a local bar or where they work. As citizens, journalists and political decision makers also have access to these spaces.

The spaces, structured or perchance, where citizens have contact with citizens are also public and may even catalyse change, but these discussions or conversations are different from the discursive participation catalysed in the mainstream media. What makes mediated spaces different is the potential that exists for these spaces to reflect a range of concerns. In other words, these spaces could potentially be a meeting place where journalists introduce citizens to a range of concerns that transcend boundaries of difference. When citizens attend public meetings, or when they talk to parents at their children's schools, or talk at the local pub, they are still likely to talk to people who are like them and who have similar concerns. In mediated spaces of political deliberation, journalists create spaces where "everything that appears …

can be seen and heard by everybody". In this virtual, but common space, "the presence of others who see what we see and hear what we hear assures us of the reality of the world and ourselves" (Arendt 1958, 50). These inclusive mediated spaces become spaces with transformative power because it increases the potential for accountable political action.

3. Paradigmatic considerations

In chapter one of this thesis I described the relevance of the research project in the South African context. I then proposed how this research may be relevant to build on and add insight to current theoretical propositions at the intersection of studies of media and democracy as these relate to issues of citizenship and discursive participation in mediated spaces of political deliberation.

To explore these issues, I use some quantitative, but mostly qualitative methods assuming that a qualitative approach is the most likely approach to help understand the nuances suggested in questions of access to mediated deliberation: "What kinds of things are going on here? What are the forms of this phenomenon? What variations do [I] find in this phenomenon" (Lofland in Lindlof 1991, 24)?

Wimmer and Dominick (2000) warn that assumptions about the use of 'qualitative' is problematic and possibly confusing as some researchers limit 'qualitative' to a description of methods used to collect information while others use it to describe an approach that is inherently anti-positivist. To complicate and confuse matters further, qualitative researchers themselves resist defining the term, fearing a definition may limit the qualitative "technique". In order to overcome the lack of definitional clarity, Wimmer and Dominick suggests that the word "qualitative" holds three levels of reference: "a broad philosophy and approach to research", a research methodology, and to "a specific set of research techniques" (2000, 103).

For Brennen (2013) the confusion – although she does not refer to it as a confusion – lies in disagreement in the research community about whether "qualitative" constitutes a paradigm in itself or whether it is a methodological field influenced by other paradigms. She proposes that:

> [I]t is important to remember that it is the worldview, philosophy or theoretical framework that guides the questions qualitative researchers ask as well as the method

or methods they choose to use in their research. Qualitative researchers do not pick a method they wish to use and then frame their research questions around their chosen method. For qualitative researchers the choice of method comes from the questions they wish to ask (2013, 10).

The questions I ask in this study suggest a methodological approach embedded in critical and interpretive paradigms of social science research.

Practices of political and economic association – like those posed by Heller (2009) and McLennan (2009) in the previous chapters – imply questions about power. Political participation, as Heller argues, depends on access to association, deliberation and choice formation that are assumed as norms that support "democratic political authority" (2009, 125). A critical and interpretive paradigm drive questions of power, authority, and the visibility of practices of political and economic association among poor citizens in South Africa. As an epistemological basis, critical and interpretive approaches inform the way in which the study design arrives at questions about the effect of asymmetrical power relations on the potential of poor citizens to participate in deliberative political spaces. A critical lens explores the contingency of political participation on class, race and institutional capacity in South Africa. In this instance a critical framework explores how "injustice and subjugation shape the lived world" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003, 459) of poor citizens.

Fairclough and Wodak typify critical awareness of discursive practices as an element of social struggles. Within the critical framework, the analysis of language and the interpretation of talk and text, is motivated by an "emancipatory" interest; it "intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups" (1997, 259).

Kincheloe and McLaren point out that using the word emancipation requires careful articulation (2003, 437). I do not use it here to suggest the possibility that I, or the citizens, or the journalists I study could ever be fully liberated from those conditions that produce us, nor do I use it to suggest that this research may emancipate others. I use emancipation as a critical description for the possibility of being free from "forces that prevent individuals and groups from shaping the decisions that crucially affect their lives" (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003, 437).

There are many moments in the research process when the critical dynamic of critical theory is crucial but none more important than interpretation. "The hermeneutic act of interpretation involves in its most elemental articulation making sense of what has been observed in a way that communicates understanding" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 259).

The burden of interpretation manifests in this study in at least three ways: in the group interviews I interpret how poor citizens understand the link between their lived reality, political participation and their access to journalists and political decision-makers. In the news reports I examine how journalists pay attention to poor citizens and the kinds of understanding their articulation generates about the political agency of poor citizens. Further, as the researcher I am engaged in an ongoing reflection of my own interpretation of what I observe and how I account for those observations in ways that communicate understanding.

Considering the multiple layers of voice can be a challenge to the researcher as listener. Lincoln and Guba (2003) articulate this challenge:

> As researchers become more conscious of the abstracted realities their texts created, they became simultaneously more conscious of having readers 'hear' their informants – permitting readers to hear the exact words … of the informants (2003, 282).

Critical interpretation is therefore about more than critical reading of the empirical information. It requires methodological rigour and a thorough understanding of the context (Lincoln and Guba 2003, 282).

Kincheloe and McLaren argue that the critical interpretation that grounds critical qualitative research is a move in the direction of "normative hermeneutics" (2003, 443). In terms of methodology this normativity implies clarification of the conditions in which interpretation and understanding happen and a clear description of the purpose and procedures of interpretation. Qualitative researchers committed to critical interpretation "build bridges" between readers and texts, between texts and their producers, between historical and current contexts and between "one particular social circumstance and another" (2003, 445).

Considerations for my own language proficiency as a factor to gain access to research participants – I describe these considerations in the next section – can be interpreted as a bridge between the text and me as the producer of this study text. The critical examination of

the South African context serves as a bridge to a broader understanding of how poor citizens are positioned vis-à-vis journalists in political deliberative spaces. My examination of the field setting, Hangberg, is an effort to understand how texts considered in the study can be deconstructed, how they are embedded in social conditions and what the links are to historical and prevailing ideologies and power conditions. I enter this investigation with my assumptions on the table so that there is no confusion about the "epistemological and political baggage" I bring to the research site (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003, 445).

If "analysis is the act of giving meaning to data" (Corbin and Strauss 2008, 64), it is perhaps in this act of meaning giving that the critical approach to this study is most apparent. I wanted to take the data apart, conceptualise it, and develop "properties and dimensions" that determine "what the parts tell us about the whole" (Corbin and Strauss 2008, 64). But I also wanted to determine what the parts say about the potential for transforming the whole. Kincheloe and McLaren (2003) describe this objective:

> To engage in critical postmodern research is to take part in a process of critical world making, guided by the shadowed outline of a dream of a world less conditioned by misery, suffering, and the politics of deceit. It is, in short, a pragmatics of hope in an age of cynical reason" (2003, 472).

4. Research design

What do I want to know in this study? And why? This is the seemingly simple starting point from which the researcher starts to map out the a research plan to decide what to study, under what circumstances, and with whom (Janesick 1994, 211).

When I started considering methods for collecting empirical information I had already broadly determined the research topic and its relevance. This evolved from the ontological considerations described earlier in this chapter. In the next stage of the process I asked a series of questions to help me "get off the ground" (Corbin and Strauss 2008, 69).

I started by demarcating two areas of interest: political participation in a democratic context, and the relationship between political participation and access to, and use of legacy media.

This exercise generated three conceptual starting points:

1. I wanted to know how poor citizens think about themselves as participants in the public space of political deliberation, and if there was a relationship between these perceptions and their perceptions of the access they have to journalists.

2. I wanted to know more about the experience poor citizens have in their efforts to access journalists, or what their experience feels like on those occasions that they do have access to journalists. What would prompt poor citizens to seek access to journalists? And in what form? Do they, for example, phone in to participate in talk shows? Or do they consider participating as audience members in live television broadcasts?

3. I wanted to know more about how mainstream journalists interact with poor citizens and how these interactions are represented in actual coverage of events related to the lived experiences of poor citizens.

At this point I depended on certain assumptions to distil questions this research could examine: I assumed that access to the media, and media use informed how citizens think of political process. I assumed further, that access to media information provides citizens with a sense of their position in political process. The information citizens read in newspapers, or hear on the radio, or see on television tells a story of the possibilities that exist for citizens in a democratic South Africa to be a part of political process. My assumption was that this information either reflects citizens as part of a political community which has a hand in shaping their future, or that the information alienates citizens from politics. Information alienates citizens because it is represented as something that happens in parliament and among politicians and has little to do with their day-to-day lived experience.

In March 2012, findings from the Afrobarometer survey (2012e) were released showing how the views of South Africans had shifted on democracy and on media freedom: in 2008, 80% of South Africans said they believed the media had a right to publish without government control; by 2011, 61% stood by that statement. The survey also showed that people believing that government should have a right to prevent the media from publishing news which "might harm society" had doubled from 16% in 2008 to 33% in 2012. Some 64% of South Africans said they would give up regular elections to live under a non-elected government who could provide jobs and houses.

In August 2012, at the time when I was considering my research strategy and design, 34 miners were shot dead by the South African Police during an unprotected strike at Marikana

mine. Critics of the media coverage of the Marikana shootings argued that the poor coverage of Marikana was evidence of a deeper deficit in mainstream coverage.

> The coverage neglected to factor in alternative views, including those of the protesting miners themselves. Instead, the news media became a loudspeaker for powerful interests in the South African political and social-economic nexus, neglecting fundamental problems underlining labour relations in South Africa. Journalists trumped up conflicts and polarisations, further exacerbating rifts between the various stakeholders (Rodny-Gumede 2015).

The Afrobarometer findings, in combination with the critique of media coverage on the street protests and the Marikana shootings raised for me pertinent questions about the relationship between poor people, democracy, and the role of journalists in democracy. It further raised questions about the political agency of socio-economically marginalised citizens. To what extent does the representation in the mainstream public sphere diminish the political agency that exists among poor people? And how does this representation contribute to what looks like a political system that seems, at best incapable of, and at worst unwilling to respond to the political will of poor citizens?

Is the mediated public space in South Africa a space where poor citizens feel they can participate as equals in negotiating political solutions to the social and economic problems facing South Africa?

Returning to the implications of the Afrobarometer findings, several questions arise: what does it mean if citizens say they are willing to give up democracy for jobs and houses? What are the implications of the downward trend in people believing that the media have a right to publish freely without government intervention? Is there a connection between the views citizens have of democracy and the views citizens have of the media? And if there is a connection, does it have anything to do with how citizens relate to the media or more specifically to journalists?

These questions crystallised into the research question:

How does material and social inequality in post-apartheid South Africa affect access to the news media? What does this mean for constructing inclusively mediated, mainstream spaces for political deliberation?

5. Methods for collecting information

5.1 Interviews

Rather than the experience of political or other community leaders I wanted to probe the experience of ordinary citizens to capture the experience of social actors who speak of and for themselves about their experience and behaviour. Instead of key informant interviews, I therefore opted for semi-structured interviews with small groups that could be described as respondent and / or discursive interviews (Tracy 2013). In discursive interviews the emphasis is on the researcher's interpretation of how participants articulate structures of power and how they "draw upon larger structural discourses in creating their answers" (Tracy 2013, 141).

I hesitate to call these focus group discussions for two reasons. The first is that focus group interviews seem – at least in a historical, quantitative sense – more associated with market or mass communication research (Lunt and Livingstone 1996, Wimmer and Dominick 2000, Brennen 2013). Focus groups are further used to orient researchers to possible new fields of study, or as an instrument with which to test questions, refine the focus of topics for further research, evaluate research sites, or to understand how people interpret certain experiences from earlier studies (Wimmer and Dominick 2000, Morgan 1988).

Secondly, moderating a focus group seems to be different from interviewing. A focus group facilitator uses a discussion guide, but the emphasis is on observing the interaction between the group participants. The facilitator's role is to describe and interpret the group dynamics as much as the information emerging from the discussion (Silverman 2006, 110, Morgan 1988). The dynamics between the interviewees in the case of the semi-structured interviews I opted for were not unimportant, but it was, for me, less important than the description and interpretation of the interviewees of their experiences of talking about political participation and talking about their interaction with political representatives and journalists.

My objective with structuring an interview guide was for it to be flexible enough to allow for effective probing of responses, yet structured enough to enable me to compare how different interviewees responded differently to similar questions – for example, do young people respond differently from older people, or do women respond differently from men.

Civic identity, says Dahlgren, does not emanate from abstractions. Rather, civic identity emanates from different political cultures using particular vocabularies. Civic identity takes on meaning in "concrete activities of engagement, in particular political communities, to achieve particular political goals" (Dahlgren 2009, 65). I therefore considered interviews as a way of finding out how people talk about talking. If "conversation is the primary medium through which social interaction takes place" (Silverman 2006, 203), the logic of interviews enabled me to capture the concrete activities of engagement and the particular vocabularies poor citizens use.

Tracy (2013) suggests a number of different ways to capture demographic information as part of a qualitative approach. I developed an additional questionnaire that contained demographic questions in addition to closed-ended and open-ended questions related to the interview. I asked participants to fill out this questionnaire before starting the interview. The advantage of this additional questionnaire was that, apart from providing demographic information about the participants, it provided an opportunity for the participants to consider certain positions before they entered the group discussion. It also provided in opportunity for participants who felt uncomfortable to offer minority opinions within the group to do so in private (Wimmer and Dominick 2000, 119-120).

The interviews probed perceptions of the most pressing problems in Hangberg, possibilities for discussing these problems in public forums, with community leaders and with the media, understandings of political participation, perceptions of media representations of the community, and perceptions of what the media can do to help citizens understand and solve problems in Hangberg.

5.2 News reports

Decisions about the "corpus" – the texts that constitute the data for the project (Mautner 2008, 35) – start with considerations about the particular genres, the media outlets, and the output that is relevant for the study (Bell 1991, 12). In the process of selecting data,

subjectivity is almost unavoidable. The only way to counterbalance this subjectivity is through transparent and accountable justification of selection choices that are open to "critical scrutiny" (Mautner 2008, 37).

Hagen (1992) distinguishes between democratisation through the media and democratisation in the media. He argues that the former is about participation of citizens in dialogue, debate and deliberation, while the latter is about involving citizens in the production of content and in decisions about the structure of the media. In this study, I am more concerned with democratisation through the media than democratisation in the media. My focus is on the practice of the news media as it exists in the legacy forms of newspapers, radio and television.

Boyd-Barrett and Newbold may argue that there is "little to be gained" (2006, 3) by trying to limit a study on media to 'traditional' media, but in the South African context, the influence of, and widespread use of traditional media justifies the study's limit to traditional media. Almost nine out of 10 South Africans use radio and television as their primary news source on a daily basis and almost six out of ten South Africans get their news from newspapers. Most South Africans own mobile phones but 'smart phones' and internet access "remains the preserve of a very small minority" (Glenn and Mattes 2011). The latest available census figures show that 65% of households in South Africa do not have access to the internet (2012c, 101). More recent figures from Effective Measures (2014a) give a clearer picture of skewed apartheid racial privilege also driving access to technology with half of South Africa's Internet users being white, 33% are Black, 7% coloured and 4% Indian. Measured against the racial demographics of South Africa – 9% White, 80% Black, 9% coloured, 3% Indian / Asian (Couldry 2012) – the enduring socio-economic bias in favour of the white population is evident.

Boyd-Barrett and Newbold also argue that "very much the same kinds of questions (but also very different questions) can be asked of the 'new' as were asked of the 'old'" (2006, 3). Nyamnjoh's argument in this regard is particularly important for this study:

> The media – conventional and alternative, old and new, traditional or modern, interpersonal or mass – can, in principle, facilitate popular empowerment as a societal project (2010, 62).

That is the logic that informs the examination of media in this study. My objective here is to understand which 'old questions' could be asked differently. Which are the new and different questions that emerge if the function of 'old' media is radically reconsidered in terms of society and social relations in South Africa's political context?

I stated in the first chapter of this thesis that the focus of this study is on the mainstream media as brokers of access to deliberative public spaces in South Africa. I wanted to capture news coverage in mainstream sources with likelihood of being accessible to the interpretive community in Hangberg. The demographic information I have about the Hangberg community suggests that it was unlikely that citizens here used online platforms to access news. This is supported by information on the Facebook and Twitter pages of two of the most popular newspapers among coloured readers in the Western Cape: Die Son, which claims a readership of more than one million people, indicates just more than 150,000 likes on their Facebook page and just more than 8,000 Twitter followers. The Daily Voice, with a readership of more than 400 million a day, has 8,800 likes on their Facebook page and just more than 1,000 Twitter followers. This can be compared to the Mail & Guardian newspaper that has a weekly circulation of less than 40,000 but more than 300,000 Facebook followers and almost 450,000 followers on Twitter. I therefore use news reports that appeared in the printed copies of the newspapers as one of two criteria for the newspaper genre.

Another criterion is geographical reach or what Bell (1991) calls a "receiver-oriented" and / or "sender-oriented" news outlets (1991, 20). Along with news sources accessible to the Hangberg community – titles in Cape Town – I also want to capture discursive practices in news reports of journalists who readily have access to, or claim access to, poor citizens like the citizens living in Hangberg. In the case of this corpus I therefore use both. Even if the people in Hangberg were more likely to have access to newspapers and journalists who work in the Cape Town area – to receive the news in Bell's definition – I include news reports that appear in mainstream newspapers distributed outside of Cape Town. This provides an added analytical "sender-oriented" dimension about the likelihood of the story of Hangberg and its citizens finding its way into the broader, national deliberative public space.

Within the newspaper genre I distinguish seven "labels" (Bell 1991, 14): hard news, feature articles, comment and opinion, headlines, by-lines, letters to the editor, and page numbers in the case of hard news.

To obtain an initial "universe of possible texts" (Tischer et al in Mautner 2008, 35) I accessed the archives of the SA Media Service hosted by Sabinet. South Africa's University of the Free State (UFS) established this service in 1977. It consists of a comprehensive archive of newspaper clippings online. Using the keyword *Hangberg* I generated 437 news reports with a date range between January 1994 and December 2014.

Three issues in this decision are pertinent in the interest of accountable and transparent choice-making about the process of corpus-building. First, the use of the keyword, *Hangberg,* prevented the possibility of "cherry-picking" texts (Mautner 2008, 37) that support my personal views and ignoring those that are counter to what I expect to find. Secondly, the date range makes it possible to consider discursive patterns over twenty years starting in the year South Africa had its first democratic elections. Thirdly, the access to actual press clippings provide information about some of the normative considerations for producing news in print – the page and the section in which the stories appear and the typeface and size of the heading. The byline information helps me understand if there are indications of a different relationship between journalists and the community if a journalist covers a community over a longer period or on a particular issue. In my experience, information mined through a general online search of news organisations' web pages were frustrating in that it was unclear which reports actually appeared in the newspaper. Online information also did not provide me with the visual impact to determine the extent to which the story was prioritised in the newspaper. The fact that the Sabinet archive also provides opinion pieces, editorials, and letters to the editor related to Hangberg is an added advantage.

Bell (1991) cautions that using archival sources may not produce "accurate, comprehensive clipping which catches everything in the categories you have requested" (1991, 25). Since I am more concerned with understanding and interpreting certain thematic themes and approaches to news coverage than an accurate sample of particular categories of news I am satisfied that this database provides sufficient access to a comprehensive enough corpus of texts. The corpus represents coverage in 18 mainstream newspapers in South Africa representing all the major South African news organizations: Independent Media (Cape Argus, Cape Times, Daily News, Saturday Star, Sunday Independent), Media24 (Die Burger, Rapport, City Press), Times Media (Business Day, Daily Dispatch, Financial Mail, Sowetan, Sunday Times, Times), TNA Media (The New Age), M&G Media (the Mail & Guardian) and the Caxton Group who owns The Citizen.

The news organisations represented in this "universe of discourse" (Bell 1991, 10) produce news that can be interpreted as mainly targeting what Mautner (2008) calls "social mainstream", or the "dominant discourse" (2008, 32) in South Africa's deliberative public realm. The only newspaper in this cohort that could be described as representing both establishment and "dissident or idiosyncratic voices" (Mautner 2008, 32) is the Mail & Guardian. It is the only newspaper that endorsed the ANC in the first democratic elections in 1994 (Wasserman and de Beer 2005b, 197) and is strongly rooted in the struggle against the apartheid regime. It is now regarded as critical of the government "though scarcely a paper supporting the official opposition, the white-dominated Democratic Alliance" (Glenn and Mattes 2011, 18).

6. The fieldwork

Several considerations informed the strategy for gaining an entry point to people in the Hangberg community. The first consideration was access to a broad cross-section of ordinary citizens in the community. I excluded from this category community leaders, like representatives of civic organisations, school principals, church and business leaders. I further wanted to ensure that the interviewees included young people and women.

Since I did not know anyone who lived in Hangberg I started making inquiries about a possible first contact through other researchers who had worked in Hangberg before. More than one researcher referred me to the service workers at Hout Bay CARES (Community awareness rehabilitation education services), a multi-service centre that also supports drug users and families of drug users with recovery programmes, family education and "relapse prevention strategies" (http://www.cares.org.za/what-we-do/).

The first contact with the manager of Hout Bay CARES was via a telephone call. I explained briefly what the research project was about, and followed this information up with an email explaining the project in more detail. I provided her with confirmation of my status as a registered student, and briefly explained the interview protocols – for example, that I would like to make an audio recording of the interviews but that the participants could remain anonymous. Once she agreed to facilitate my entry into Hangberg I set up a face-to-face meeting and I met with her and some of the other councillors at the Centre.

I was conscious of the fact that gaining entry to the Hangberg community through an institutional contact had its pitfalls. Although money and time were factors in making methodological choices I wanted to avoid a "convenience or opportunistic sample" (Mautner 2008, 35). I therefore started off with contacts provided by councillors at Hout Bay Cares and then drew on participants through a process of snowball sampling, asking interviewees to suggest friends or family members in the community who would be willing to be interviewed. To avoid a snowball sample skewed to "one type of group, clique, or demographic" (Ward and Wasserman 2014, 5) I considered suggestions with potential to provide a range of interviewees in terms of age, gender, income and education.

I used the first interview as a 'pilot' to test the questions. For this purpose, I asked someone to observe the conversation and to make notes whenever the questions seem to be unclear. I also used this first interview to evaluate the flow of the questions. Although the first interview went well and the questions and the flow seemed to work well, I found that each interview was different and that, because of a particular group dynamic, I sometimes changed the sequence of the questions because the discussion was intuitively forcing the participants in a certain direction.

I conducted ten group interviews with between 2 and 5 participants in each group. Women and men together participated in three of the focus group discussions. Three of the focus groups consisted of only women and three focus groups consisted only of men. In one case I interviewed a single person because two participants who were supposed to join the group did not turn up. All the focus group participants said they were born in Hangberg or that they had lived there for most of their lives. After the seventh interview I sensed that I was not getting new insights to the questions.

I facilitated the interviews as an "active" or "reflective" listener. Brennen (Tracy 2013, 134) describes a facilitator with "active listening skills" as showing interest in what participants say by nodding or asking questions to clarify participants' statements. After Fern (2001), Brennen distinguishes four responses that characterize active listening: asking clarifying questions, paraphrasing responses, reflecting responses and summarizing responses (Tracy 2013, 136). I used all four of these techniques in the interviews.

In addition to participating in the group interviews, I asked each participant to complete the extended questionnaire individually before the start of the discussion. Overall, 23 of the

participants were willing or able to fill out the additional questionnaire – 15 women and eight men.

I set up the discussion guide with features I hoped would facilitate a narrative structure that is common in story telling: orientation or introduction, exposition or an opportunity to introduce events, culmination or an opportunity to get to "the point of the story", and a "coda" or an opportunity to explore a certain moral to, or a summary of the story (Wodak 2008, 16).

I used the same discussion guide for all the interviews.

The interviews were structured around three sets of questions. After protocol introductions, I framed the objective of the discussion:

> "I am talking to you and other people here in Hangberg to try to understand three things:
>
> 1. How do you and other people in this community *talk* and *listen* to each other when you talk about the problems you face here, and how you talk and listen to political leaders or other community leaders or people from government about the problems you experience here.
> 2. Where you and other people in Hangberg find information to help you understand what causes the problems in Hangberg and what can be done about it, and
> 3. What you and other people here in Hangberg do, or think you can do, to help solve the problems you face here."

I started the discussion with a question about the most pressing problem people talk about when they talk to other people in Hangberg. This was followed with a question about where people talk mostly about the problem and whom they would talk to about the problem. The participants were then prompted about their engagement with political or community leaders: "Would you, or people you know, contact a political leader or any other community leader in Hangberg to talk about this problem"?

Participants were asked how they would go about contacting community leaders (including political leaders) if they wanted to talk to them, and if there were places where the community would get together to listen to community leaders. Participants were asked what they would suggest community leaders and government officials could do if they wanted to

listen to what Hangberg citizens had to say about the problems facing the community. To understand if and how this community use media information in conversations about local problems and if they think the media have a role to play in keeping them informed, participants were asked if they had heard people mentioning the media (radio, television or newspapers) in discussions about local problems, if they had come across print, radio or television journalists who had come to Hangberg to talk to people and listen to them about the problems they face and if they thought there was something that journalists could do that would help community leaders and government officials to understand the problems they face. To get a better understanding of how participants defined the term 'politics' as part of their lived experience they were asked in this section of the discussion if they thought that people in Hangberg 'talk a lot about politics'.

To get a deeper understanding of the relationship between political participation and media information participants were first asked if they would say people in Hangberg participated in politics. They were then asked to describe what they meant when they say people 'participate in politics'. They were also asked about whom they thought participated most actively in community life. A more general question helped to get a sense of the distinction people make between political participation and public problems solving: "What kinds of things do you and other people in Hangberg do to help solve the problem of [issue mentioned as most pressing at the start of the discussion]? Exploring the local sense of agency generated by the media, participants were asked if they thought people participated in political activity because of something they had come across in newspapers, the radio or television. Participants were then prompted about their confidence and willingness to contact the media to raise awareness about problems in Hangberg. To inform recommendations that could emerge from this research, participants were asked what kind of information would be helpful to them to understand and resolve community problems and who should be providing that information.

To understand if and how the participants felt connected to a broader, South African body politic, participants were asked about what they could do, with other South Africans, to solve national problems. Participants were also asked about the values they thought they shared with other South Africans.

This is not a descriptive or ethnographic study of citizens talking about political participation and their experiences with journalists. I did not live in Hangberg for any length of time "listening, watching and interacting with people as they go about their lives" (Wodak 2008,

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16). Rather than a "complete participant" – who becomes immersed in, and part of the research community – my field role is better described as that of a "focused participant observer" (Wodak 2008, 16). Although my study was not a controlled study, which is usually associated with focused participant observation, I did enter into the Hangberg community with an explicit research status and research agenda, and I conducted interviews without long-term participation. Tracy points out that the pitfalls in the case of focused observation is that because researchers know what data they want to collect before they are familiar with the "scene or the people", important data may go unnoticed (Brennen 2013, 161). The fact that I examine 20 years of newspaper coverage of Hangberg in addition to the interviews may overcome and mitigate this shortcoming.

7. Analysis of the interviews and the news reports

In my analysis of two bodies of text – the interview transcripts and newspaper reports – I am guided more by the "sociological tradition" than the "linguistic tradition". In the sociological tradition text is treated as a "window into human experience" while the linguistic tradition approaches text as "an object of analysis itself" (Tracy 2013, 111-112). Wodak (2013, 113), after Van Dijk, argues that because "context is cognitive", researchers using discourse analysis have to know "which conceptual tools are relevant for a given problem and context" (Ryan and Bernard 2003, 259).

The conceptual tools that I use to analyse discourse in this study stem from a multi-disciplinary mix that emphasise language as a strategy for articulating action. This has more in common with approaches to the context-oriented discipline of pragmatics, than for example, communication studies in which the important analytical centre is the message (2008).

Fairclough (2008, 12) distinguishes two ways in which 'discourse' is used in different analyses: language studies use 'discourse' in the sense of social action and interaction in real social situations. In post-structuralist theory, as in Foucault for example, discourse is used to indicate "a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge" (Van Dijk 2011, 1-2).

Taking this approach has implications for coding information to delineate the phenomena – the "forms, kinds and types" as suggested earlier in this chapter by Lofland (1995) – that give meaning to social interaction. To generate meaning I use a number of "iterative tactics"

(1995, 18-19) and versions of constant comparative methods (Tracy 2013, 190) usually associated with Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory approach. Although this study cannot be typified as Grounded Method research, successive cycles of questions and answers helped to extract patterns of relationships between inequality and access to mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation. The research question suggests questions about the "kinds of things that are going on" when poor citizens engage with journalists and when journalists engage with poor citizens.

Instead of using computer software, I coded both text populations manually. After experimenting with different analytical programmes, I found myself going back to manual coding again and again because for me, this method of coding forced a reflective engagement with the information that I found lacking when I coded with the aid of computer technology.

The first corpus of text to analyse consists of transcripts from the interviews. I say first, because the transcripts constitute the springboard for exploring the second corpus of text consisting of newspaper reports about Hangberg.

In analysing the interview transcripts, I use four guiding concerns:

1. How, and where do socio-economically marginalized citizens position themselves when they talk about access to spaces of political deliberation?
2. How, and where do socio-economically marginalized citizens position themselves in their own community in terms of participation in political deliberation?
3. How do socio-economically marginalized citizens position themselves in terms of access to mainstream journalists or the mainstream media?
4. How, and where do socio-economically marginalized citizens position themselves as authoritative agents with transformative power spaces of political deliberation that transcend their community?

To interrogate the meaning of concepts like access to spaces of political deliberation, access to journalists, political participation, and political power I considered the articulation of questions in terms of meaning and sequence in the interviews. At first glance, the link between this articulation and the research question may not be immediately clear.

To follow this argument, I repeat the research question as stated earlier in this chapter:

How does material and social inequality in post-apartheid South Africa affect access to the news media, and what does this mean for how poor citizens make sense of their capacity to participate in mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation?

The interview guide focuses on three phenomena: the most pressing concerns that affect the lived experience of citizens in Hangberg, who citizens have access to when they want to talk about these concerns, and where – what spaces do they have access to – do they talk about these concerns.

Lofland proposes that an analysis of language provides portals to understanding how language not only allows us to say things but also "allows us to do things" and to "be things" (Lofland in Lindlof 1991, 24). I use this understanding of language analysis to analyse the transcripts but I further use this understanding of language when I analyse language as a manifestation of ways in which we talk and listen to one another. In this way, the emphasis in this study is on language as portals, or access to political deliberation.

An analysis of how, and where poor citizens talk and listen to each other, for example, provides pathways for understanding how and where they may want to be heard by journalists and other citizens in spaces of political deliberation. In other words, hearing how citizens talk about talking and listening, provides entry points for interrogating how journalists talk about, and listen to poor citizens. Understanding these entry points may provide insight to ways in which journalists facilitate poor citizens with access to mediated spaces of political deliberation.

An analysis of how poor citizens talk about talking in deliberative spaces in their community helps me to interrogate representations of the authoritative agency of the poor – their appearance as free and equal citizens in Arendt's politically organized world (Huberman and Miles 1994) – in mainstream spaces of political deliberation.

To analyse the corpus of news reports, I use an interdisciplinary approach that includes features of content analysis, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis.

Because I am occupied with the access citizens have to mainstream spaces of political deliberation, I quantify aspects of news coverage because these provide insight in the "chain

of selection processes" that dictate what happens between an event and it "appearing (or not appearing) in print" (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 2).

Richardson (2007, 33) suggests that how one responds to the question, *what is journalism for*, guides one's approach to a critique and analysis of journalism. I have argued, after Newbold (2006) and others that journalism is ideological and political work. A critical analysis of the ideology and politics that characterize media work examine the extent to which people or institutions have access to journalists in order to affect a certain understanding of the world.

Critical discourse analysis shows how language is an instrument in constructing a particular frame of the world in terms of agendas of people and institutions with power (Richardson 2007, 15). It provides a general framework to problem-oriented social research and allows for interdisciplinary integration. Applying it to the study of journalism is, as Richardson suggests, "only part of the story" (2007, 15).

For the purpose of this study this wide scope is appropriate. I apply discourse analysis for interpreting and making sense of the how "the features that link sentences together", those features that make sentences a "discourse rather than just two unconnected phrases" (Wodak 2008, 2) emerge in the interviews with poor citizens and the newspaper coverage.

The sample of news coverage relate to the lived experience of the citizens I interviewed. I have an interest here in the what journalists do through discourse and how this doing links to "wider inter-personal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts" (Richardson 2007, 21). The analysis remains rooted in critical theory in that it is primarily interested in how newspaper coverage relates to social power and how the media's engagement with power is "represented, and, both explicitly and implicitly, reproduced in the news" (Richardson 2007, 24).

As mentioned earlier, I am interested in understanding and interpreting how, and when mainstream journalists pay attention to poor citizens. How does attention manifest in particular forms of discursive patterns – "particular motifs or argumentative patterns that should not in fact be determined *a priori*" (Bauer and Aarts in Mautner 2008, 35).

I combined a "cyclical" method with "progressive specification and reduction" (Mautner 2008, 35-36). The process described earlier to determine the population of news reports –

mainstream sources, printed news etc. – is an example of the process of "progressive specification and reduction". Next, using the cyclical method, I first identified reports in the broad population that addressed the four issues that emerged in the interviews with citizens as the most serious problems in Hangberg: housing / land, unemployment, drugs, and political infighting / opportunism.

I then went back to that corpus to find reports that showed features of journalists engaging with citizens as sources. In a process similar to the process of deciding how many interviews or focus group discussions are enough, I identified reports addressing these issues until what I found was "simply more of the same" (Mautner 2008, 35). I was now in a position to engage with a corpus that could help understand when journalists pay attention to Hangberg citizens, what this attention looks like, and the extent to which journalists were actively seeking out "lesser heard voices and listen to them in a way that makes it possible for the various participants in the dialogue to imagine themselves in the shoes of the Other" (Ward and Wasserman 2014, 5).

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

1. Introduction

This thesis is an effort to gain a better understanding about the ways in which poor citizens participate in political deliberation in the public space mediated by journalists in South Africa's mainstream newspapers.

Participation in political deliberation here, refers to acts of talking and listening between citizens and between citizens and political decision makers and as facilitated by journalists.

I have, after Wolin (1994), positioned citizens as actors with political potential. I argued that the potential for citizens to participate in political process is embedded in the act of talking and being listened to; not just talking (and listening) as understood in rational deliberation in the Habermasian sense but also talking as a performative expression of citizens' demand to talk and to be listened to. I therefore also consider street protests and political marches, or what Grattan refers to as ''everyday politics of outrageous resistance'' (2012, 194), as ways in which poor citizens talk and are being listened to.

Journalists, I have argued, are the "bearers of democracy's political communication beyond face-to-face settings" (Dahlgren 2009, 2). Yet, it is where journalists come face-to-face with citizens – in spaces where they could talk and listen to citizens – that they potentially build relationships of trust with citizens. Based on these moments of engagement journalists become citizens' interlocutors in the deliberative political space. Here, journalists have power to depoliticise and delegitimize the experience of citizens (Cottle 2000, 429). Journalists have power, not only to decide who gets 'on' or 'in' the news, but also whose voices and viewpoints structure and inform news discourse. This power of curating access is at the "heart of democratic views of, and radical concerns about, the news media' (Cottle 2000, 427).

As I have stated in the first chapter, what is at stake in this thesis is less about the access poor citizens have to the mainstream media as an institution, but rather how poor citizens perceive journalists as accessible and reliable interlocutors of their lived experience. The objective of the research is to gain a deeper understanding of how material and social inequality affect the

potential of poor citizens to access mediated spaces of political deliberation in post-apartheid South Africa.

In the analysis, I use two sets of information to propose an empirical, interpretive, and critical understanding of how poor citizens translate their lived experience in terms of political participation and perceptions of access to the media broadly and journalists in particular.

I then use the news reports that form part of the corpus of texts I generated – as described in the methodology section – to examine *when* journalists pay attention to the citizens in Hangberg, *how* journalists represent Hangberg and the citizens of Hangberg, and *who* journalists talk to mostly when Hangberg and its citizens feature in coverage.

I use this corpus as a boundary for two reasons: Firstly, these reports are indicative of the information citizens outside Hangberg would have access to. If citizens who do not live in Hangberg, or who are not familiar with the conditions in Hangberg, use print media as an entry point to political deliberation with poor citizens, what would their perception be of Hangberg citizens as participants in the mainstream space of political deliberation? What do the citizens of Hangberg sound like to them? What do they look like to them? Secondly, these news reports represent the kind of information that the citizens of Hangberg would have access to in order to understand how they "appear" to other South African citizens in political deliberative spaces. What do they sound like to themselves in this deliberative space? What do they look like to themselves?

In the analysis of the information from the interviews and the media coverage I am mindful of three potential insights: The first is to find instances that suggest discursive strategies between citizens and journalists, that enables a better understanding of how journalists listen to poor citizens. Are there signs of 'political listening'? Do mainstream journalists pay attention to poor citizens in ways that recognise and acknowledge poor citizens as political agents with transformative power rather than subjects of poverty? Are there instances of mainstream journalists stepping out of their familiar, and powerful institutional 'centre' to disrupt current frames of socio-economically marginalised citizens as 'the poor'?

In the interviews with poor citizens my intention is to identify the points of entry that exist for journalists to tap into the lived experience of poor citizens through deliberative strategies that already exist among poor citizens.

Finally, I analyse the news reports and the interviews together to find those instances of listening in deliberative spaces available to poor citizens that looks like listening practices with potential to shift and change the dominant tone and register of political life as it emerges in mainstream deliberative public spaces.

An emphasis on listening on the part of journalists where they interact with poor citizens, as described in chapter two, implies a different kind of framing of poverty and the experience of poor people in mainstream spaces of political deliberation (Arendt 1958, 1963, 1979, Bickford 1995, 1996). It has, in other words, implications for the way in which journalists pay attention to poor citizens, how journalists construct poor citizens, and the forms of power journalists produce or prevent (Bickford 1996). If liberal democracy is an "inadequate framework" (Dreher 2009, 450) for challenging conventions of how journalists talk and listen to marginalised citizens, what are the alternatives?

In the analysis of the interviews I therefore focus on aspects emerging from the interviews to examine what this narrative tells us about poor citizens' perceptions of their *access to political power, access to deliberative spaces* both inside and outside of the community of Hangberg, and *how access to journalists affect their perceptions of access to political power and existing deliberative spaces*. I will lastly examine what the interviews tell us about possibilities for socio-economically marginalised citizens to construct alternative modes of access and alternative spaces of political deliberation.

I start the next section with a brief profile of the Hangberg citizen emerging from the interviews I conducted in Hangberg. This information provides a snapshot of the problems citizens in Hangberg talk about, where they talk, who they talk to, how they talk about concepts like politics and political participation and, who, in their view, listens and talks to them. I then use the information from the newspaper reports as a mirror of what Hangberg citizens would see in mainstream newspapers about their problems, how they talk about these problems, and who they talk to.

In the final section of this chapter I combine the information from the interviews and the news reports to engage with Bickford's questions to "democracy's journalists": what kinds of attention do journalists foster, what kind of citizens do they construct, and what forms of power do mainstream journalists produce or prevent (Bickford 1996, 180).

2. The Hangberg citizen - "The problem is, we are always having problems."

To animate the citizen in the information described from the news reports that follows, I amalgamated a brief profile of the Hangberg citizen that emerge in the interviews. I will describe the information from the interviews in more detail later in this chapter. I use the pronoun 'she' because most of the participants in the group interviews were female.

The Hangberg citizen I interviewed is likely to be between 26 and 35 years old. She probably speaks Afrikaans at home. She has completed primary school and some high school education. She is most likely unemployed and has gone without food at least once in the past year but probably more than once. It is unlikely that she owns a computer but is likely to own a radio, a television and a mobile phone. She hardly ever uses Facebook or Twitter. She talks about politics with her friends and family on occasion but not regularly. She is likely to have attended a community meeting in the previous year but it is unlikely that she would have contacted a government office to complain about a problem in Hangberg. It is even less likely that she would have contacted the media. She is likely to do both if she had the opportunity to do so.

She is certain about the problems she faces in her community: housing, unemployment, and drug use. She also understands that these problems are layered and complex:

> *The problem is, we are always having problems. Because we are not working; that is the first thing. We are getting stress of that (sic). Getting power into my house is difficult. The streets are dirty. You have to pay for water but you are not working. It is difficult. Staying in a place comfortably; it is difficult. A house needs to be warm; it needs all those things. It is difficult. I would say there are a lot of things that are not right. It is not just about people being moved, it is about the way we live. Because we go to sleep, the next morning there is something new that came along. You can't be a normal person smiling every day if you live like that. So you just stay under the stress. And the children start (using drugs) at a young age. And you don't know if you are going to live until you are old in this kind of situation.*

She is less certain that she has any control over the decisions about how these problems will be solved.

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This is what this City is doing to us. Our issues, our complaints that we present to them, it all ends up in the bin.

It is not that she thinks the problems are impossible to resolve. In fact, she has clear ideas about what could be done. The problem is, she feels that no one with power to do anything about these issues cares enough to listen to what she has to say.

To tell you the truth, if you talk to them, it does not look like they are listening to you.

There are people in Hangberg she talks to about her problems. She talks to friends when she sees them on the street, to her family when she sits down at the dinner table, to her priest when she goes to church. She regularly attends community meetings even though these meetings are often little more than a "skellery[9]" between the participants and the community leaders, and sometimes even between the community leaders themselves. She attends because she wants to know what is going on. "This is our place after all."

Still, she feels frustrated. She is tired of talking because it is as if no one listens. What is the point of talking if nothing ever changes?

We hear things will happen, but it never does.

She feels she is invisible and unrecognised as the person with the most important stake in changing the conditions where she lives.

We are the people who live here, but they don't see it like that.

When she talks about politics, she sometimes talks about it as something political parties do:

"The people who are interested (in politics) are interested in votes."

Or she talks about it – sometimes in the very next sentence – as something that her very existence revolves around:

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9 Shouting match or exchange of insults

"Today life is about politics, but the political leaders ... it is almost as if they are there for themselves."

When she talks about political participation, she is equally ambiguous: she is not interested in political participation, and she does not think that her talking to community leaders or her attending community meetings to discuss the housing problems is political participation. The people who participate in politics "all belong to the ANC". People who participate in politics "sit in Parliament but they never tell us what they are discussing there. They keep it to themselves".

Organising, and participating in a march is political participation or *"political involvement"*. To participate in politics, she says, you must be educated; you must know how to talk to the people in the Premier's Office and the Mayor's Office.

She often uses the same language when she talks about community leaders, political leaders, and journalists: their messages are confusing, they make promises they can't keep, and they don't provide information that helps her understand how her problems will be solved.

She would like to see different information in the news media about Hangberg: It will help if journalists pay attention to the problems in Hangberg and if they make her problems visible to those who can do something about it. But, "I am not very hopeful that will happen". In the same way that she has become distrustful of politicians, she is distrustful of journalists. Like politicians, journalists do what she has come to expect of them: they only come to Hangberg when "big things" happen. And even then, they are more interested in talking to the "big wigs" than to her. If she does talk to journalists, she does not hear her voice talking back to her in news reports: "Do I use the wrong language? Do I tell lies?" she asks in reflection on her experience.

How journalists treat her and her community is not her biggest concern though. What she is more concerned about, what really makes her angry, is that community leaders, whom she expects to talk on her behalf in the corridors of power, seem to her to be beholden by party political interests instead of the interests of Hangberg. It was not always so. She seems to remember a time when community leaders represented the interests of Hangberg. She is not very clear on when that changed but she sometimes suggests that it happened after the "war" in September 2010 when civic organisations started aligning themselves with political

parties. She feels the Hangberg Civic Association (HBCA) is linked to the ANC and the Peace and Mediation Forum (PMF) is linked to the Democratic Alliance (DA). "They say they are not political but they are political; it is so obvious".

She talks about ways she would like to talk to community leaders and journalists: face-to-face, in her house, around a table. "Talk to me as if you care." She knows what listening looks like to her: it is about paying attention to what she has to say, and showing understanding for her problem.

"Ask us questions. What is your problem? Why is it that you don't want to move?"

From the corpus of news reports examined here, covering 20 years between 1994 and 2014, it seems that she would first see a journalist in Hangberg to ask her questions in 2000 – just before the local government elections in December. She talks to the journalist about fishing factories that are closing and the suspicions among Hangberg residents about the way in which fishing quotas are allocated (Williams 2000). Before 2000, she would see in newspapers that the fishermen of Hangberg are described as a 'mob' who attack the police (Sapa 1997a) and that a 'hunt for crayfish poachers' in Hangberg end in a 'riot' (Sapa 1997b). The first time a journalist would really talk to her about the housing problems she experiences in Hangberg would be in 2008, when one of the largest fishing companies in South Africa threatened to evict citizens from land they were renting (Cupido 2008). She told the journalist:

Ek gaan nêrens, ek sit nét hier op my voorstoep waar ek die uitsig kan sien[10].

Waar gaan ek 'n huis vir R63 000 met só 'n uitsig kry?[11]

It is not that journalists have not paid attention to the problems in Hangberg before. The problem is that these reports are sporadic and centres on 'big things', like protest action or when there is an election and 'big wig' politicians visit Hangberg.

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[10] I am going nowhere. I am staying right here where I have a view from my stoep.

[11] Where will I find a house with a view like this for R63 000?

If she pays attention to newspaper reports, she would see that the 'war' in September did not just change the dynamic between her and her community leaders, but that it also changed the way in which journalists, political leaders, and civil society pay attention to her and others in Hangberg. In an editorial in the Business Day she would read how the 'war' in Hangberg provoked attention from government, trade unions, civil rights organisations, and even the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) in a matter of days:

> There has been a succession of Cabinet ministers visiting Hangberg over the past few days. Cosatu[12] organised a march to demand a commission of inquiry, and the SAHRC has initiated an investigation into possible human rights violations (2010).

But, even after the 'war' journalists, like politicians talk more about her than to her. They still don't seem to see that they are the people who live there. She sees in newspaper reports that the Western Cape Premier, Helen Zille – who promised to upgrade houses when she was Mayor in 2006 – says she and other citizens in Hangberg are drug users and to blame for the 'war' because they could not agree on a committee to represent them (Majavu 2010). She sees that the Mayor of Cape Town calls Hangberg citizens criminals (Plato 2010).

Politicians, non-governmental organisations, and other experts talk about her but seldom to her, in her house, around her table. She hands the Mayor of Cape Town a list of problems in Hangberg that needs attention (Hartley 2006) but she does not see a journalist who asks her what these problems are, how she wants Zille to address them, or if Zille pays attention to the problems on the list.

She tells a journalist what she told me:

> Politicians and officials make decisions on our behalf but never come to see the people – to see how we live or ask us what our needs are. How can you decide on

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[12] Cosatu, or the Congress of South African Trade Unions, represents almost two million workers from a number of industries in South Africa. In 1990 Cosatu entered into a strategic governance and political partnership with the SACP and the ANC to form the tripartite alliance (http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=2051).

people's lives when you don't know what is going on with them? That is wrong. The voice of the community must be heard. Sit down with us to talk (Davids 2010).

3. Newspaper coverage of Hangberg and Hangberg citizens

If I, as a fellow citizen, were to access the lived experience of the Hangberg citizen through mainstream newspapers, how would she appear to me? What would it reveal to me about the problems she experiences? When and where would I hear her voice in the mediated space of political deliberation? What does this voice sound like? If she talks, how does she talk, where does she talk, and what does she talk about? Who does she talk to and who speaks on her behalf? What does this tell me about her engagement in deliberative political spaces?

And, if the Hangberg citizen reads news reports in the mainstream newspapers she potentially has access to, how would she appear to as a political actor? Would she see, and recognise, her own voice and viewpoint, or would she be frustrated as a political agent because she appears to others as a version of someone else's articulation?

I start this section with a brief overview of the most outstanding features of newspaper coverage as background to a more in-depth analysis. As explained in the methodology chapter, this analysis is based on 410 news reports published in 18 mainstream newspapers in South Africa between 1994 and 2014. I generated the news reports from the South African media database hosted by Sabinet by using the keyword, *Hangberg*. All the news reports appeared in the printed version of the newspapers.

Three daily newspapers in Cape Town carried almost 80% (79,5%) of all these reports: Cape Argus (including news reports published in the Saturday Argus and the Sunday Argus) published just over a third of the reports (32,7%), the Cape Times 291%, and Die Burger 17,8%. The outstanding feature here is the comparatively low number of news reports in Die Burger.

Die Burger is an Afrikaans language newspaper serving mostly Afrikaans readers in the Western Cape (72%)[13]. Almost 60% (58,90%) of its readers are coloured which makes the

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[13] All the numbers referring to Die Burger are from the online advertising rate cards for publications in the Media24 Group as sourced from AMPS 2015 AB figures:

citizens of Hangberg, who speak mostly Afrikaans and who self-identify as coloured, a likely community of interest. Even when the reports divided in reports before 2010 and thereafter the interest of Die Burger in Hangberg and its citizens does not show a remarkable shift from the 17.8% across 1994 to 2014.

Figure 1: Newspapers covering the news in Hangberg: 1994 to 2014

Q2 Mainstream newspapers with news reports of Hangberg: 1994-2014

Answered: 410   Skipped: 0

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http://www.ads24.co.za/misc/publication?brand=die-burger&key=5E33675F402BBEECE647DF3FF47C2C51#demo
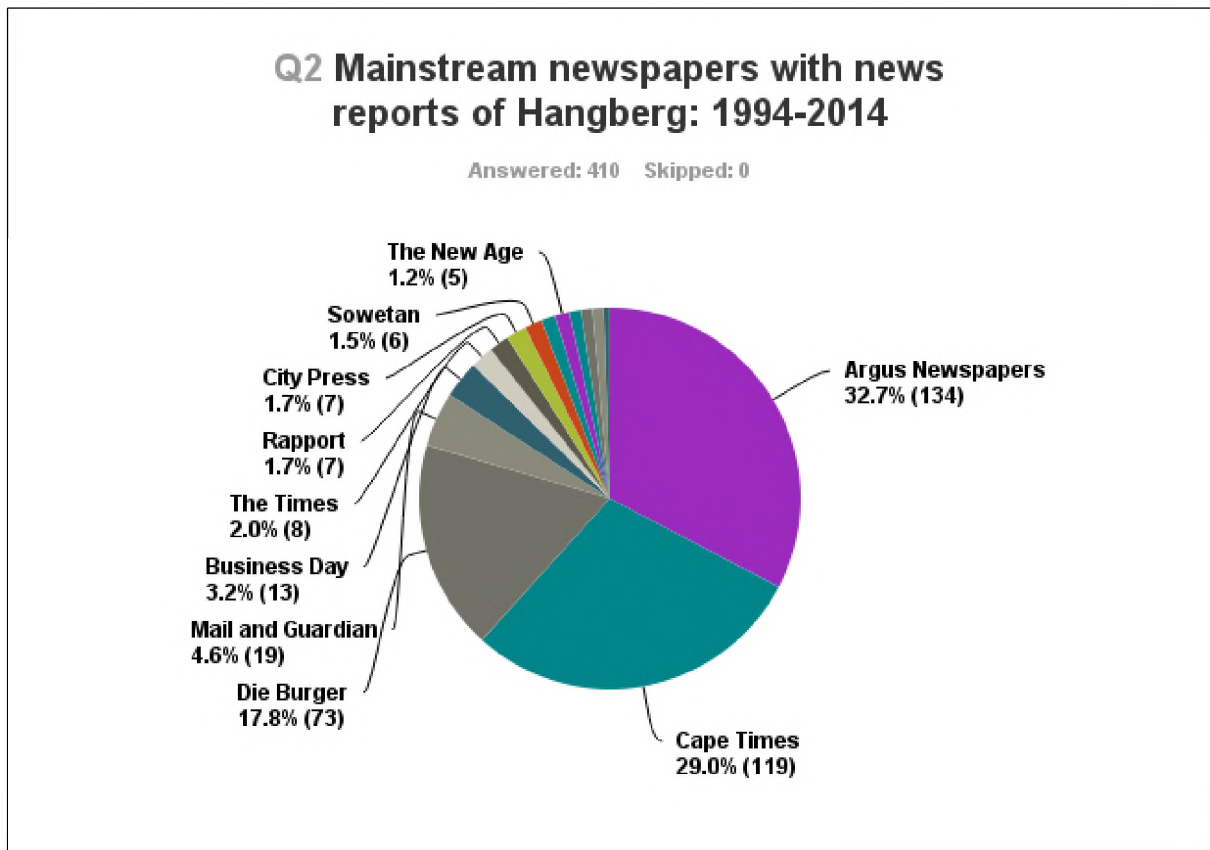
Figure 2: Newspaper coverage of Hangberg 1994 to 2009
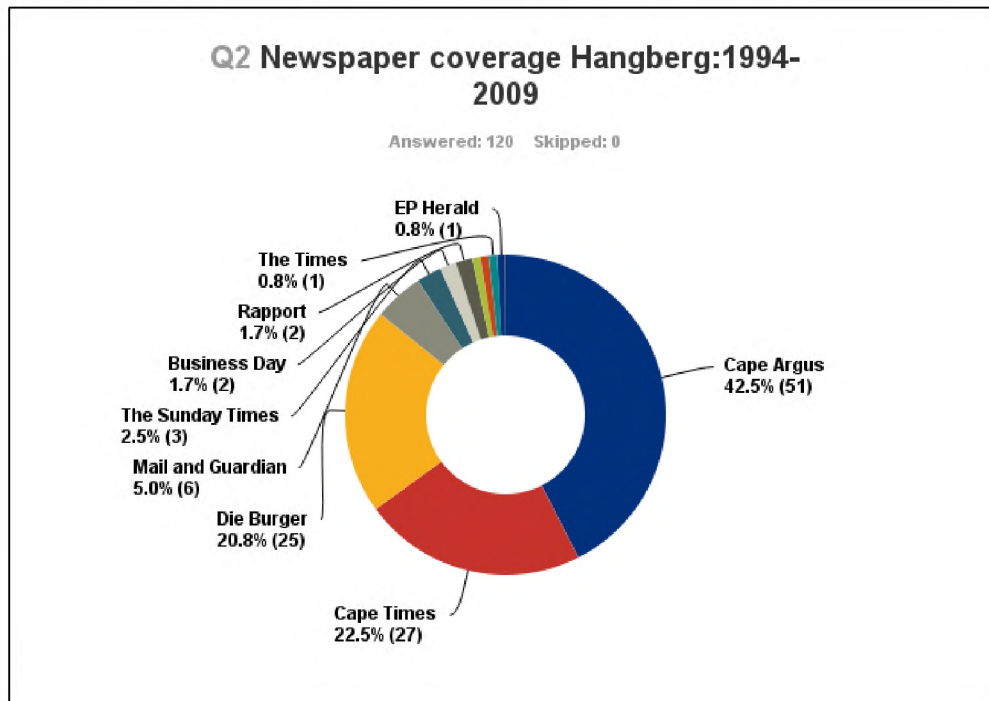
When dividing this period to coverage between 1994 and 2009, and 2010 to 2014 the Cape Town dailies remain the newspapers with most focus on Hangberg. There is a slight shift in coverage in the Cape Argus and the Cape Times: between 1994 and 2009 the Argus newspapers (this coverage includes the daily Cape Argus, the Saturday Argus and the Sunday Argus) carry almost double the number of reports on Hangberg (42.5%) than the Cape Times (22.5%) and Die Burger (20.8%).

Figure 3: Newspaper coverage of Hangberg from 2010 to 2014
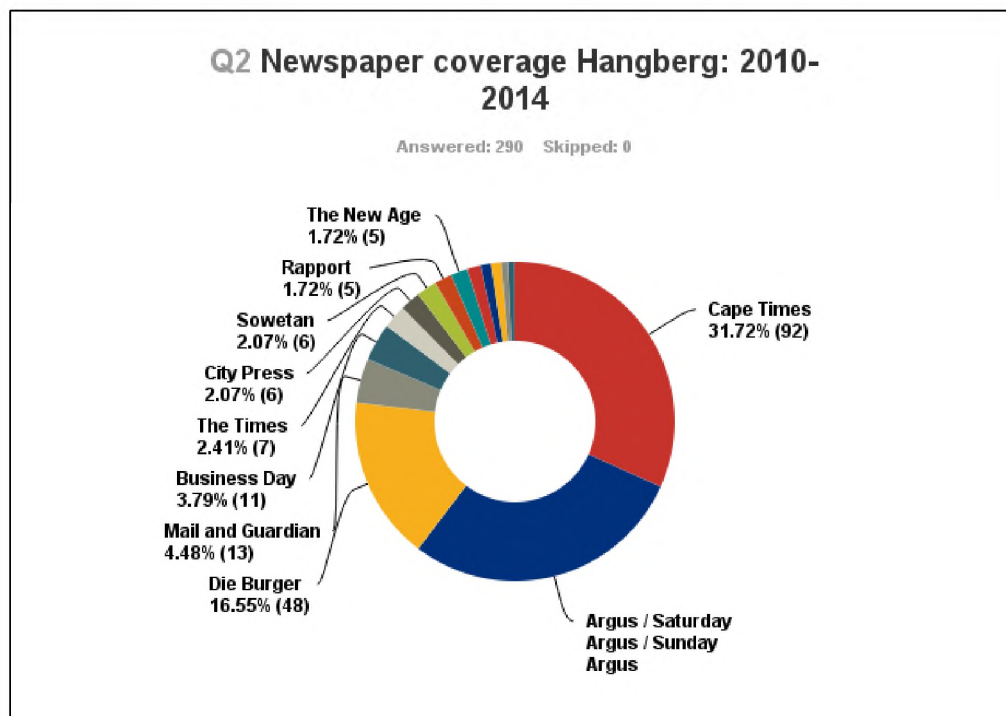
Between 2010 and 2014 the Cape Times carries more reports (29.2%) than the Argus but by a small margin – the Cape Argus carries 26.4% and Die Burger carries 15.24% of reports. There are shifts in the number of reports covered by the Mail and Guardian (6 between 1994 and 2009 and 13 in the much shorter 2010 to 2013time period), Business Day (2 between 1994 and 2009 as opposed to 11 between 2010 to 2013), The Times (from 1 report to 7), Rapport (from 2 reports to 5), and the Sunday Independent (from no reports between 1994 and 2009 to 4 reports between 2010 to 2014).

A timeline of news reports covering Hangberg between 1994 and 2014 – Figure 3 – shows that until 2006 Hangberg citizens were most likely to be invisible as fellow participants in the political deliberative space to readers of mainstream newspapers in South Africa. From 2006, as I will illustrate in the next section, the political interest of Hangberg and Hangberg citizens becomes apparent in local, provincial, and national politics. The attention journalists pay to Hangberg mirrors this trajectory.

Figure 4: A timeline of news reports covering Hangberg 1994 to 2014

Q3 Timeline of Hangberg coverage: 1994-2014

Answered: 410   Skipped: 0
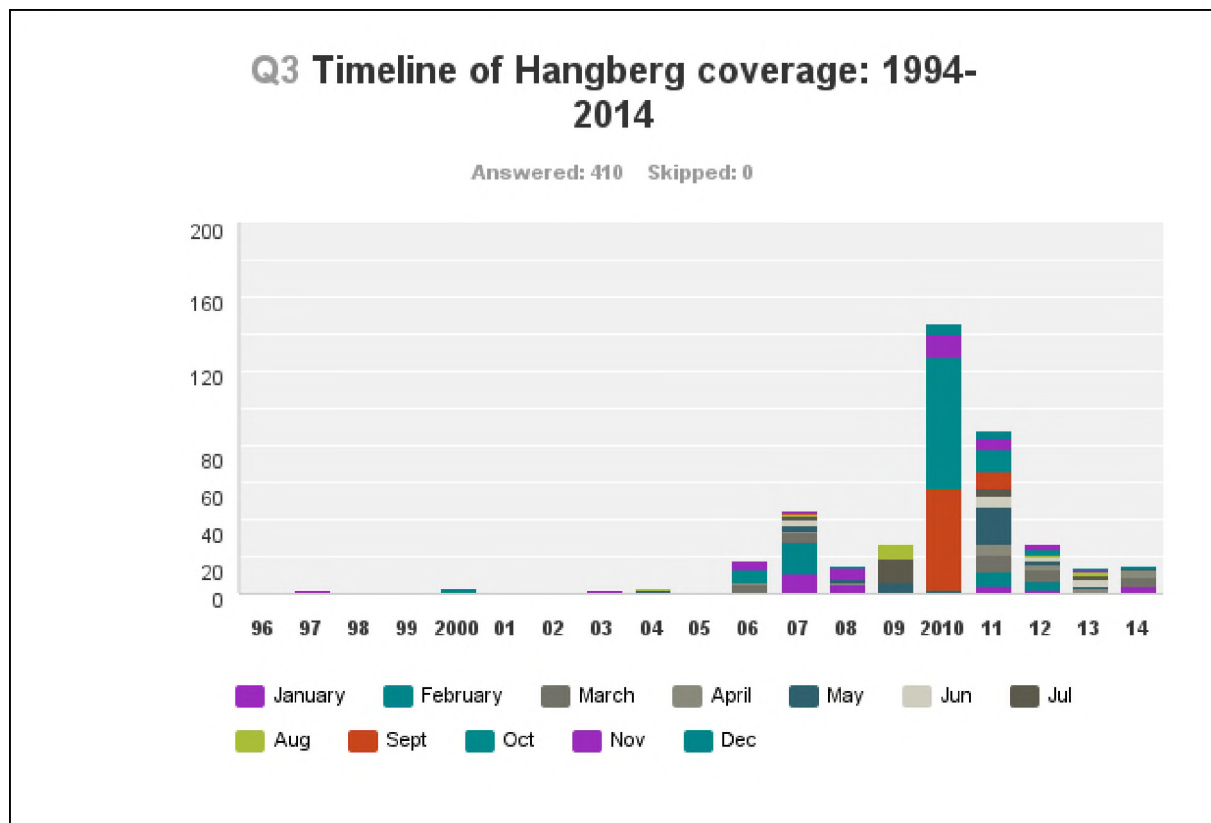
No reports featured Hangberg or its citizens in 1994 and 1995. Fifteen reports paid attention to Hangberg or Hangberg citizens between 1996 and 2005. A slight rise in reporting in 2000 occurred with three reports covering Hangberg in the run-up to local government elections in December 2000. In 2004 three unrelated reports account for the slight rise. In the first report Hangberg citizens protest with citizens from Imizamo Yethu at the Provincial Legislature (Gwatyu 2004). The second report covers a plan by citizens in the Bo-Kaap area of Cape Town to assist residents in Hangberg with negotiating the sale of valuable land to property developers (Bamford 2004), and in the third report covers the opening of a skills development centre in Hangberg (Van Der Linde 2004).

Of the 18 reports in 2006, two events account for the bulk of the reports: Four reports cover the drowning of fishermen from Hangberg, and eight reports cover the closure of libraries, including the Hangberg library, across the Cape Town Metropolitan area due to a lack of funding. Two of the last news reports covering Hangberg that year hints at the party political contestation over voter support in Hangberg: the SACP calls for land seizures in the Western Cape Province (Mkhabela 2006), and Helen Zille, then Cape Town's Mayor, visits Hangberg to announce upgrades to the informal settlement area in Hangberg (Nicholson 2006).

A significant spike in Hangberg coverage in 2007 can be attributed to highly contested by-election in Ward 74. Hangberg is one of 8 voting districts in this Ward. The newspaper reports in 2007 make up almost 40% (37.7%) of the total number of reports published about Hangberg between 1994 and 2009. Six out of ten of these reports (60%) were published in January and February of that year. The by-election was on 7 February 2007.

In 2008, all but two of the 16 reports covering Hangberg focused on land and housing issues. Two of these reports, published in November, could be seen as precursors for the events that erupted in September 2010: In the first report published in November of that year, the Cape Times reported that Hangberg protesters traded fire with the Metro Police about the demolition of "illegal" housing structures (Hartley 2008). Another report, two days later in the Cape Argus, describes how Cape Town's Mayor, Helen Zille, was heckled at a meeting in Hangberg (Damane 2008) when she tried to explain to residents why the Council was taking longer than expected to complete a new housing project in the community.

In May 2009, part of the Sentinel Mountain, which Hangberg forms part of, is put up for sale to a private businessman. Fifteen of the 16 news reports covering Hangberg for that year focus on the sale and the response of Hangberg citizens, the City Council, and the South African government, to the sale. This coverage will be analysed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

Journalists paid attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens in 11 news reports between May 2010 and 21 September 2010 when newspapers published the first reports about the 'war' between Hangberg residents and the Cape Town Metro Police. Except for one report, these reports covered the tension between the Cape Town City Council and Helen Zille – now the Premier of the Western Cape Province – and the Hangberg residents. Zille had come to represent what Hangberg citizens perceived as a series of broken promises by politicians to develop Hangberg and to resolve problems around access to land and housing.

September 2010: The 'war' of Hangberg

The 'Hangberg Uprising' in September 2010, or the 'war', as Hangberg residents often refer to these events marks an important entry point for poor citizens in South Africa's political deliberative space. I have earlier referred to September 2010 as a marker in my own decision to choose Hangberg as a field setting for my research. Some background to provide context

for the analysis that follows is important to put the ideological struggles in Hangberg in perspective.

In September 2010, the Cape Town City Council sent in the Metro Police to demolish houses in Hangberg which they claimed were built "illegally" beyond a firebreak proclaimed by the City Council earlier. Hangberg, or the Sentinel as it is sometimes referred to is, like many other areas in Cape Town, prone to high winds and warm temperatures that fuel runaway fires in the summer. The Cape Town City Council proclaimed a firebreak to mark a line on the mountain slope beyond which residents were not permitted to build houses. The clash between citizens resisting the demolition and the Metro Police turned violent on 21 September. This event compelled journalists, political decision makers, and other citizens to pay attention to Hangberg and its citizens.

Almost all news reports related to Hangberg in 2010 (98.84%) were published between September and December 2010. Of these reports, 42.11%, were published in the last 10 days in September. The news reports in mainstream newspapers related to Hangberg in 2010 constituted more reports (171/437 or just over 40%) than all the reports covering the 15 years from 1994 to 2009 (122/437).

In comparison to another protest, also in 2010, and also in Cape Town – the Makhaza toilet saga in Khayelitsha – the attention to Hangberg is significant. In April 2010 residents from Makhaza, a residential area in Khayelitsha protested over unenclosed communal toilets. The protests also turned violent and generated a national outcry. The protests also resulted in allegations of human rights violations against the City of Cape Town[14]. A search in the same database that I used to collect the Hangberg corpus generated 149 news reports with the keywords, *Makhaza,* and *toilet* for the period from January 2010 to December 2014. These are fewer news reports over a period of four years than the number of news reports related to Hangberg in just over four months from 21 September 2010 to 31 December 2010.

The discourse of Hangberg citizens around the 'war' describes constructs of Hangberg as an associational entity; a community that stands together against the forces of political power.

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14 In 2011 the court ruled that the City of Cape Town had violated the human rights of residents when they installed more than a thousand toilets in Makhaza without walls

and roofs http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/makhaza-toilet-saga-surfaces-again-1.1413984

The script of the 'war' that emerges in the interviews compared to the news reports of this event provides some insight into routines of interaction between journalists and poor citizens. The participants tell stories about what unfolded in September 2010 and in its aftermath, that are indicative of the way in which journalists interact with poor citizens during events that count as significant in terms of news value and political deliberation.

News reports that paid attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens before September 2010 suggest the evolving tension in South Africa's political deliberative space about issues concerning socio-economically marginalised citizens in South Africa. In the analysis, I therefore focus on this time period because it suggests how attention to political, economic, and social tensions in poor communities are largely ignored, underplayed, misrepresented, or dismissed until the fallout of these tensions threaten to disrupt the interests of citizens with more political and economic power.

In examining the increased attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens in 2010 and 2011 it is important to account for the possible effect of the local government elections in 2011. The violent nature of the 'war' in September 2010 may have compounded attention to Hangberg in the run-up to the elections in May. In 2011 almost all the news reports in January (75%), March (66.67%), April (100%), and May (95%) were related to the local government elections.

Most of the reports about Hangberg between 2011 and 2014 covered the aftermath of September 2010. Apart from the local government elections in the first half of 2011 the coverage included legal action of citizens against the City Council, further protest action to resist eviction notices served on Hangberg citizens, and mediating efforts to resolve the housing crisis and the tension between the council and Hangberg citizens.

By 2012 coverage of Hangberg and its citizens was back to the same number of reports as in 2009 (27). In 2013 and 2014 coverage of Hangberg consisted of less than 5% of the combined coverage for the period between 2010 and 2014 or 14 and 15 news reports respectively for each year.

In the next section I want to illustrate, through focusing on journalists' attention to Hangberg before September 2010, how the narrative of Hangberg and Hangberg citizens evolves in mainstream newspapers culminating in the 'war' of Hangberg. I want to illustrate here how

political contestation explains the increasing significance of Hangberg citizens as an interest group warranting attention from journalists. Elections and protest action become the events that shape a narrative of access to the political deliberative space – these are the times *when* journalists pay attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens. I will further illustrate *how* journalists present the Hangberg citizen in the space of mediated political deliberation, and lastly *who* journalists pay attention to when they talk about Hangberg and Hangberg citizens.

3.1 When do journalists pay attention to Hangberg citizens?

September 2010 was not the first time that there were clashes between the Metro Police and Hangberg citizens. Neither was it the first time that journalists wrote news reports about clashes between the police and Hangberg citizens. In 1997 two Johannesburg based daily newspapers – The Star and Business Day – published a report released by the South African Press Association (Sapa), a now defunct news agency in South Africa. The report, about Hangberg fishermen allegedly attacking the police, takes up less than 200 words or six centimetres of column space and is published on page 6 in The Star and on page 2 of Business Day. Reading like a standard police report prepared for a media briefing, the report quotes a police spokesperson who describes the Hangberg residents as "a mob" resisting the arrest of crayfish poachers (Sapa 1997a, b). The spokesperson is reported as saying that the police were "chasing" after the poachers but were confronted with "about 100 people at Die Blokke[15], where most of Hout Bay's fishing community live". It notes that community members barricaded the streets and "bricks and bottles rained down" on the police. "The mob dispersed after policemen fired teargas and rubber bullets." No injuries were reported or arrests made, according to the spokesperson for the police (Sapa 1997a, b).

Business Day is available in Cape Town and has a Cape Town editor but it is largely based in Johannesburg as is The Star. None of the Cape Town based newspapers mentioned earlier followed up on the questions that this report raised in the political deliberative space: Why do

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[15] Die Blokke is how Hangberg and other poor citizens in the Western Cape often refer to informal housing structures in Cape Town. In Afrikaans, 'blok' means 'square'. Die Blokke refers to the square shape of the houses.

the people in Hangberg attack the police when the police want to arrest crayfish poachers? Why do the police retaliate with teargas and rubber bullets and call for reinforcements? There are no reports in the corpus of texts available to suggest that journalists here were asking questions about the 'underlying drivers of the problem' as Duncan (2016, 143) proposes in the case of conflict between citizens and the police. For those citizens unfamiliar with the Hangberg context, there is no frame for understanding the attack other than an illegitimate attack by a 'mob' on police trying to enforce law and order.

In December 2000, in the run-up to the local government elections, and 18 months after a previous report about Hangberg, three news reports pay attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens.

The attention to Hangberg citizens in the 2000 local government election cannot be separated from the broader context of party political contestation in the Western Cape Province and the City of Cape Town. While the ANC has been firmly in control of most of South Africa's provincial and local governments, the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town have been a fierce struggle for power. In the first national and provincial elections in 1994 a coalition of the DA – then still known as the Democratic Party (DP) and the New National Party (NNP) – the apartheid National Party under a new name – won the majority of seats in the provincial government with 'considerable coloured support' (Saul and Bond 2014, 140). By 2000 the Democratic Alliance had become the official opposition in national politics. It did so, say Saul and Bond, by targeting the fears of white, coloured and Indian voters in terms of crime, corruption, and one-party dominance – 'issues that were given, tacitly, a racial, even racist, spin' (2014, 142). In the Western Cape, the NNP – now losing support to the ANC and the DP – agreed to contest the local government elections under the banner of the Democratic Alliance with Pieter Marais of the NNP as the 'coloured' mayoral candidate.

In an opinion piece in Die Burger, a journalist described the racial dimension of the Western Cape political landscape:

> All too often it seems as if the coloured voter is caught between pressure from whites and pressure from blacks to decide who is the most hated of the two, and then to vote for the other' (Joubert 2007a).

News reports about elections therefore provide a lens for understanding how race, and to a certain extent also language, emerge as a subtext of the political contestation and Hangberg citizens' claims on access to the mainstream deliberative space. The reports about elections and protest action also provide a pathway for understanding the way in which Hangberg citizens understand, and use the language of politics and political participation in the group interviews. I will return to this theme in the next section.

In the first of the three reports in 2000, the journalist accompanies the then mayoral candidate for Cape Town, Peter Marais, on a visit to Hangberg. In the report Marais told Hangberg citizens not to pay attention to the colour of a candidate's skin as they make decisions about who to vote for (Wyngaard 2000). The DA candidate in the Ward of which Hangberg is a voting district is a white male candidate. Marais represents the white candidate in aspirational terms:

> Don't look at him as white; look at him as someone who can save you from poverty. To vote for a black man does not make you automatically rich – people have voted for Kaunda (in Zambia) and for Mugabe (in Zimbabwe) and they are still poor.

> While it is true that white people have been privileged for a long time, it is also true that they have a 'winning recipe'. You can't ask a man with tattered shoes how to become rich. He himself is poor. You have to ask the person with money or the one who is already rich how did he do it (Wyngaard 2000, translated from Afrikaans).

The second of the three reports cover a clash between supporters of the two main contending parties for political power in the city of Cape Town – the DA and the ANC. A DA "party bus" was on its way to Hangberg when ANC supporters "tried to force it off the road" (Sapa 2000). The ANC disputes the DA version of the story and both parties said they had filed complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission.

It is in the last of the three reports in 2000 that the voices of the residents in Hangberg are audible in mainstream newspapers for the first time in the corpus of texts analysed here. The journalist also provides a picture of the context from which these voices emanate. The feature article in the Saturday Argus describes Hangberg as the "coloured fishing community in Hout Bay" (Williams 2000). In the first few paragraphs the journalist provides a detailed description of a community dependent on fishing, who lives on the slopes of the Sentinel.

Even in what would generally be described as a poverty-stricken community, explains Williams, there was a "pecking order" of sorts. Those with most money lived high on the Karbonkelberg in Hout Bay Heights. Hangberg Extensions is home to lower-income families, and lowest in this "vertical pecking order" is the Flats "where the remaining poverty-stricken fishing community lives" (Williams 2000). Coming to Hangberg in an election year to find out what the people of Hangberg expected from local politicians, Williams let the residents talk. He captures the bitterness of people who feel betrayed by institutions that are making it difficult or impossible for them to make a living out of what they know best – fishing. "As long as anyone can remember, the small fishing community has haggled with national and provincial authorities over the rights to haul in their day's catch" (Williams 2000). The questions and concerns of the Hangberg citizens are articulated like this in this news report: 'What do the candidates know about the sea? Would they do something to address the problems with the quota system? Would they do something to keep the fish factories open? What do they know about politics (Williams 2000)?'

In this report the journalist constructs a Hangberg citizen whose potential effect on political decision-making becomes audible in the mainstream deliberative space.

A brief overview of the consolidation of party politics in post-apartheid South Africa and the subsequent party political flux in the City of Cape Town is necessary to account for the link between elections and journalists' increased attention to Hangberg.

Booysen (2006) describes the political party history in South Africa between 2000 and 2004 as one "embroiled in a chain of alliance and defection events that reshaped power balances" (2006, 727). This was particularly evident in the Western Cape Province and its capital, the City of Cape Town where the former apartheid governing party, now under the name of the New National Party (NNP), still enjoyed most voter support. In the 1999 national elections, the NNP was however losing voter support nationally. The Party also lost its overall majority in the Western Cape Provincial Government. An agreement between the then Democratic Party (DP) and the NNP enabled the two parties to constitute the Western Cape Provincial Government after the provincial government elections in 1999. 'The ANC in the province was thus marginalized despite being the largest single party' (Booysen 2006, 736).

Table 1: Election results Western Cape Provincial Government 1999

ANC	DP	NNP
42.07%	11.91%	38.39%

In the run-up to the local government elections in 2000 the DP and the NNP extended their alliance agreement and won the election, under the banner of the Democratic Alliance (DA), with an outright majority in the City of Cape Town.

> The wheel, however, was turning. Two processes came into play that negated the consolidation of the DA as an opposition force. First, the DA by 2002 had become internally conflict-ridden. This held serious implications of ungovernability for both the Western Cape province and the local municipalities where the DA held power. Second, the DA was a thorn in the flesh of the ANC, in particular in as far as its control of the Western Cape provincial government was concerned (Booysen 2006, 736).

The ANC "intensified its overtures" (Booysen 2006, 736) to members of the NNP and in 2001 the NNP Federal Council made a decision to withdraw from the DA partnership and entered into an alliance agreement with the ANC. In 2002 parliament passed floor-crossing legislation creating window periods that made it possible for members to cross the floor from one party to another without losing their seats in national or provincial legislatures. In the Western Cape enough NNP members joined the ANC to demote the DA from governing partner to official opposition (Booysen 2006, 740). After the 2004 provincial elections, the election tables had turned in favour of the ANC in the Western Cape Province and in the City of Cape Town Council.

Table 2: Election results Western Cape Provincial Government 2004

ANC	DA*	NNP
45.25%	27.11%	10.88

In the 2006 local government elections, the DA managed to get enough votes to make it the political party with the single biggest support base in the City of Cape Town but not enough support for it to constitute a governing council.

Table 3: City of Cape Town local government election results 2006 (three leading parties)

ANC	DA	ID
38.57%	42.86%	10.95%

A relatively new political party, the Independent Democrats (ID), led by Patricia de Lille gained enough support to play the role of kingmaker in the Council but she preferred an alliance with the ANC rather than the DA. The DA formed a coalition with several small political parties to narrowly secure the governing seat in the City Council. The DA leader, Helen Zille, became the mayor of the city.

In the 2000 local government election, the majority of Hangberg citizens (53.92%) voted for the ANC and 39.42% voted for the DA. In the voting district of Imizamo Yethu, 77% of the voters supported the ANC. In both Hout Bay voting districts over 90% of the voters supported the DA (94% and 90.29% respectively). The DA was the overall winner in the Ward with 61.78% off the votes. The ANC received 28.61% of votes in the Ward. The DA won 53.5% of the overall votes in the City of Cape Town.

The City of Cape Town is divided into Wards. Each Ward is divided into voting districts. Ward 74, of which Hangberg is a voting district, consists of seven voting districts: Hangberg, Imizamo Yethu, Clifton, Llandudno, Camps Bay, and two voting districts in Hout Bay. Llandudno, Clifton, and Camps Bay are of the most affluent areas along Cape Town's Atlantic Seaboard.

In the run-up to the local-government elections in 2006, none of the mainstream newspapers paid attention to Hangberg. The outcome of the 2006 election however, did change the political landscape of the City of Cape Town and also, it seems, the level of attention journalists now paid to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens.

Less than a month after the local government elections on March 1, 2006, four incidents of fishermen drowning within less than a month drew journalists' attention (Lilford 2006, Dolley 2006b, Hartley 2006, Dolley 2006a). The first report in the Saturday Weekend Argus emphasises the political and socio-economic context that force Hangberg fishermen to go out in 'fragile little' boats in 'pre-dawn blackness' to feed their families. This report provides context for the antagonism between Hangberg residents and the police described in the 1997 news reports (Sapa 1997a, b) referred to earlier. I will get back to the how journalists talked about the Hangberg fishermen in these reports but of importance here is how these tragedies became scenes of contestation for political parties in the City of Cape Town.

When the second fishing disaster – 'the 12th drowning in eight months' (Dolley 2006b) – happened in the same month, both the Cape Town Mayor Helen Zille and an ANC Member of Parliament are reported to have attended the memorial service in Hangberg.

Hangberg citizens use the opportunity to hand over a list of issues they want Zille to address – 'including housing and social problems that led to poaching' (Hartley 2006). She promises to look into 'difficulties fishermen experienced' (Hartley 2006). When another five fishermen drowned within a week of the previous drowning, another journalist reports that Zille had set up a meeting between her and community leaders (Dolley 2006a).

The death of the sitting council member for Ward 74, Pieter Venter, soon after the local government elections in March 2006 provides an opportunity for political parties in the City of Cape Town to consolidate their power in a by-election to replace Venter. The by-election was scheduled for February 2007.

In the 2006 election 36.4% of the citizens in Hangberg voted for the ANC, 26.11% voted for the DA and 32.7% entrusted their vote to De Lille's ID Party. The ID also held the key to power in the City of Cape Town but instead of joining forces with the DA, the ID leader, Patricia De Lille chose to form a government in alliance with the African National Congress (ANC). This move proved to be unpopular among ID supporters (Marrs 2009) and ahead of the by-election in 2007 the ANC and the DA turn to the citizens of Hangberg to consolidate their political power. The DA needs those who voted for the ID to vote for them so they could boost the slim margin of political power they now held in the City government. The ANC needs the same constituents to vote in their favour so that they could hold on to their

narrative as the Party representing poor, non-white voters – a narrative they were losing in Cape Town and the Western Province.

The last two reports in 2006 confirm the increasing importance of Hangberg citizens in the political contestation, not just between the ANC and the DA on a local level, but also nationally in the growing contestation between forces in the tri-partite alliance that consists of the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu.

In November the City Press – a Sunday paper based in Johannesburg – reports that the South African Communist Party (SACP) called on poor people to seize vacant land in the Western Cape Province (Mkhabela 2006). Referring to the statement by the SACP, the report states:

> The struggle continues, as the SACP is now mobilising 'block-by-block' in Imizamo Yethu and Hangberg, for mass action directed at the Hout Bay Ratepayers' Association, the Cape Town City Council and Dyantyi (Mkhabela 2006).

Dyantyi refers to Richard Dyantyi, the ANC Member in the Provincial Council responsible for local government. Here, the Cape Town City Council represents the political power seated in the DA-led coalition government at the City helm, and the Hout Bay Ratepayers' Association – an association of residents in Hout Bay – represents white, middle-class interests.

Within two weeks of this report, the Cape Argus reports from Hangberg where Cape Town's Mayor, Helen Zille announces upgrades to the informal settlement area in Hangberg (Nicholson 2006). In 2010, this upgrade project, known as the In-Situ Project, would emerge as pivotal in the conflict between the City of Cape Town and Hangberg citizens (Ndenze 2010a).

By February 2007, a report in Die Burger points out that Zille is in Hangberg for a 5th visit with Hangberg citizens. At this meeting Zille is in Hangberg to discuss housing issues and to ask the residents to vote for the DA (Joubert 2007b). Joubert describes the DA's interest in Hangberg in this report:

> Housing is the most important issue in Hangberg in the run-up to Wednesday's by-election in Ward 74 that includes Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, Llandudno, Camps Bay

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and Clifton. Ms Marga Haywood[16] of the DA defends a majority of 2200 knowing that 800 new voters have registered in the ANC stronghold of Imizamo Yethu while only 300 new voters have registered in the rest of the Ward. In the 2004 general election the DA won the Ward with a mere 200 votes[17].

In the 2007 by-election – less than a year after barely 26% of Hangberg citizens voted for the DA – almost 80% of Hangberg citizens voted for the DA. Only 22.66% of the votes in Hangberg were now retained by the ANC.

In 2007, journalists' attention to Hangberg is unprecedented compared to the preceding years from 1994. Newspaper reports about Hangberg in 2007 make up almost 40% (37.7%) of the total number of reports published about Hangberg between 1994 and 2009. Six out of ten reports that year were published between January and February. The by-election was on 7 February.

Compared to elections in previous years, the attention to Hangberg in 2007 is also significant. No reports paid attention to Hangberg in the 1994, 1999, or 2004 national elections. One report mentioned Hangberg in relation to the 2009 national and provincial election (Johns and Nicholson 2008). Three reports covered the local government election in 2000. Journalists paid no attention to Hangberg in the run-up to the local government elections in 2006. The attention, as shown, shifted after the local government elections as Hangberg citizens' significance increased within the context of the broader contestation between political parties in the Western Cape Province and the City of Cape Town.

The increased attention by politicians to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens from 2006 is to some extent mirrored in news reports about protest action by Hangberg citizens between 2006 and 2009.

I have discussed earlier the way in which journalists paid minimal attention to conflict following protest action in 1997 between Hangberg citizens and the police. In 2004, in the

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[16] In some reports Haywood is spelt Heywood. I consistently use the spelling as used in the report I refer to.

[17] Translated from the Afrikaans news report published in Die Burger

first news report to mention Hangberg citizens since the 2000 election coverage, Hangberg citizens protested with citizens from Imizamo Yethu at the Western Cape Legislature for access to land and decent housing. This short report recognised the racial tension in the Hout Bay Valley by pointing out that the memorandum handed to the Premier accused the DA councillor of not wanting Black people in Hout Bay. The report also drew attention to a placard carried by one of the protesters: 'We belong to the so-called Republic of Hout Bay too'[18][19] (Gwatyu 2004).

The attention to protest action by Hangberg citizens in October 2006 drew a substantially different response than the coverage of the 1997 and 2004 protests. A report in the Cape Times paid attention to Hangberg citizens protesting the closing of the Hangberg library due to staff shortages in the library system of the City of Cape Town (2006). In the report the Hangberg citizens were at the centre as sources to describe why this was a problem to the Hangberg community. The spokesperson from the deputy mayor's office is positioned in the report to respond to the concerns of the Hangberg citizens. This is different from reports about protest action thus far in which the only version in the news report had been that of officials. The report sparked attention to similar problems being experienced at libraries throughout the City. With this Hangberg is situated within the larger deliberative space of Cape Town. Six reports followed the ensuing back-and-forth between the DA-led government in the City and the ANC-led Provincial Legislature about who was to blame for the closures. The DA accused the Provincial Legislature – under whose jurisdiction budgets for libraries fall – of withholding resources to the City for political reasons. Apart from attention to the wider problem, the reports also provoked responses to the issue from other citizens in the form of letters to the editor. In one letter the Library and Information Association of South Africa supported the right of 'disadvantaged communities' to library services (Thomson 2006), and in another letter a citizen defended the DA against accusations emanating from a report about the library debacle in which the SACP blame the problems in the library systems to 'anti-poor' policies of the DA-led council (Sparks 2006). A week after

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[18] Translated from the Afrikaans

[19] In the late 1980s, when Hout Bay was still an exclusively white suburb under apartheid's segregation laws, residents of Hout Bay declared 'independence' and printed passports and bumper stickers stating The Republic of Hout Bay (http://www.tourismtattler.com/republic-of-hout-bay/).

the protest action in Hangberg the City Council announced that it was considering a range of measures to address problems at libraries, and a month after the protests the Council diverted money to resolve the staff shortages that caused the library in Hangberg to close. One could argue that for Hangberg citizens their participation in the deliberative political space had been validated by a transformative outcome.

By the time Hangberg citizens clashed with the City of Cape Town's Metro Police in November 2008, journalists were dealing with citizens whose concerns had become far more familiar to them. The journalists have recorded party political promises to build houses and improve infrastructure in Hangberg (Hartley 2006, Nicholson 2006, Witbooi 2007b, Du Plessis 2007a, Philander 2007, Nzapheza 2007). They have witnessed how other forces on the South African political landscape – the SACP and Cosatu – included Hangberg citizens when they encouraged those who felt left behind by failed political promises to 'take back the land' (Hawker 2007, Powell 2007, Du Plessis 2007b). In 2007, journalists reported *from* Hangberg in 14 of the 43 news reports about Hangberg that year. That was twice as many times in one year than in the ten years from 1996 to 2006. In six of these reports journalists were in Hangberg to talk to the citizens of Hangberg about their concerns. They were not with politicians on the campaign trail, or there to cover a meeting or a rally. This also constituted twice as many of these types of engagement with Hangberg citizens than in the previous 10 years.

Journalists now paid closer attention to Hangberg than ever before. News reports about clashes between Hangberg citizens and the Metro Police are no longer isolated reports about nameless people who act as a 'mob' against forces of law and order as in 1997.

The attention to the clashes between Hangberg citizens and the Metro Police in November 2008 is substantially different from the attention to the clashes in 1997. Three Cape Town based newspapers pay attention to the 2008 clashes rather than Johannesburg-based newspapers. All three 2008 reports consist of more than 300 words rather than the 150 of the 1997 report. In the 2008 reports journalists speak to Hangberg citizens and listen to their versions of the clashes unlike the 1997 report which referred exclusively to police records. All three reports paid attention to divisions and tension among Hangberg residents alerting to unresolved issues around land and housing despite a much-vaunted mediation process in 2007. Participants in the group interviews consistently raised these divisions and tensions in

Hangberg as impeding progress and solidarity. The most important difference is the attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens before and after the clashes in 2008.

While there were fewer newspaper reports paying attention to Hangberg in 2008 than in 2007, journalists mostly paid attention to housing and land issues throughout the year. These were the most pertinent issues in the run-up to the by-election in February 2007, and after. In 2008, Hangberg is on the agenda in statements about budgets allocated to housing and development in the City of Cape Town (Dentlinger 2008a, b, Zille 2008, Dentlinger 2008c). Journalists now pay attention to Hangberg citizens who are under threat of eviction (Cupido 2008, Mtyala 2008a, b). Journalists visit Hangberg and pay attention to how citizens experience plans to upgrade housing and services. And they remind the Hangberg citizens of promises made by the City of Cape Town.

> 'Hangberg will soon have more manholes than meetings. This is one of the mayor's pet projects so it's in everybody's interest that it succeeds (Jordan 2008).'

The report about the clashes in the Cape Argus stated that a meeting was scheduled between residents of Hangberg and City officials (Prince 2008). A journalist from the same newspaper then also attended the meeting in Hangberg to report the growing tension between the citizens in Hangberg and Cape Town Mayor Helen Zille (Damane 2008).

I have pointed out the differences in the kind of attention to protest action in Hangberg reflected in the coverage of these clashes in 2008. There were also unexpected similarities given the attention journalists were paying to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens at that point. Two of the three reports paid more attention to accounts of the Metro Police and City Council officials of what happened than first-hand, eye-witness accounts in Hangberg and from Hangberg citizens. Only one journalist reported on the meeting in Hangberg with the Cape Town Mayor – a meeting that turned out to raise important questions about the relationship between politicians and citizens and between the Mayor and Hangberg citizens in particular. Mayor Zille's response to the anger of the residents reflected in this report is important:

> She (Zille) warned that if they carried on shouting at her she would leave the meeting and they would 'never get an opportunity like that again' (Damane 2008).

This tension between Zille and the Hangberg citizens emerge again and again in news reports. I will examine this in more detail in the next section.

What is similar to the 1997 reports is that neither the journalists who wrote these reports, nor any of their colleagues, who have come to pay increased attention to Hangberg citizens in the previous two years, paid any further attention to the causes or consequences of these clashes. Not with the citizens in Hangberg or with officials of the City of Cape Town. Follow-up reports could, for example, have provided context to claims from citizens that the Hangberg land belonged to the Khoisan (Els 2008); a claim that would emerge again in protest action in 2009, and in 2010. The tension and division among the citizens also potentially raised questions in political deliberative space. What are these tensions about? Why do some residents seem to resist the housing development (Hartley 2008, Damane 2008)? These reports from 2008 left questions hanging that make it difficult for citizens who are unfamiliar with Hangberg to access the experience of Hangberg citizens to find common ground on basis of which they could engage in a shared political deliberative space.

Indeed, the news reports about the protest action of Hangberg citizens against the sale of the Sentinel Mountain – Hangberg is on the slopes of the Sentinel – in July 2009 raise serious questions about whether Hangberg citizens are recognised and visible at all to middle- and upper-class citizens in the mainstream deliberative space. Despite increased attention by mainstream journalists in the previous three years, the auctioneer who wants to sell part of the mountain on which the citizens of Hangberg live, is surprised when Hangberg residents turned up at a hotel in Hout Bay to protest the sale. He tells the journalist, 'We don't understand what the fuss is', and that the protesters had 'frightened' potential buyers (Kamaldien 2009).

The protest action against the auctioning off of the Sentinel Mountain did not come out of the blue. The auction where Hangberg citizens protested was in July 2009. In May that year the Sunday Times – one of the most widely read mainstream newspapers on a Sunday in South Africa – reported that the 'iconic mountain' is for sale (Jordan 2009). Jordan, the journalist covering the story is at this point familiar with the citizens of Hangberg. He has been there, he has talked to the citizens before (Jordan 2007, 2008). He paid attention to their views again in this report:

'How can people sell a mountain when they see people suffering for houses? That shows they are only thinking of themselves (Jordan 2009).

Three journalists followed up on this report, but only one of these reports paid attention to what the Hangberg residents thought about the possibility that part of the mountain on which their community was built could be sold to a private landowner. I will say more about similar references to Hangberg in the next section but the point here is that it is possible that citizens outside of Hangberg do not see or hear the Hangberg citizens in the deliberative political space because it is not the citizens who get the attention but rather a piece of land or an abstract community or settlement. Journalists may now pay more attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens but questions remain about the recognition and visibility of Hangberg citizens as agents with legitimate claims to political power and social justice in the mainstream deliberative space.

Three reports covered the protest at the hotel where the auction of the Sentinel was supposed to have happened. In all three reports journalists pay attention to Hangberg citizens and why they were protesting the sale.

> Mitchell, who live with her four children, said she could not stand by and watch the land being 'taken away'. 'I am angry because if they tell me to move, where must our children go (Prince 2009)'?

> Pastor Philip Frans, who lives in the residential housing section of Hangberg, said about 1 000 people live in the informal settlement. He said: 'Authorities will sell the mountain and at the end of the day the whole mountain would be privatised and then people can't use the mountain (Kamaldien 2009).'

> 'Years ago, they took away land from our parents and now they want to take away this land from us. We have been living there for years. They will chase us out to Blikkiesdorp (Neethling 2009)[20].

The protesters did scare the purchasers away and the sale could not be finalised.

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[20] Translated from Afrikaans

Figure 5: Blikkiesdorp: A place 'worse than hell' (Van der Merwe 2015) (photograph by Marelise van der Merwe)

3.2 How journalists pay attention to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens

I have so far in this chapter often referred to Hangberg and Hangberg citizens. I make a distinction between Hangberg and the citizens of Hangberg because of a distinction I see in how journalists in some cases refer to Hangberg as a place and in other cases refer to the citizens who live in Hangberg or Hangberg as a place where citizens live and make up a community of people. I would argue that these news conventions are indicative of how journalists – and other commentators – translate the lives of poor citizens in terms of news value.

I found this first in a report in Die Burger in 1998.

In this report, Die Burger paid attention to land issues. The report mentioned Hangberg when the national Department of Public Works handed over 700ha of land – most of it adjacent to Hangberg – to the South African National Parks (Sanparks) to establish an extended conservation area stretching from Lions Head to Cape Point. The report called the transfer of land from the state to Sanparks 'an important step' (Pretorius 1998) to consolidate the conservation of the Cape Peninsula conservation area. Here, the attention seems to be on Hangberg, the mountain, rather than the citizens of Hangberg.

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This happened again in 2009 in two reports following the news that the Sentinel Mountain was up for sale to private owners. In the first report Die Burger's emphasis is on the celebrities who may be buying the piece of the Sentinel Mountain – 'Oprah Winfrey, Sol Kerzner, the Rupert Trust or even Donald Trump' (Neethling 2009). Most of the report of 300+ words pays attention to the owner of the auction house spearheading the sale. The rest of the report – about a third – paid attention to the response to the sale by the Table Mountain National Parks body who proposed to incorporate the mountain in the Table Mountain conservation area. In the second follow-up to the issue, an editorial, also in Die Burger, proposed that government should involve 'conservation-minded' landowners in the protection of the mountain. The editorial talked about Hangberg as 'a piece of land in Hout Bay, an iconic beacon of visual, heritage and botanical importance' (2009).

In the 1998 and some of the 2009 reports, the attention seems to focus on Hangberg as a stand-alone economic or environmental asset. To other citizens reading these reports, the issue of access to land does not seem to warrant questions about the balance between conservation and housing needs of the people who live *in* a community or a settlement or a suburb called Hangberg.

These reports may further hold the key to questions about visibility and recognition of Hangberg citizens in the space of political deliberation despite increased attention from journalists since 2006. In 2009, a Hangberg citizen told a journalist he was not hopeful that Hangberg would benefit from the City's development plans of the World Cup Soccer tournament in South Africa in 2010:

> They don't take us seriously (Barnes 2009).

The Hangberg citizens, caught up in the battle between economic and conservation interests and the interest in decent housing and other services, remain invisible.

Hangberg citizens also often remain invisible when journalists report on the interests of other citizens in terms that seem to carry more weight than the interests of Hangberg citizens.

In May 1999, the Saturday Argus dedicated more than 1000 words to a meeting in the 'crime-weary community' (Blignaut 1999) of Hout Bay where citizens were outraged about a local

police officer who had been charged with murder after killing a robbery suspect. The journalist quoted one of the Hout Bay citizens who attended the meeting:

> Robbers are now suddenly regarded as heroes while a policeman doing his duty has to go to jail (Blignaut 1999).

Citizens from Hangberg were mentioned in the last paragraph of this report. In a paragraph starting with 'Meanwhile', the journalist referred first to 'a Hout Bay informal settlement' and later in the paragraph to the 'Hangberg settlement' where investigators were looking into the death, the previous weekend, of a man who died in an ambulance in Hangberg. The paragraph, and the report, ended with: 'Bystanders said he was beaten up by police' (Blignaut 1999). The identity of the dead man and the circumstances of the beating did not get attention from journalists.

In the 1997 report about the clash between Hangberg fishermen and the police, discussed in the previous section, and in this 1999 report, Hangberg citizens are faceless and voiceless. They are a mob operating in the dark against those who want to ensure law and order (Sapa 1997a, b). And they are implicated by association in a news report about increased crime in the mainly white, middle-class Hout Bay. The journalist heard suggestions of police brutality in the 'Hangberg settlement' (Blignaut 1999) but did not follow up on the story with the police or with the people who live in Hangberg.

This conceptualisation of the community in whose interest mainstream journalists in South Africa work – probably subconsciously rather than self-consciously – is starkly demonstrated in one of two reports mentioning Hangberg as an area included in a graffiti project in which Cape Town artists collaborate with local artists using art as a medium for 'education and social commentary' (Minnaar 2006). This quote from the report in the Argus reveals much about the default audience journalists pay attention to in mainstream news reports:

> The second part of the event is tomorrow at the Hangberg Basketball courts in Hout Bay. For those of you who only really know where Dunes is, go round to the Harbour Road and follow the signs (Stent 2006).

The assumption here is that readers may know where Dunes – a popular restaurant in Hout Bay – is, but not where Hangberg is. The focus is on the spectator or entertainment value of

the project for those who are interested in art, and the assumption seems to be that this excludes readers who live in Hangberg.

The relationship between Hangberg citizens and Helen Zille – first as leader of the DA, then as Mayor of Cape Town, and later as Premier of the Western Cape – demonstrates the power politicians have in how poor citizens are heard in the deliberative public space.

By the time the 'war' in Hangberg started in September 2010, the trust in Helen Zille that persuaded Hangberg citizens to vote for the DA in the 2007 by-election, was at an all-time low. In 2011, a Hangberg resident articulates how deep the disappointment was among Hangberg residents about the breakdown of this relationship:

> They, the DA and Helen Zille, did break our hearts last year when they shot at the people ... (Davids 2011).

An analysis of news reports shows that the breakdown of trust between the Hangberg citizens and Helen Zille could be attributed to how Helen Zille talked to, and about, Hangberg citizens.

In 2006, Zille visited the Hangberg community on several occasions. She promised to address problems Hangberg citizens pointed out to her (Hartley 2006) and she announced meetings with Hangberg community leaders (Dolley 2006a). At the end of that year, soon after the SACP encouraged poor people – at a rally in Hangberg – to seize unoccupied land in the Western Cape (Mkhabela 2006), Zille announced a plan to upgrade informal housing in Hangberg (Nicholson 2006). In the run-up to the by-election in February 2007, Zille promised Hangberg citizens at a meeting in Hangberg that the City of Cape Town 'had serious development plans for Hangberg' (Witbooi 2007a). This announcement came within days of a meeting in Hangberg where the ANC-aligned Premier of the Western Cape promised residents he would look into delays in the building of 300 houses promised by the former ANC-aligned mayor of Cape Town, Nomaindo Mfeketo (Witbooi 2007b). In November 2008, an official at the City of Cape Town told a journalist development plans for Hangberg were a priority in the Council: 'This is one of the mayor's pet projects so it's in everybody's interests that it succeeds' (Jordan 2008). In the same month, Zille was heckled by Hangberg citizens when she blamed residents who were refusing to move off land

earmarked for housing development for delays in the promised housing and infrastructure plans.

In September 2010, days before the 'war', Zille attended a meeting in Hangberg to discuss informal housing that were built on a firebreak and on land belonging to the Sentinel nature reserve. The meeting 'turned hostile' within 10 minutes after it started (Samodien 2010a).

> As the crowd became rowdier, Zille threatened to scrap a development project that has been on the cards for three years (Samodien 2010b).

Community leaders in Hangberg responded, saying that instead of listening to Hangberg citizens, Zille came in to dictate what should happen in Hangberg.

> You can't come into a community with a BMW, body guards and a large contingent of police,' said Mitchell. 'The premier speaks, but she doesn't give an opportunity for the voices of the community to be heard (Samodien 2010a).

In the days immediately following the 'war', Zille compared Hangberg to Brazil's favelas where there were 'police no go zones'. She repeatedly blamed the residents for stalling the housing projects and the violence and protests on drug users and criminals in Hangberg (Ndenze 2010b, Smith 2010, October 2010).

Residents retaliated.

> There are no drug merchants living in the sloot (firebreak), there are families living there. If they wanted to throw out the drug elements, we would have helped, we would have shown them where they live (Prince and Smook 2010).

They accused Zille of broken promises:

> In 2007 the then mayor, Helen Zille, promised the people of Hangberg that she would assist us in turning our community into Clifton (Jacobs 2011).

And they blamed her for what happened on the 21st of September: 'Zille is bringing the war to us.' … 'The heavy police presence was creating the impression that we are inbred, barbaric and don't have brains' (Hweshe 2010). One Hangberg citizen told a journalist, 'Zuma would

never have talked to us that way' (Jordan 2010). In another report residents threaten to withhold their votes if Zille and the Mayor did not listen to them (Van der Westhuizen 2010).

In these statements the Hangberg citizens not only expressed disappointment in Zille personally, they also warn that if they are treated like voters – getting attention only in an election cycle – they will respond like voters. They feel confident that they have established their currency in the contestation between political parties in the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town.

4. The group interviews

In the previous section I show how the attention journalists pay to citizens in Hangberg largely depends on the attention on Hangberg emanating from external political and economic conditions. The attention is not sustained by what citizens in Hangberg have to talk about in the mainstream deliberative space. Rather, the attention on Hangberg citizens is sustained by the interest of political and economic decision makers in Hangberg and Hangberg's citizens. Even when Hangberg citizens demand to talk and be heard through protest action, the access they have to the mainstream deliberative space is mediated in ways that are adjusted to more powerful political, economic, and even bureaucratic agendas of government officials.

In this section I use the information from the interviews with Hangberg citizens to provide a perspective of poor citizens' experiences and understandings of access to, and barriers associated with participation in deliberative political spaces. I pay particular attention to how Hangberg citizens talk about their experiences of talking to, and being heard in deliberative spaces in the Hangberg community. This includes experiences of talking to, and being heard by mainstream journalists.

Understanding practices of listening in these local instances of political communication could contribute to an understanding of empirical and theoretical foundations of political listening in democratic engagement generally.

I started the group interviews in Hangberg by asking citizens about the most pertinent problems they experience in Hangberg. I then asked a series of questions – as explained more fully in the methodology chapter of this thesis – to establish who they would talk to, where

they talk, and how they talk about these problems. Throughout I made enquiries about how and where they positioned journalists in their thinking through the political issues that affect their lived experience in Hangberg.

In the interviews the relationship of Hangberg citizens with community leaders emerged as an important theme. I use this relationship to examine perceptions of access to political power, and how this relationship has a mediating effect in local spaces of political deliberation. An analysis of how citizens describe talking and listening when they talk about their relationship with community leaders is revealing of expectations of being heard and paid attention to by political power brokers. In previous sections I have explained how mainstream journalists could be included as a category of power brokers in terms of democratic engagement. In the interviews, participants often used the same language they used to describe their interaction with political leaders when probed about their interaction with mainstream media. The discussion in this section is therefore revealing in terms of what it shows about poor citizens' perceptions of engagement with different categories of political power, and that includes the media.

Another important theme in the interviews revolves around meetings. Taken as access to spaces of political deliberation, the interviewees' description and understanding of meetings in Hangberg could be helpful to understand how Hangberg citizens understand the space of political deliberation as a space for appearing to other citizens and political decision makers – and to journalists. Interviewees used meetings to describe norms of engagement that describes norms of talking and listening, and more importantly, their expectations of talking to, talking with, and being listened to in political deliberative spaces.

A focus on the way interviewees in Hangberg talk about meetings also provide a useful basis for comparing the attention journalists pay to citizens in news reports. In just over half of the news reports (50.3%) examined for this thesis, where journalists do refer to Hangberg citizens as sources, the citizens talk as participants in meetings, mediation processes, or protest action. I include protest action in the category of 'meetings' as a form of 'performative' deliberation.

I conclude this analysis of the interviews with an examination of how Hangberg talked specifically about their perceptions of the media and journalists. In the interviews, I am trying

to hear how citizens perceive the attention they get from mainstream journalists, and what their expectations were about their interaction with journalists.

4.1 'I don't have a ticket to the discussion' – The mediating power of community leaders

One of the first questions I asked participants in the group interviews was who they would talk to mostly about the problems they experience in Hangberg. They said they talked about their problems everywhere and with everyone, that it was common to talk about these problems at home, but,

> *The actual people that we talk to are the community leaders. – female participant,*
> *HBFG1*

Community leaders appeared to be important – and controversial – mediators of access to political power in the deliberative space offered by meetings. Important because community leaders do seem to be connected to party political power brokers and to officialdom in the Cape Town City Council. Controversial because community leaders seem to use the access they have to the City to promote their own interests instead of the interest of Hangberg citizens.

The way in which interviewees talked about their dysfunctional relationship with community leaders suggested that the relationship had not always been unsatisfactory. Interviewees talked about a relationship with community leaders that seemed to have shifted as the economic importance of land in Hangberg, and the political importance of Hangberg citizens in the Western Cape's party political dynamic evolved. This trajectory also emerged in the news reports discussed in the previous section.

The narrative across the group interviews goes like this: There was a time when, if citizens had a problem, they could turn to community leaders because the community leaders lived among them. Community leaders were accessible, and willing to talk in the interest of the community when and where they had access to political power brokers outside the community. That is still what citizens seem to expect of community leaders, and what some of the participants in the group interviews describe when I ask them how they would go about contacting community leaders if they want to discuss problems in the community with them.

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*They don't have offices, so we will go to their houses (if we had problems we wanted
to talk to them about). – male interviewee, HBFG7*

*[if we want to talk to political leaders or government officials about our problems] we
start with the community leader. We first approach someone in the community
because every community leader is responsible for a certain section. That is, a
representative of the civic organisation. They write letters to the City [of Cape Town]
and then they would come back to us with letters from higher up. – female
interviewee, HBFG1*

*... it is mostly people from the community who are the leaders in Hangberg, and they
would make suggestions to other leaders. – male interviewee, HBFG4*

Others describe a relationship that has changed. They express frustration with community
leaders who now seem to have different priorities linked to party political interests.

*If you want to be part of it, you have to belong to the DA. Both civic associations (the
HBCO and the PMF) are connected to political parties. – female participant, HBFG6*

*They (the community leaders) say they are here for the community but you can see
they are linked to the DA. Then again the HBCO; they also do nothing. They are loyal
to the ANC. – female participant, HBFG1*

Interviewees talk about how community leaders have become removed from the citizens in
Hangberg.

*Sometimes we talk to friends or family (about the problems in Hangberg). And
sometimes there are community leaders with us. He sits there and listens to
everything we say but he himself does not say a word, and he doesn't do anything
about it. – male participant, HBFG2*

In most groups, interviewees refer to the 'war' in September 2010 as the moment that
changed the relationship between the citizens and community leaders in Hangberg:

*Before the incident (September 2010) we were one ... Now we are divided between
the HBCO and the PMF. – female participant, HBFG6*

They wanted to break down our houses and we resisted. It was not going to happen. And then the political leaders saw this was an entry point for them. They (political leaders from the ANC) said the DA was wrong and the ANC jumped in. The ANC organized big marches here and they said – it was in the newspapers – they can't keep the people out (evict people). We took action when there was a threat against our people. Most of those people (Hangberg citizens) don't even vote for the ANC. They would have voted for the DA but then this housing thing happened. – male interviewee, HBFG7

Now, say the interviewees, community leaders are only accessible at meetings.

Yes, if I have something that bothers me I will go to their houses. The problem is if you go to their houses you will find that they are never available. So the only time when they are available is when there is a meeting. And you never know in what ward the meeting will happen. By the time you see something about the meeting in The Sentinel[21] the meeting is over and done with. – male participant, HBFG7

The problem is that community leaders have become powerful gatekeepers of access to meetings. They have, it seems, power that extends from how citizens are informed about the meetings, who are invited, and norms of engagement that rule the procedures of the meetings.

When participants in the first interviews said community leaders 'talk to them' with a loudhailer, the significance of this seemingly neutral – and transparent – instrument was not immediately clear. As the loudhailer was mentioned in interview after interview the significance of the loudhailer as a symbol of inclusion and exclusion became clear.

Instead of seeing the invitations by loudhailer as access to political deliberation, interviewees talked about the loudhailer announcements as reminders of feeling betrayed by the possibilities offered by meetings to talk and being listened to:

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[21] The Sentinel is a local newspaper distributed in the Hout Bay Valley. This interviewee mentioned the paper but other participants said the newspaper only represented the interests of the Hout Bay ratepayers, meaning the interests of the more affluent residents in Hout Bay.

But now the people, when they call you with a speaker to tell you what is happening: no, go and do whatever, people are not interested because nothing will happen. You will sit down and talk for three hours and talk about what you will like and what and what but at the end of the day it is just a waste of time. There is no use. Serious, these days, that is what is happening to people. – male participant, HBFG2

Another participant in the same group was even more sceptical:

They will announce meetings with the loudhailer and they would say, come, we are having a meeting and the people would tell them they don't have time for that. They [the people] tell them [the leaders], you are having meetings but there are never solutions to the problem. – male interviewee, HBFG2

Another was suspicious about the motives of those who were calling people to the meetings with the loudhailer:

...You can stand with your loudspeaker and you walk up and down and call people to a meeting and you will get something for your family. But me, we don't get anything out of it [so] I am not going to give that time anymore because it is a waste of time. – male participant, HBFG2

Loudhailer announcements of meetings also exposed rifts and divisions within the community:

There is a lot of conflict here. People don't always want to hear those announcements. Sometimes people would throw stones at the vehicle with the people who are talking with the loudhailers. – female participant, HBFG1

One interviewee uses the loudhailer as a method of 'talking' to describe a counterpoint of political communication in Hangberg:

They should go from one house to the next, that is the only way they will achieve something. But instead, they drive around with a loudhailer and you can't even hear properly what it is they are saying. – male participant, HBFG4

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Community leaders further use their power, it seems, to decide who should know about meetings and who should not know about meetings.

> *Sometimes there is a meeting at the civic centre but they only inform a few people about that. Everybody doesn't know about these meetings. Then you hear about the meeting from other people who were there and then people would ask you but how come you did not know about the meeting. They would say it is your own fault that you were not there. It is true what he [the other participant] is saying: they don't care about other people as long as they get things to work for themselves. – male participant, HBFG2*

When some people were invited, and others were not, or perceived themselves as uninvited, Hangberg citizens felt like outsiders in their own community. Not only were they excluded; they were also told that if they did not participate it was their own fault. They should know about the meetings. How was it that they did not know about the meetings? The interest in attending meetings of Hangberg citizens who were not 'connected' was being questioned by those who were 'connected'.

> *Most of the time they only let certain people know about the meetings. They don't inform everyone. They talk among each other. Sometimes people would hear them talking and they would join in. And once I joined them as well but if you join them you never get an opportunity to talk because why, there are always people who want to talk. It is almost as if they are the only ones with problems. They don't see that you have problems too. – male participant, HBFG2*

This participant did not seem to suggest that those citizens with access to the meetings, or who were part of the inner circle who had access to meetings did not have problems. The thing that bothered him was that his problems were not recognised or paid attention to even when he was in the space of political deliberation. People who were part of the inner circle, who were invited to meetings and who had access to the discussion only had their own interests at heart. If other citizens – as suggested in the previous comment – happened to hear about the meeting and 'joined in' the selected few at the meeting did not allow him to talk.

Another interviewee admitted to be one of those with an invitation to meetings, but she was suspicious about why she was invited, and what was expected of her when she arrived:

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You will get an invitation ... from the organisation here called the PMF; only by invite, even if it is a public meeting. They want your signature, your ID number. Now that tells me a lot. Now at this meeting you have to give your ID number on a piece of paper – a blank piece of paper that you have to sign. You don't even know what for. And that is giving them power you know. – female participant, HBFG6

Where is this power situated, and over what?

It seems that since the 'war', community leaders have started to attend meetings outside of Hangberg. Interviewees seem suspicious of these meetings.

Sometimes people would get on buses and go to the City. (We believe) they go to meetings. But we never know what goes on in those meetings or what is discussed at those meetings. We just see them going and coming back again. They never give us feedback at the civic forums. – female interviewee, HBFG6

We do not have a ticket to the discussions. – female interviewee, HBFG6

But (those discussions) are between the people higher up, you see. We cannot be part of it. We have to make appointments if you want to see Mr. So-and-So. The people who have access to those discussions have to come back to us with the truth. That will make us happy. – female interviewee, HBFG6

Deliberative spaces itself, as embodied by community leaders, have shifted from Hangberg to elsewhere. More alarmingly for citizens, they suspect a deliberative space outside of Hangberg where their interests are being discussed but they do not get feedback of discussions at these meetings.

This shift represents more than a geographical shift. When the mediators – the community leaders – shift the locus of the deliberative space from Hangberg to the 'City', the citizens seem to feel a loss of power and control as agents of their political lives – a loss of being heard by people who understand their lived experience.

Meetings may still happen in Hangberg but the norms of engagement at the meetings have changed. The agenda is dictated elsewhere and is now in the interest of an-other constituency.

I will say more shortly about the norms of engagement at meetings in Hangberg, and what it tells us about participation in spaces of political deliberation but I want to stay with the relationship between citizens and community leaders for the moment.

4.2 (Dis)located deliberative power and political participation

With political power dislocated to spaces outside of Hangberg, the distinction between the politics of existence in Hangberg and party politics become blurry.

> *Today life is about politics but the political leaders, it is almost as if they are there for themselves. When one of them becomes a political leader, the government would take them somewhere else. They are not allowed to live among us anymore. Now he must go and live among the white people. Come on, you can't live here anymore. It is almost as if they are too good to live among us. They have to go and live among the white people. – male participant HBFG2*

This interviewee captures a distinction between the politics of the lived experience in Hangberg, and party politics. The life of politics is different from the lives of political leaders. And it serves different interests. Not only are the community leaders now situated somewhere else, their interests are now also elsewhere.

> *Those leaders are concerned about those things and those things are political. The ANC people and the DA people are more worried about getting votes for the political parties than about what they can do for their community. – male participant, HBFG7*

The language that Hangberg citizens use to describe their conceptions of politics and political participation in the group interviews is often an equivocal language. Interviewees talk about what the theory would describe as political, and even deliberative acts – like going to a community leader, or a church leader to discuss housing problems or problems of service delivery, and even participating in protest marches – but they would not describe these as talking about politics or political participation.

> *We are not interested in politics. – Female participant, HBFG1*

> *I think we are too busy to survive you know; to make ends meet. The survival instinct is bigger than the political instinct. We have to get things done for our grandchildren.*

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We want to live now, that is how it is. We want enough food on the table, we want a house and we want our children. We don't want to fight for something that may only happen in a few years' time. That is how it is. We are too busy surviving. – male interviewee, HBFG7

A closer look at these seemingly contradictory perceptions reveal a sophisticated understanding of politics as a lived experience. Hangberg citizens have a clear understanding of the problems, and the dimensions of the problems they face: There is not enough land to solve the housing problem. Jobs in the fishing industry – their main source of livelihood – are bound by policy decisions that they perceive as nepotistic. The problem of drug use is a symptom of a toxic mix of hopelessness and boredom. Everything is related.

The problem is, we are always having problems. Because we are not working; that is the first thing. We are getting stress of that (sic). Getting power into my house is difficult. The streets are dirty. You have to pay for water but you are not working. It is difficult. Staying in a place comfortably; it is difficult. A house needs to be warm; it needs all those things. It is difficult. I would say there are a lot of things that are not right. It is not just about people being moved, it is about the way we live. Because we go to sleep, the next morning there is something new that came along. You can't be a normal person smiling every day if you live like that. So you just stay under the stress. And the children start (using drugs) at a young age. And you don't know if you are going to live until you are old in this kind of situation.

The problem is that the community leaders, those from the community and in the community no longer seem available as interlocutors; they are now part of the party political power brokers.

Yes, there are people who participate (in political activities). There are people who believe in political activity. The PMF and the HBCO think of themselves as the junior league of the ANC and the DA. The HBCO and their leaders think they are one step

away from the Residensie[22]. That is the impression we have. – Female participant, HBFG1

(The people who participate in politics), they sit in Parliament but they never tell people what they are discussing there. They keep it to themselves. – male participant, HBFG2

Interviewees say access to political power is now also dependent on how educated you are. This applies to who gets elected as community leaders and further to who gets access to the inner circle of the community leaders.

It's like they choose people who went to a decent school so he can go and listen to (people with political power outside of Hangberg). – male participant, HBFG2

To tell you the truth, if you talk to them it does not look like they are listening to you. They are interested in what standard you have left school. – male participant, HBFG2

Like I said, you must have very good qualifications to talk to those people, otherwise they don't listen to you. – male participant, HBFG2

Instead of being on the side of the citizens in Hangberg, the community leaders are asking them to relinquish their power to protect the little that the citizens have.

They tell us not to fight back – male participant, HBFG2

Another participant in the same group says:

Here and there they are assisting people. But on the other hand they are telling people to let go of issues. But we cannot let people demolish our houses and allow them to put us somewhere else. It will be hard to start over in another place. – male participant, HBFG2

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[22] The 'Residensie' refers to the official residence of the Premier of the Western Cape Province.

Some interviewees do describe protest action as political participation. But what would interviewees describe as political participation in Hangberg?

> *They throw stones; that's what people do. That is how we do it. That is what we tried. And again, I don't think it was about politics. It was about protecting what we had. – male participant, HBFG7*

Interviewees describe protest action as a way of responding to non-responsive leaders:

> *If that person (the community leader) who people (in Hangberg) go to is not doing his job properly, that is when people start toyi-toying[23]. – male participant, HBFG2*

When interviewees in another group says that she will march because it is something one could do and that it is a way to *'stand up for your rights' (female participant, HBFG3)*, another participant in the group asks rhetorically:

> *But what happens afterwards? – female participant, HBFG3*

The only other path of access to political power is to merge their own political interest with the power they now associate with party political interests. Rather than an ideological basis, the interest interviewees express in party politics, or voting, seems to be based on the hope that the promise of change is realised through allegiances shown at the ballot box.

> *They (Hangberg citizens) do talk politics. The way I look at it: Most of them get pressure of this (political) party and that party promising you will get this and that. Then people see the results and it is not what was promised. Then they change to another political party. – male interviewee, HBFG7*

> *We are talking about politics because there is no progress. That is why we are making things political. [That's why ons bring politiek in.] – female interviewee, HBFG1*

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[23] Toyi-toying refers to particular ways of 'dancing' or stomping of feet, that have come to be associated with protest marches in South Africa.

The people who are interested (in politics) are interested in votes. We are hungry. There are no jobs. Nothing. When they come to us with promises of houses that will be built or doing this or that, then some people think, oh well, let's just vote. – male participant, HBFG6

But even voting – and as I have shown in the previous section, citizens in Hangberg do vote – does not provide access to political power that substantively translates to change in their conditions.

My family have voted – my grandmother who is now dead has voted – ANC all their lives. She said if you vote you have rights. She voted and nothing came out of it. Nothing happened to solve her problems. But the ANC leaders – they got everything they were looking for. – male participant, HBFG2

It does not seem that Hangberg citizens are not interested in politics or political participation. The problem is that the politics they are vested in as citizens in Hangberg is vested in daily struggles for access to housing, land, and basic services. These struggles are situated in a different location, a space that is a long way from the space in which party politics and government bureaucracy is situated.

There is a strong sense of hopelessness and feelings of disempowerment that come through when the interviewees talk about political participation. They have tried voting, they have tried marching and protests but very little has changed for them:

I still have the scars where they shot me, says one interviewee, referring to the war in September 2010. *And I still don't have a place to stay. – male participant, HBFG7*

4.3 Talking, listening and spaces for political deliberation in Hangberg

Talking and listening in the world of Hangberg citizens are self-sustaining political habits rather than self-conscious acts of political participation convened in deliberative forums dedicated to structured political reasoning. An amalgamated version of responses to a question about where citizens in Hangberg talk about the problems they experience would sound like this:

We talk about these problems everywhere; when we see each other walking down the road. We talk on the corner of the streets. We talk about it at home. We talk about it wherever we meet one another; when people see each other at the church. We talk in schools, in hospitals, clinics – any place where people get together, they talk about this.

There are also community meetings that seem important spaces of political deliberation even though interviewees expressed frustration about norms of engagement at meetings, but mostly because they felt that their voices did not count at the meetings.

At the end of the day everything depends on them (the leaders). It doesn't often happen that a big leader will listen to a local person on the floor. They listen to you but by tomorrow he has already forgotten what you have said. Because we are local and because we come from communities that are suffering it really is impossible to tell them how they should govern us. – female participant, HBFG5

For some interviewees, the problem is the way in which Hangberg citizens 'behave' at meetings. One interviewee, who admits that his family were not as affected by the housing problems because *'we are settled, we have a house'*, says:

At the end of the day, they act like barbarians (at the meetings). People (the political leaders) attend meetings to come and listen to people's complaints but the people (of Hangberg) are so disrespectful. And that is why I am not interested in meetings whether it is about housing or any other meeting. I am not interested to go and listen to the back and forth shouting. You can never hear what the meeting is about; all you hear is the shouting. – male participant, HBFG4

Another interviewee in this group says:

There is always trouble at these meetings. – female participant, HBFG4

The participants in this group are not without sympathy for Hangberg citizens with housing problems:

We are settled, so it is more down there (where people live in shacks and informal housing) where they talk about what has been built and why they are not satisfied

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with what has been built for them. The people will have to get houses. If I lived there I would not have been happy either. Then I would have sided with them. But now I live here and all these thing are happening down there. – male participant, HBFG4

This group interview indicates the subtle layers of inequality in Hangberg. Material status affects the views of what is appropriate in terms of talking in political deliberative spaces. The participants in this interview said that they were more inclined to attend meetings organised by political parties even though they were *'not really into politics'.*

In another group, interviewees also complain about the tone of meetings.

There is always a lot of shouting. But we never get the purpose of the meeting because of the bickering. – female participant, HBFG1

Still, the citizens of Hangberg seem determined to continue to go to meetings.

Because we want to know what is going on. This is our place after all. – female participant, HBFG6

Some of the citizens who do go to meetings insist on being heard.

Sometimes it is the community who won't give them (the leaders) a chance to talk! (They would say) we are not interested to listen to you until you give us proper housing, or, why did you put up those 'sinkhokkies' [corrugated iron shacks] in the first place; why didn't you give us face-brick houses from the start? So, we will not move in (to the shacks). – female participant, HBFG1

She (an interviewee points to another participant in the group), *attends every meeting. At every meeting she gets up and she speaks and she asks questions. She lets them know how she feels. She talks to the people who are supposedly taking the lead. – female participant, HBFG6*

The participant who is pointed out responds: *But nobody ever responds. So actually it is a waste of time. – female participant, HBFG6*

The problem is that community leaders or political leaders who call the meetings use form and protocol to manipulate who can talk and what can be talked about at meetings.

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And when people start to ask questions, they would say, hang on, we first have to do this, then we would come to that. – male participant, HBFG2

Look, I have lived here in Hout Bay for how many years. ... I can't live in a flat. Where would my wife and children go? ... But when I talk about this (at a meeting) they will tell me housing is not on the agenda; it will be addressed some other time and I should go to the advice office (with my case). But I don't really know what the advice office is? I believe you can go there to complain about the stuff about the toilets but I am not sure what they do. – male participant, HBFG7

They don't really give you a chance to explain yourself. They also don't explain what it is that they are planning. – HBFG6

People do attend meetings but there are no decisions taken at these meetings. – female participant, HBFG1

Not getting feedback when they do talk to political leaders or when they tell them what their needs are, is a problem.

We started a petition to state this is what the community of Hangberg want. But they never give us feedback. They don't listen, that is what I am telling you. They are not interested in us. – female participant, HBFG6

They are not interested. They don't listen. They don't notice our voices. These three phrases summarise how interviewees talked about their experience of political deliberation.

Hulle vat nie notisie van jou nie, says one female participant (HBFG6) in Afrikaans

The Afrikaans phrase, *vat nie notisie van jou nie,* can be literally translated to *not taking notice of you.* It is about more than not paying attention; it means that you are invisible – not noticeable. That is how Hangberg citizens experience themselves in political deliberation.

The difference between talking to other citizens about their problems *everywhere* and talking to community leaders or others with political power is that there is an expectation of change because of this talking – whether it is at meetings or protest marches, or when they go to their houses for assistance.

We have tried everything but they won't listen. They just go behind our backs and do their own thing. – female participant, HBFG6

So what is the point of talking if nobody acts on it? – female participant, HBFG1

4.4 Talking about listening – 'there was that day that Zuma came to Hangberg'

When interviewees talk about how they talk about politics and to political leaders and how political leaders talk to them, they mention the visit of South Africa's president, Jacob Zuma, to Hangberg in the run-up to the national and provincial elections in 2014. They also often mention the name of Helen Zille, the former mayor of Cape Town and now the Premier of the Western Cape Province. I have discussed the significance of Hangberg in terms of party political contestation in general and Helen Zille's political career in the previous section. The way in which one group of interviewees talk about President Zuma's visit to Hangberg symbolises Hangberg citizens' perception of being disconnected from political power and political deliberative spaces.

I ask this group what community leaders should do if they want to listen to the citizens of Hangberg. The first interviewee who responds to the question says they want someone to come and listen to their story; to sit down with them and ask them what their problems were. *'This is what is not happening,'* he says. Two male participants follow on, as if to illustrate his point, with their story of the visit by the President. Taking turns, their story unfolds like this:

> *One day Jacob Zuma was here. He walked through the streets and went into some of the houses but there was no talking. He just walked through the streets and the video cameras took pictures of the people. He just walked ...*

> *He went in to my neighbour's house but the only thing that I could say, serious, he is the president and where he goes there is a camera and they are going to shoot (pictures of) him. He is so important. He is a big guy you see. And the owner of the house was important but, so, to her, that is beautiful. But for us there was nothing.*

> *You couldn't get near him (the president). The people with him (the bodyguards) would push you away.*

It is like tourism, touring – he must just watch ...That's the only pain we have inside. Sometimes you feel, sometimes you feel you can do something but then you think, how do I do this? You've got anger. There were a lot of cars parked here and the president got bodyguards. But the visit changed nothing for us. Imagine, you grow up with that feeling of that suffering; there is a lot of anger when you see people like this . That is why we are always fighting because we make someone a leader but then ... you don't care about us anymore.

What made me feel silly ... it was as if he just walked through the streets so that he could say that he was here. And another thing, he walked in the street but he couldn't face the people. Hy loop met sy kop in die grond. Met 'n mussie op sy kop. [He walked facing the ground. With a beanie on his head.]

From my side, serious, I don't understand that, and that makes me to feel that thing inside me. It is a joke. You get fokol [fuck all]. He doesn't care about people or about people's suffering. ... When he came, people were excited; the president is coming, now we will get something. There is nothing!! It is like a child that sees his father; you know you haven't seen your father for years, and when your father comes you know you will get loved ... but at the end the day your father came here and just looked at you and then moved back. How will you feel? You didn't get loved, you didn't get nothing ... you stay with that anger ...

Many people looked forward (to the visit); the man (the President) is coming to listen to our problems. But he didn't come to listen.

When we heard the President was coming, everyone was sleeping that night dreaming about the President who is coming: He is going to see me; we don't even have to ask him. To get out of his car to come inside here, I think he saw a lot of papers lying in the street. He sees a lot of shacks. How does he feel about it? We don't have to remind him. He saw it. But we see it every day. We don't have to be reminded of it by television cameras. We are suffering and we cannot do anything about it. But the person who can do something; he doesn't even take one action.

The one phrase that many interviewees used when they talk about what listening looks like to them, was the phrase, *sit down with us,* or, *come here to my house.*

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They must sit down with us (and ask) what is the problem. (We want) someone to come and hear the people's story, so he can fix the people's stories. – male participant, HBFG2

Help is not about money. Help is about sitting down and talk. We used to sit down and share things. That helps us see our problems. – male participant, HBFG2

I would prefer if they come here to my house and we could sit around the table and discuss things. – male participant, HBFG4

Come here and explain to me: (now the interviewee takes on the role of a City official) *Look, the City has bought this piece of land and we have drawn up these plans. Are you satisfied with this plan?* Now the interviewee uses her own voice again: *Look we are the people who live here, but they don't see it like that. – female participant, HBFG6*

The only thing I can say is that the government should sit down with the people. – male participant, HBFG2

Another interviewee is even more specific about what listening looks like to him. When I ask the group how they want community leaders to listen to them, he says:

I would tell him to pay attention to what I am saying and not to interrupt me. I will ask him to try and be compassionate and that he should ask me to repeat what I am saying if he does not understand my question the first time. – male participant, HBFG7

4.5 Talking about journalists and what journalists can do to help Hangberg citizen

The same sense of being ignored, of being disregarded by political leaders, prevail in the way interviewees talk about the media and the journalists they encounter in Hangberg.

Some interviewees do talk about hearing information about their concerns on the radio, or seeing reports in newspapers or on the television.

I have often heard people here in Hangberg talk about information they have heard on the radio or in the newspaper or on television. – female participant, HBFG3

Others interviewees feel the opposite is true.

> *It is not often that we see something about what happens in Hangberg in the news. –*
> *female participant, HBFG5*

Interviewees mention local radio stations (Heart FM), and the national public broadcaster's Afrikaans radio station Radio Sonder Grense (RSG). One interviewee said that he had heard there was a local radio station on the cards serving the Hout Bay Valley. Interviewees mention Die Son *('Most of us speak Afrikaans, you see.' – HBFG4)*, The Voice, Die Burger, and The Argus newspapers. But they often talk about these reports in vague or uncertain terms:

> *Yes, I have heard people talking that they have heard this and that on the radio. They*
> *say this was announced over that issue and so on. – female participant, HBFG1*

> *I have seen something in Die Son and sometimes on television – they have killed that*
> *person, and so on. So praat hulle oor die nuus. [That is how they talk on the news.] –*
> *female participant, HBFG3*

> *Yes, I have often heard people talking about something they have seen on television.*
> *They see things on facebook. There is often something in the local newspapers like the*
> *Sentinel and The Voice and Die Son. People talk about something that was broadcast,*
> *or it was on television. – female participant, HBFG5*

> *I wouldn't say we have (seen information in newspapers); not about the housing*
> *issue. – female participant, HBFG1*

> *We have our own newspaper in Hout Bay, The Sentinel. Every now and again we will*
> *read about those problems or we will read about it in Die Son. But we will not hear*
> *about it on the (radio) news or on television. I don't think it is important enough to*
> *put on. – male participant, HBFG7*

Another says he has seen news in The Sentinel about houses being built and about housing plans getting the go-ahead. The problem is:

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We never see anything happening. The issue is never really addressed. – male participant, HBFG4

For me, I could say no (I have not heard people talking about information in the media to help them understand the problems in Hangberg). Because we don't have time for radio or television because we always hear stories that something is going to happen but then it never happens. So, we have lost hope on those things. We are not interested in even the (news)papers. There are people still reading papers but we don't care about what is in The Sentinel or what, because we are used to see a lot of promises in the newspapers and on television and radio ... but nothing happens. – male participant HBFG2

One interviewee strongly implies the effect of inequality on how journalists pay attention to Hangberg citizens when he talks about news coverage of Hangberg in The Sentinel:

The Sentinel is biased. They report on the ratepayers. We are rent payers but we are not ratepayers. There will be meetings in such and such a hall, ratepayers something, something ... but there is never something about the meetings of rent payers in the Sentinel. There is nothing in the news about the meetings here in the civic centre – they won't report on those. They report on the ratepayers' association on that side, you know ... Hangberg is unimportant to them. – male participant, HBFG7

Another interviewee expresses the effect of poverty on the possibilities for accessing the media in the first place:

... To have a television you need money to buy electricity to watch television. The radio ... I also need those things but I need to work. Those things (radio, television, newspapers) have become useless to us. The papers – you also have to buy it. Sometimes you can't just sit and read the paper but you don't have a job. – male participant, HBFG2

And others feel the media are constant reminders of the inequality they face every day:

You know, the last time I watched the news ... I saw the President drinking whisky costing R2000 or something. The President is advertising alcohol and it is alcohol he

can buy for more than R2000! There are people sleeping outside and people that are unemployed! – male participant, HBFG2

There were also junior leaders of the ANC that I also saw on the news. They throw parties that cost more than R40000 for one party. I mean ... sometimes the government spends a lot of money that doesn't work for people. – male participant, HBFG2

When I ask about seeing news about Hangberg in the media or encountering journalists in Hangberg asking Hangberg citizens about their problems, one interviewee says:

It is as if we live behind a closed door! – male participant, HBFG6

Other responses range between an emphatic, *No,* or, *nothing,* or, *not that I know of,* or, *not that I can remember,* or, *there was that one day ...*

When Zille was here (in 2010) it was all over television. *It was about the war but we did not get any fact about how to go about getting houses. Those Zille people and the Metro Police came in and they dragged people from their shacks. They demolished houses and so on but we did not get any feedback (about the housing problem). – female participant, HBFG1*

A few months ago, the President (Zuma) visited us here. ... On that day, there were many different radio stations and television stations with him and they asked where the problems were, what they could do, and if there were anything we would like to say that the world should hear. ***So, there was that day they came out to Hangberg.*** *– female participant, HBFG5*

There was the time when the police came to demolish the bungalows. *There was a guy from e-News – I can't remember his name – who spoke to me. I told him people were unhappy because the law enforcement wants to demolish the houses. That was the (2010) incident with the Metro Police. – male participant, HBFG2*

They may report on something sensational like the march we had or the police and the protests, like the war of Hangberg. Something like that, yes. Or when they hear people were arrested for poaching abalone, or somebody burgled a house and they

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> *caught the thief. These are the things we will hear and read about. Sensational stuff, but not the things that are important for us.*

The same interviewee adds:

> *They will tell us so-and-so was caught for drug dealing but they won't tell us if new houses will be built or where there are job opportunities and who we should contact to get the jobs – we don't hear that. – male participant, HBFG7*

Interviewees are not hopeful that journalists can help to get political leaders to pay more attention to the problems in Hangberg.

> *What can they do? They can also just talk about it. – female participant, HBFG3*

> *I don't think there is anything a newspaper or a radio station can do to change that. – male participant, HBFG3*

In one group, I ask the question and an interviewee responds: *No, there is nothing (the media could do to help).* Another interviewee then follows up with:

> *What he is saying is that people should sit down with the government and talk to them. There isn't an in-between. – male participant, HBFG2*

The interviewee who initially said the media can do nothing, backs up his position:

> *There is nothing they (journalists) can do because they are doing their job already. They are taking pictures that show government (what the problems are). Government must take action but the government doesn't take action. They (the government) can do something but there is nothing that moves. – male participant, HBFG2*

And again, his friend feels that he needs to clarify this position:

> *What he is saying is that it is better to have 'straight' contact with the government instead of going through this or that. Die nuusmense [journalists], also add their own bits (to the news), after all. – male participant, HBFG2*

Journalists *'add their bits'* and they do not pay attention to what citizens tell them is happening in the community.

> *Whatever you tell them (journalists) ... When the riots happened in 2010, I told the Argus (newspaper) and e-TV, put this on television like a film; don't cut it to 10 minutes or 10 seconds because then people do not get the whole story. ... But they (the journalists) don't print what you tell them to. ...The truth is free; it does not cost a thing to tell the truth. The truth sets you free. But they (the journalists) put in their own version. I told them (the journalists) that they (the Metro Police) came into the community like assassins but that was not in the newspaper. – female participant, HBFG6*

This perception of journalists reporting 'their own version' of events undermines the trust citizens have in journalists' representations of events. The same interviewee adds:

> *As I've told you: You, we talk, you interview us – this is an example – now I will tell you what happens here but they don't report what you tell them. They make up their own story. They don't report the things I've told them in the interview. It is almost like I am lying; (like they are saying) she is not telling the truth.* Now the interviewee takes on the voice of a journalist. *I can't report that because then it will look as if I am lying, so let me make the story nicer.* The interviewee goes back to her own voice. *That happens a lot in Die Son. We tell things like it is, in plain language because I use plain language so that you can understand what I am saying and sot that I understand what you are saying. But no, they (the journalists) have to make up their own story. That is why I am not interested in the media. They don't report what you tell them. They put in something else. We tell it like it is so that people can understand what we say. – female participant, HBFG6*

When I ask questions about the media, interviewees often use the same language they use when they talk about their engagement with the political system. Closer attention to these discussions in the interviews reveals what looks like a narrative about citizens' unmet expectations of the perceived power of journalists – a similar narrative to the narrative of unmet expectations about those with political power. In one group interview I ask the group if they think people who participate in political activities do so because of what they read in newspapers. One interviewee starts a response with what looks like information he

remembers from reading the newspapers in September 2010, and then he ends with what looks like information he would have expected to see in newspapers at the time:

> *I would say this thing happened like this: there were negotiations that people should only build below the fire line – that is what we call the 'sloot' – they can put up houses and what-what ... And there was no warning on the news or the radio to say, they are coming to demolish the houses in Hangberg. – male participant, HBFG7*

In another group, an interviewee articulates a similar unfulfilled expectation in terms of September 2010:

> *Before the Metro Police arrived here, (the media) told us they (the government) were going to build houses for people. But the next thing we knew [toe die mense hulle oë uitvee] they didn't come here to build houses but to evict people. ... And for me ... children grow up and they want to know what is going on and we don't have the answers. – male participant, HBFG2*

In another group one interviewee implies a role for journalists to hold political parties –in this case Helen Zille – 'honest' by holding politicians accountable for what they say at meetings in Hangberg. In response to my question of whether the media can help to solve the housing problems in Hangberg, she responds[24]:

> *Personally, I think if any one of the two (political parties) want to solve the problem they have to start by being honest with the people. They can't tell us one week that Monday is blue only to tell us the next week that it is green. It doesn't work that way. We are not children. We know what is going on. You (political leaders) can't promise us something and then go back on that promise. You have already created expectations. (Journalists should tell us), she (Zille) said this and that will happen, and at the next meeting, if she doesn't mention it and the community mention it, and she pretends she doesn't know what the community is talking about, journalists should remind her of what she said at the last meeting. – female participant, HBFG2*

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[24] I have paraphrased this response to some extent for it to form a coherent whole.

Interviewees seem to be disappointed in journalists because they have expectations of how, and in whose interest, journalists use their power in the political space of deliberation. Some interviewees felt that journalists get paid for doing their job and that was what separates their interests from the interests of Hangberg citizens.

> *You see, to me, as long as money gets in the way ... Those people who are getting pictures (photographs) of what happens outside in the world, they know even when nothing changes, at the end of the day, they will be getting something but the people who suffer get nothing. – male participant, HBFG2*

Another interviewee in the same group concurs:

> *I understand what he is saying: What does it help if people from the television come and they take pictures of the place and everything, and they get paid but the people who are in the pictures don't get anything. – male participant, HBFG2*

Others felt that the interest of journalists predicated on political interests. Talking about coverage of President Zuma's visit to Hangberg, one interviewee expresses concerns about paying attention to the interests of Hangberg in the context of the broader divisions in the Hout Bay Valley:

> *There were people in the community who felt the media did not cover the worst of our problems. The most important thing is that we want the world to know specifically about Hangberg. Hout Bay is divided into Hangberg, Imizamo Yethu and Mandela Park, and there was very little (attention) on Hangberg if you compare it with what was highlighted about Imizamo Yethu and Mandela Park. They showed a lot of footage of how Black people were suffering there. But people here are suffering too. And that was less emphasized. – female participant, HBFG5*

Another interviewee feels if journalists pay attention to the citizens of Hangberg, political leaders will also pay attention because they want their votes.

> *If the media highlight the problems, obviously the political leaders will pay more attention because they (the political leaders) want the votes. They (the political leaders) will talk to them (the journalists) and tell them how they are addressing those issues. So, for me, if it is highlighted it is more likely that something will be done*

about it. Maybe the right person will read it and do something but I am not very
hopeful that will happen. Where there is politics ... I don't know ... all they are
interested in are votes, votes, votes. – male participant, HBFG7

Most interviewees seem to have given up on this expectation. Responding to a question about whether journalists can do something that would make political leaders listen to them an interviewee responds with frustration:

Jesus, we have been on television so many times! – female participant, HBFG6

The television is full of liars. They don't help us; they make things worse. That is why
people sometimes chase the media away. They just want us to act happy and satisfied.
– female participant, HBFG6

Just like the political leaders, journalists are not interested, and they don't provide feedback on important political decisions. Hangberg is unimportant to them, just like Hangberg is to political leaders.

They (the journalists) are not interested. Look, you can talk to people from the
television but they never give you feedback either. It is hopeless to watch television if
you want feedback. I will watch my soapie but that is it. The things they (the
journalists) are supposed to do (to help you) they don't do that. The television, the
media will listen to your problem but they don't want to do anything for you. They
want to hear about your private business – that is what they are interested in, but they
don't want to do anything about the situation here (in Hangberg). – female
participant, HBFG6

Hangberg is unimportant to them (journalists). – male participant, HBFG6

For me, I could say no (I have not heard people talking about information in the
media to help them understand the problems in Hangberg). Because we don't have
time for radio or television because we always hear stories that something is going to
happen but then it never happens. So, we have lost hope on those things. We are not
interested in even the (news)papers. There are people still reading papers but we
don't care about what is in The Sentinel or what, because we are used to see a lot of

promises in the newspapers and on television and radio ... but nothing happens. –
male participant HBFG2

The whole world was watching (in 2010) while the polices attacked us. We were
finished – people were evicted from their houses. The newspapers told the story, and
then? – female participant, HBFG6

This seems to imply that it does not make a difference whether journalists pay or don't pay attention to the problems of Hangberg citizens. Another interviewee feels that even if they are *'cast aside'*, it is up to citizens in Hangberg to stand up for themselves in the media. But that can only happen if journalists come to Hangberg and *'talk to us'*:

I think it happens very rarely that journalists come out to pay attention to the
problems here and I think it will be a very good thing if journalists come here (and
talk to us). ... At the end of the day, what happens in this community ... it feels to me
we have been cast aside. We were just cast aside and no one is listening but I don't
think that is necessarily true. I think it is also because we are not willing to stand up
and say what we think and what it is that we really want. – female participant,
HBFG5

To others the prospect of talking to journalists were as impossible as talking to political leaders:

Like I said, you need very good qualifications to talk to those people (journalists),
otherwise they don't listen to you. – male participant, HBFG2

Just as interviewees were clear about what listening looks like when political leaders engage with them, they are clear about what it looks like when journalists listen to them:

If I get the opportunity, I would love to sit down and talk on television. Then I would
want the Premier and the Mayor to sit down with me as if we are in the same room so
that they could hear what the problems are in the community. A lot of times people
will look at the newspaper and say, oh, it is Hangberg and there are problems again,
but I think if they could see a person and a person could ask the mayor and the
premier to sit and listen to what it is that we really need in our community and how
we feel ... that will be something good. – female participant, HBFG5.

Interviewees are also clear about the kind of information that would make a difference to their lives. They express a need for information that could help change their lives on a basic and practical level:

> *It would be useful to know what jobs are available. For example, the government sometimes provides information about beaches that need cleaning or streets that need cleaning, you know. If I could get hold of that (information) then I could contact them to see if I could get a job. – male participant, HBFG7*

Another interviewee in the same group suggests that this information should be available in the media, or other public places *'where all of us can see it'*.

> *But now* (interviewee takes on the role of an official) *I only tell my brother and to his child and the child's friends. The information only stays around them. The news of the tenders are not freely available. – male participant, HBFG7*

One interviewee suggests that citizens in Hangberg need information for them not to feel excluded from the broader polity:

> *I would say the kind of information everyone needs – not just here in Hangberg – is that we are not alone in feeling afraid. All of us have to raise children and we have to talk about what we see and how we feel – that is the most difficult thing. – female participant, HBFG5*

5. Paying attention, constructing citizens, and mediating power

How does the information from the news reports and the group interviews with citizens in Hangberg help us to understand the relationship between poor citizens and mainstream journalists? And how can this information help us to understand the ways in which this relationship enables or disables the recognition and visibility of the political will of poor citizens in mainstream spaces of political deliberation?

In this section I use the questions Bickford (1996) poses to the media about the kinds of attention it fosters, the kinds of citizens it constructs, and the kinds of power it produces or prevents as a frame for understanding how journalists are shaping citizens as listeners in South Africa's democracy (1996, 180). For this analysis, I replace Bickford's use of 'media'

with 'journalists' in line with the more concrete interaction between journalists and citizens I am proposing in this study.

To populate this analytical frame, I return to the question I proposed at the start of the previous chapter: If Hangberg citizens read the news reports in mainstream newspapers, what would they see of their lived experience? How do they 'appear' to citizens who do not live in Hangberg, or who are not familiar with conditions of poverty such as is prevalent in Hangberg? What do the Hangberg citizens sound like to themselves and to others in mainstream spaces of political deliberation? What do they look like to themselves and to other citizens who share the deliberative spaces with them?

5.1 What kinds of attention do journalists foster?

For the most part, news reports of Hangberg and Hangberg citizens followed predictable patterns: in the 20 years of coverage under investigation (1994-2014) journalists hardly paid attention to Hangberg or the citizens who live in Hangberg until the land where Hangberg is situated became important in monetary terms, and until the citizens of Hangberg gained political currency in the contest for votes between the ANC and the DA.

Journalists pay attention to poor citizens when political leaders pay attention to poor citizens as potential voters. The attention to protest action is also embedded in this attention. In the corpus of news reports under consideration the way in which journalists covered protest action before the citizens in Hangberg became crucial to the fight of the DA to govern the City of Cape Town and later governing the Western Cape Province, became qualitatively and quantitatively different. Not only are there more reports about protest action involving Hangberg citizens after 2006, the reports also pay more attention to the involvement in political factions in mobilising and responding to the protest action.

The problem is, from the point of view of the citizens of Hangberg, more coverage did not make a different to their lived experience or their conditions of poverty.

The kinds of attention journalists foster of the citizens of Hangberg in these instances remained limited to images of 'the poor' protesting the state. In most cases the reports that followed up on protest action referred to political leaders and City bureaucrats for their responses to the protest action.

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When journalists paid attention to Hangberg citizens during election cycles it was from a vantage point embedded in the campaign trail of political leaders, even when these campaigns took them to Hangberg.

One early example that exposes news values that favour an interest in party politics rather than the interests of poor citizens is a report about a memorial service in Hangberg after fishermen from the community died in a boating accident in March 2006. At the meeting, Helen Zille, then the leader of the DA, and mayor of Cape Town, promises to look into difficulties experienced by the local fishermen. The community also handed her a list of issues they wanted the City of Cape Town to pay attention to – among these issues were housing problems and problems of unemployment that leads to poaching of illegal fishing sources (Hartley 2006). None of the journalists who attended the memorial service followed up with citizens in Hangberg on the content of the list of issues the citizens presented or to talk to fishermen about the difficulties they raised with Zille. In not returning to Hangberg to provide depth to the issues raised by the citizens through listening to the citizens in their lived environment, the journalists missed an opportunity to pay at least as much attention to the interests of poor citizens as they pay to the interests of political leaders. Instead, journalists fostered attention merely on the fact that the Hangberg citizens handed over a list of issues that need to be changed. In the mainstream space of mediated political deliberation, the content of the list of issues is not revealed. This kind of attention has implications for how Hangberg citizens appear in mainstream spaces of political deliberation.

In the mediated space of political deliberation poor citizens are dependent on journalists to pay attention to their reality in such a way that it could appear as one of the "multiplicity of perspectives that constitutes reality" (Bickford 1996, 63). Not paying attention to the issues on the list, and the context in which these issues emerges, limits the public identity of the citizens of Hangberg to the 'what' – a list of demands – rather than the 'who' – citizens with political authority whose lived experience warrants attention in the mainstream mediated space of political deliberation (see Bickford 1996, 60-63 for her engagement with Arendt's concept of public identity).

The problem is not that journalists did not pay attention to Hangberg citizens at the time of the fishing disasters in March 2006, or thereafter; the problem is that the kinds of attention that journalists paid to these and other events recognised and validated the power of political leaders but not the authority and agency of the Hangberg citizens as equal participants in

political deliberative spaces. Others, not the Hangberg citizens, were the consecrators of the spaces from which attention to Hangberg citizens emerged. When political parties or political leaders choose to pay attention to Hangberg, journalists would follow. This kind of attention creates the appearance of attention but it is not attention to provide citizens with political agency as members of a broader polity.

5.2 What kinds of citizens do journalists work to construct?

When Hangberg citizens talk about politics and political participation their accounts have the hallmarks prescribed by norms of an active citizenry: they attend meetings, they take an interest in the concerns they share with other citizens in Hangberg, they participate in political protest, and they deliberate with others in Hangberg about possible solutions to the problems they face. In their community they talk about participating in spaces of political deliberation where they form opinions and generate solidarities – activities that Heller argues for in the first chapter to deepen democracy (2009, 125).

But these are not the citizens who appear before other citizens in mainstream mediated spaces of political deliberation.

Journalists construct Hangberg citizens as voters but not as voters who make tangible contributions to public life. Rather, when journalists go to Hangberg – and other areas predominantly home to poor citizens – the focus is on what poor voters expect of political parties or political leaders to do for them. This may seem like reasonable, and even commendable, journalistic practice. But there are at least two problems with the way in which these news reports construct the voting citizen in Hangberg and other poor communities: With these reports journalists can claim to have fulfilled the requirement of 'giving voice to the people', but what does this voice sound like to other participants in mediated space of political deliberation?

A news report in which a journalist goes to Hangberg ahead of the local government elections in 2000 to ask the citizens who they would vote for, and what they expect from politicians (Williams 2000). The report's headline, *I can't even klap my wife anymore,* reveals the difficulties of listening to the voices of marginalised groups with the ears of privilege, or with ears tuned to the voices in the mainstream. The word *klap* is Afrikaans for *slap,* or *hit.* Using a quote from one of the male sources in the news report as the headline reflects an

unquestioning affirmation of a persistent prejudice that exists of alcohol abuse and domestic violence as 'normal', everyday occurrence among coloured South Africans. Instead of resisting the prejudice, this news report perpetuates a cliché that sounds familiar, and which middle-class participants in the mediated deliberative space is comfortable with. Instead of listening for an experience that would construct a citizen with whom other citizens can identify with, or with whose experience other citizens could empathise with, this news report constructs an 'other' whose lived experience has little in common with the concerns of middle-class citizens, and whose concerns can easily be dismissed or not taken seriously.

A second problem with news reports about Hangberg citizens as voters in the corpus of text under consideration, is the way in which journalists respond to what they hear from poor citizens. Journalists go to Hangberg, ask citizens questions about their concerns, and how they expect politicians to address these concerns but they do not remain accountable to the citizens for what they have heard from them. Failing to follow up with Hangberg citizens to hear how politicians have been addressing their concerns following the elections leaves Hangberg citizens with perceptions of themselves as citizens whose concerns remain unaccountable for in political deliberation. *"We are not important enough to pay attention to."*

Journalists are often part of the same "interpretive repertoire" (Silverman 2014, 321) when Hangberg citizens describe their relationship with community and political leaders. Like the community leaders, journalists don't listen to what they have to say, they never give them feedback, and they only come to Hangberg to serve interests that have little to do with the interest of Hangberg citizens in changing their lived conditions. The politics of the community leaders, and by implication the politics of the journalists they encounter, are not their politics.

When Hangberg citizens say that they are not interested in politics but then counter these statements by proclaiming, *politics is our life,* or, *everything is about politics,* this contradiction is rooted to some extent in perceptions of being alienated, or removed from a broader collective of the polity. Hangberg citizens talk of being invisible to journalists, or not being taken seriously by journalists. These perceptions of being invisible is not because the Hangberg citizens don't see reports of events in Hangberg in newspapers or on television; it is because despite these reports, they don't feel they are being heard. When one of the participants in the group interviews tells me, *'We talk about it but we never hear them talking*

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about it,' it refers to the frustration of not being accounted for – by politicians or by journalists. Journalists construct poor citizens as voters but only insofar as their votes relate to the spectacle and sensation of party political contestation.

The construct of the citizen that appears in mediated mainstream spaces of political deliberation does not recognise the resilience and the persistence of the Hangberg citizen as a participant in political processes. Neither does it construct the Hangberg citizen as a participant that deserves to be heard as an equal by others who share mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation.

For Hangberg citizens, as they struggle to get their voices heard in local spaces of political deliberation – spaces which they once thought they were familiar with – participation in mainstream spaces of political deliberation is almost unfathomable.

It is not that they don't talk and deliberate with others about the problems they experience. They do. With friends, around the dinner table, in the street, at the clinic; they talk about their problems *'everywhere'*. The talk with community leaders, with church leaders, they attend meetings, and they participate in protest action. The problem is that very little has changed for them in the past 20 years or so. They participate, they vote, they deliberate, but none of these things they do have substantially transformed their daily lived experience of poverty and inequality.

The problem seems to be that they want more than spaces where they could talk about their problems; what they need is access to political power with possibilities to transform the conditions of poverty and inequality in Hangberg.

5.3 What kinds of power do journalists produce or prevent?

In this study, I argue that access to mediated spaces of political deliberation is crucial because it provides citizens with power to negotiate an agenda for political transformation with other citizens and political decision makers. But what kinds of power do journalists have to produce or prevent the transformation of political agendas in mediated spaces of political deliberation?

While certain decisions about news agendas are dependent on the macro-level of institutional culture at media organisations, certain decisions can be shaped where journalists are engaged

on the micro level of news making. For example, journalists are expected to cover a meeting in Hangberg where the mayor of the City of Cape Town will be present but once the journalist is in Hangberg, the journalist has power to make decisions about how the story takes shape: Who, other than the mayor, is part of the narrative of the news report? What kinds of questions can be asked of the mayor following the meeting? What kinds of questions can be asked to those attending the meeting? What kind of information is necessary to provide context to the meeting? What kind of follow-up is necessary to the issues raised at the meeting, and with whom?

In these questions journalists are faced with decisions that provide different possibilities for producing or preventing certain kinds of power.

In the corpus of news texts under consideration journalists seem to have made decisions that favour, and even bolster, the authoritative power of politically and economically powerful constituencies in mediated spaces of political deliberation at the cost of the political authority of poor citizens.

The choices mainstream journalists in South Africa make in favour of politically and economically powerful constituencies are particularly evident in an analysis of who journalists talk to in news reports about Hangberg or Hangberg citizens. In the 20-year period from 1994 to 2014, Hangberg citizens are referred to as sources in 126 of the total number of 410 reports. This is just over a third (30.7%) of reports. Almost two thirds of the news reports (68.3%) do not have citizens as sources – Hangberg or otherwise.

Assuming that the significant *increase in attention* to Hangberg citizens after September 2010 would make a difference to *how mainstream journalists pay attention* to Hangberg citizens, I divided the news reports to capture information between 1994 to 2009 and 2010 to 2014. This shows no significant shift in attention to citizens compared to political and other expert sources: Between 1994 and 2009 news reports refer to someone with political power in 64 (59.3%) out of 108 news reports in which journalists referred to sources. Hangberg citizens are referred to as sources in 17 (15.7%) of the 108 reports. Between 2010 and 2014 Hangberg citizens are referred to as sources in 52 (18.7%) of the 278 news reports that refer to sources. Almost 50% or 138 of the 278 reports referred to sources with political power and 88 (31.7%) reports referred to other sources. Other sources include judges involved in legal

cases stemming from the 'war' and mediation and other experts from non-governmental organisations.

In a letter to the Cape Times, a Hangberg community leader writes:

> 'Politicians and officials make decisions on our behalf but never come to see the people – to see how we live or ask us what our needs are. How can you decide on people's lives when you don't know what is going on with them? That is wrong (Davids 2010).

The sentiments in this letter resonate with a narrative emerging in the group interviews.

The way in which journalists bolster the appearance of the politically and the economically powerful, and prevent the appearance of poor citizens as citizens with political agency and legitimacy to speak in mediated deliberative spaces, has disempowering effects on Hangberg citizens' perceptions of their own efficacy as citizens. Their experience with community leaders and journalists have left them frustrated with possibilities to gain access to transformative political power. They have lost faith that they are being heard in local deliberative spaces. They have lost trust in the community leaders who they used to count on to provide them with access to political decision makers or decision making processes. They have lost hope that political leaders are interested in changing their lived experience of poverty, and they have become disillusioned with the promise of change offered by their newly required right to vote in 1994.

The way in which journalists produce power in mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation is not helpful to them: journalists, they say, are more interested in *'rate payers'* (like those in Hout Bay) than the *'rent payers"* like themselves.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Truths are events that no longer allow us, in good faith, to see as we previously saw and to be as we previously were (Pithouse 2006, 105).

1. Introduction

This study started with a question about the possibilities that exist for South African citizens, marginalised through socio-economic conditions, to get access to mainstream mediated spaces of political deliberation.

> *If poor citizens have access to journalists working in the mainstream media, does it make a difference to the power they have to participate in mediated spaces of political deliberation?*

The research focus is guided by an important question implied in the research question:

> *How does material and social inequality in post-apartheid South Africa affect access to journalists? And what does this mean for possibilities of constructing spaces of political deliberation that connect, but not discount, the diverse and pluralistic nature of South Africa's polity?*

I argue that the problem of access to mediated spaces of political deliberation is best understood around particular conceptions of democracy, the nature of citizenship, and the work of journalists. I argue for a conception of democracy as citizen-centred practices that include deliberative political association. I further draw on conceptions of democracy as radical, agonistic, and pluralistic. I argue that spaces of mediated political deliberation have to contain agonism and difference if these spaces are to be perceived as inclusive and equally representative of the range of voices that represent the South African polity.

I argue for a conception of poor citizens as emancipated agents whose deliberative political association requires recognition and visibility in mainstream spaces of political deliberation. When the concerns of poor citizens 'appear' in these spaces the negotiation power of poor citizens in political decision making gains transformative traction. The potential for transformation is generated because in these deliberative spaces other citizens and political decision makers become equally accountable for the concerns of *all* citizens.

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I have conceptualised access to mainstream spaces of mediated deliberation as recognition, authorisation, and legitimation contingent on journalists who open themselves up to cultural codes, symbols, and institutional reference points beyond the mainstream cultural, social and institutional references with which they are familiar or comfortable. The emphasis is therefore not on minorities or marginalised groups to amplify their voices to gain access to mediated deliberation, but on the role of mainstream journalists who facilitate access through re-thinking their position of power in terms of practices that enable inclusive and equal deliberative opportunities in mediated spaces.

To examine habits of interaction between mainstream journalists and poor citizens I interviewed citizens who live in Hangberg – a community beset by conditions of racialized poverty and inequality on the edges of the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. I also examined a corpus of news reports in South African mainstream newspapers for an understanding of how mainstream journalists covered Hangberg and the citizens who live there over a period of 20 years starting in 1994 when South Africans voted in the first democratic elections after apartheid.

The objective of the study was to provide citizen-centred perceptions of mainstream journalists and to see whether they were accessible and reliable interlocutors of the lived experience of poor citizens in mediated spaces of political deliberation.

In the interviews, I asked Hangberg citizens to talk about the problems they experienced in Hangberg. I asked them who they would talk to about these problems, where they talked about them, and their experiences of participating in political deliberation. I also followed up with further questions to probe their perceptions of the way in which journalists may or may not pay attention to their problems.

In the analysis of the interviews I focused on what the emerging narrative could tell about their experience and perceptions of the access they have to political power, the access they have to deliberative spaces, and how they talked about talking to, and being heard by political power brokers, including mainstream journalists.

I examined the newspaper reports to understand what kind of events in Hangberg triggered the attention of mainstream journalists, how mainstream journalists talked about Hangberg

and Hangberg citizens, and who journalists would talk to when they covered Hangberg in the news.

The news reports revealed that mainstream journalists fall short of recognising poor citizens as resilient and persistent political actors in mediated spaces of political deliberation. Poor citizens appear as voters and protestors but the voices that give context and depth to their political stories and their lived experience are largely absent from mainstream mediated political deliberation. This means that poor citizens remain invisible to other citizens in the mediated space as political participants with equal claims to the privileges of democratic citizenship. As a result, poor citizens remain disconnected from mainstream spaces of political deliberation.

In the group interviews perceptions of powerlessness, of feeling neglected, and of feeling disregarded by the mainstream – political leaders and journalists – are evident. Nevertheless, there are spaces in the community for political deliberation. Citizens talked about community meetings, protest marches, and regular visits by political party leaders. News reports about Hangberg and Hangberg citizens were often about community meetings and protest action initiated by Hangberg citizens, or protest action in which Hangberg citizens showed solidarity with citizens in other poor communities around Cape Town. Hangberg citizens also used their voices at the ballot box.

Despite insistent efforts to raise their voices, Hangberg citizens feel unheard by political leaders, and by the mainstream media. They feel disconnected from the mainstream polity in South Africa, and disregarded as citizens.

2. Theoretical and practical issues raised by the research

Based on the information that is evident from the group interviews and the news reports I want to raise some issues that are raised in terms of theoretical and practical possibilities for active and political listening to expand the range of citizens' voices that appear in mediated spaces of political deliberation.

The first is how to think of listening in terms of a radical, pluralistic, and agonistic conception of democracy. The second is to ask what political listening means as an act to give meaning to a conception of active, and participatory citizenship. In the third instance,

what does a conception of political and active listening mean in terms of the way in which mainstream journalists conceive of their professional relationship with citizens from marginalised communities? I also propose some examples of journalistic practice that show promise for incorporating listening as a self-conscious act when journalists interact with marginalised citizens.

2.1 The radical act of listening in agonistic, and pluralistic spaces of democratic deliberation

Mouffe's conception of radical, and agonistic democracy (1992a, 2013), and Bickford's conception of political listening (Bickford 1996), are embedded in the idea that spaces of political deliberation are inherently disruptive, noisy, and uncomfortable. Journalists are not in the habit of listening *for* or even *to* in spaces like this. Their intuition is to describe what the disruption looks like, and what the noise sounds like. Their explanation of the disruption and the noise must restore comfort, rather than resist the status quo.

This research suggests a need for modes of journalistic listening that can penetrate the disruption and the noise. It requires journalistic capacities to listen *for* in order to hear how citizens talk *to* other citizens who share mediated spaces of political deliberation. It further suggests journalistic capacities to mediate political deliberation in spaces that are agonistic enough to be inclusive and inclusive enough to retain an agonistic tone and register – allowing discomfort while at the same time containing it.

The deliberative political spaces which poor citizens in Hangberg describe, suggest that for them disruption, noise, and discomfort are the order of political deliberation. They feel outraged by community leaders who tell them to let go of their grievances. *Journalists want to make the story nice,* they tell me, *they want us to act happy and satisfied.* This citizen-centred view of engagement with journalists, challenges conceptions of what the political work of journalists look like.

Citizens in Hangberg do not participate in political deliberation out of loyalty to a conception of liberal democracy that requires an active citizenry. They do not have an abstract interest in deepening democracy; they have an interest in participating in democracy because it is a way of holding on to their livelihood. Participating in political deliberation is a way of gaining control over the little political power they have.

Transferring the disruption, noise, and discomfort to mediated spaces of political deliberation poses radical challenges to journalists on three levels: it challenges assumptions of journalists' role in democracy like accountability and public interest. It challenges conceptions that are part of what make up a journalist's professional identity, like distance and neutrality. And it challenges the use of devices mainstream journalists ordinarily and intuitively revert to when they collect news – ways of sourcing news, news values, framing, and their relationships to power.

2.2 A challenge to concepts of accountability and public interest

Despite economic challenges to news production, not unlike those on a global level, mainstream journalists in South Africa are vigilant about holding the public sector to account. Journalists have exposed corruption at the highest levels of government including the presidential office, and have been largely unwavering in the face of severe criticism and threats to diminish the freedom of the media from the ruling party.

The problem is not that South African journalists do not work in the public interest; the problem is the narrow interpretation of public that journalists use to be accountable to.

The information in this study suggests that while journalists often claim to be serving the interests of poor citizens because they are exposing corruption and abuse of public resources, poor citizens do not perceive journalists as their allies. Instead they view mainstream journalists, and even journalists working for the community paper in their area, as part of a wall of power that separates them from accessing spaces where their concerns can be heard. They have deep knowledge and experience of the disempowering effects when those with power to "grant or withhold a hearing to those without it", do so (Dobson 2014, 58-59).

To include poor citizens in mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation requires a radical shift in how mainstream journalists think about who they are accountable to, and who they listen to. And it requires a broader conception of the meaning of working in the public interest. If journalists serve the interests of citizens, and see themselves as holding powerful political leaders accountable to those citizens, there is a more urgent imperative on mainstream journalists to shift their position of listening to voices with power to less powerful and marginalised voices.

Listening to those citizen publics on the periphery requires more, and different, work in settings removed from, and in resistance to, the 'centre' of the mainstream infrastructure that supports spaces for political deliberation.

2.3 (Dis)locating the deliberative space

Lacey (2013) argues that the contemporary public sphere replaces the shared acoustic spaces of early democratic engagement before technology – the press, railways, roads – "dislocated" citizens from these embodied spaces of representation. In the contemporary "post-acoustocratic" space of the "disembodied, abstracted and imagined community", says Lacey, mediation must repair the breakdown of the spatial and temporal dimensions that previously bound citizens as a collective in locations they physically shared. And it is in mediating the political conversation in this dislocated, disembodied space – for an imagined community – that the act of listening as a political practice has to be re-evaluated in its relation to talking and voice (2013, 159-163).

This is a helpful starting point in thinking of the act of listening in mediated spaces of political deliberation. Lacey's contribution to the literature that proposes an emphasis on listening as a political act as important as talking, is thoughtful and valuable. Particularly as it contributes to a body of scholarly work that hones in on the role of the media as a listening institution (Dreher 2009, O'Donnell 2009, Wasserman 2013, Garman and Malila 2014).

The perceptions of being disconnected from political deliberation in the mainstream that citizens describe in this research requires a more critical views of the public sphere as dislocated, disembodied, abstract, and imagined (2013, 160).

There are two orders of listening space that must be re-evaluated in relation to talking. Before journalists mediate the political conversation in the dislocated, *disembodied* space before an imagined community, journalists have to contend with an *embodied* listening space. This is the space where journalists interview, talk to, listen to, take notes – where the journalists appear before citizens. It is in this embodied space where the imagined community, whose conversation merges with other conversations in the disembodied virtual mediated space, takes shape.

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The citizens of Hangberg yearn for being listened to in this embodied space. And I use the empathetic and affective 'yearn for' with consideration. Talking about access to mediated spaces of political deliberation seems almost unfathomable to the citizens of Hangberg. They insist on being heard in the local and embodied spaces of political deliberation they are familiar with – where they shout, disrupt, argue, and 'bicker'. They don't just want to see journalists in Hangberg. They don't just want to talk to them. They want journalists who come to Hangberg to listen, and not to ignore their version of the story. It is not the number of news reports about Hangberg that the citizens are interested in. They want to see themselves appear in mediated political deliberative spaces as citizens with a political interest in their own lived experience and who share concerns with a broader citizenry. They want to hear that journalists have heard their what their interests are in order to entrust them to be reliable interlocutors of their lived experience.

To locate the embodied spaces of interaction, we need more direct language with which to interrogate the interaction between journalists and citizens. Especially so, when the interaction has to overcome the powerful hold of "hierarchies of value and esteem" (Dreher 2010, 447) that dictate practices of talking and listening in mediated spaces of political deliberation. I want to argue that in order to examine the listening practice of journalists we need to take a step back and interrogate how frames of the public sphere, public interest, and accountability limit ways in which journalists can imagine their political work. Abstractions of voice, and public, and spaces detract from the concreteness of listening as an act between people.

The citizens in Hangberg do not describe what they do as deliberation. They do not think of themselves as a 'public' when they meet in the civic centre or the local school hall. They think of themselves as citizens with a political interest in changing their conditions of poverty.

When we consider listening as a constitutive act to expand the range of voices in mediated spaces of political deliberation, we need to think about what listening looks like in the embodied space of face-to-face interaction between journalists and citizens because it is this interaction that sets the scene for the talking and listening in the disembodied mediated spaces of political deliberation.

There are examples in the news reports about Hangberg of thoughtful interactions between journalists and citizens. One report in particular shows promise for how listening to poor citizens in embodied spaces – where journalists come face-to-face with poor citizens – translates into a presence in the mediated disembodied space that transcends the identity of 'the poor'.

In 2007, an article in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper focuses on the land issues in the Hout Bay area, which, as I have explained earlier comprises of Hangberg, Hout Bay, and Imizamo Yethu (Joubert 2007c). One resident of Imizamo Yethu says:

> This is probably the only place in the world where I can literally sit with my feet in human shit and my back against my R2 000[25] shack and look up to the mountains and across the valley on to a R3-million house and think: I live in a lovely place.

This is a strong voice. This is a citizen who talks of a lived experience of poverty but with a voice that leaves the reader-listener in the disembodied mediated space with no doubt of their confidence and political agency. Another voice in this report that challenges the stereotypical way of representing poor citizens as powerless victims says:

> I sell loose cigarettes to children and it is wrong but, if I don't, I don't eat tonight. I am going nowhere. If there are too many of us, ask some whites to leave.

This is a voice with which other citizens in the mediated deliberative space can engage. It is a challenging voice, and it is a voice that is unapologetic about the moral predicament that poor citizens deal with.

I would argue that this journalist and others who wrote similar reports may have a different conception of their identity as interlocutors in spaces of political deliberation.

2.4 Challenges to how journalists listen and where they work

The public journalism movement, driven by Jay Rosen and others in the United States (US) in the late 1980s and 1990s, challenged the relationship between journalists and citizens. It

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[25] Roughly US$150.00 at an exchange rate of ZAR13=US$1 at the time of writing.

responded to what its advocates saw as a disconnect between the media and citizens. Campbell's (2000) support for public journalism in challenge to established journalistic practice resonate with the results from this research:

> All too often, elites – including most professionals and journalists – favour information from those at the top of social and political hierarchies. Some classes of people are actively sought out by journalists to join in the community's conversation, while others are minimized or left out. Their only role is to eavesdrop on what others are saying (2000, 691).

To involve citizens in setting the news agenda, newspapers and radio stations convened public forums and discussion events where journalists could talk with citizens in face-to-face settings. Amner (2011) describes an experiment with public journalism in South Africa at the Daily Dispatch newspaper published in the town of East London in the Eastern Cape Province. Public journalism, says Amner, pushes conception of journalists' power because it shares the task of establishing a news agenda with citizens. The real shift in power however lies in the strategies – like public meetings – that public journalists use to facilitate public dialogue and deliberation within and between publics, "often with the express purpose of finding solutions to public problems" (2011, 28).

Public journalism's emphasis on a concrete and tangible relationship between journalists and citizens is a useful starting point for exploring the act of listening in journalism practice. The movement also showed that journalists have the capacity to be self-reflective about their work, and that they are willing to experiment with new strategies that radically challenge established notions of the profession.

In response to Dreher, Dobson asks a crucial question: what if the mainstream media cannot be persuaded to relinquish their privileged positions and take up the responsibility – as Dreher challenges them to do – to give voice to marginalised groups (2014, 58-59)? The support for public journalism shows that at least some mainstream journalists are not just willing to, but enthusiastic about, relinquishing their traditional position of power or at least willing to share it with citizens.

The problem with public journalism is that the emphasis is not necessarily on hearing marginalised voices. My experience of observing public forums convened by newspapers in

the US is that these forums often attract middle-class and privileged citizens and that journalists who convene these forums have to make considered efforts to ensure that forums are diverse and representative of a range of voices.

The emphasis in public journalism is, like deliberative democracy, on talking rather than listening. Yet, it offers a framework for conceptualising listening as a device that bridges the disconnect between journalists and citizens.

3. Gaps in this research and how it may be addressed

A number of concerns about the possibilities for marginalised groups to access mainstream spaces of mediated political deliberation remain unanswered by this study.

This study focuses on mediated spaces of political deliberation provided by newspapers. Other media platforms will reveal different challenges and different opportunities for ways in which marginalised citizens gain access to mediated deliberation. In South Africa, radio and television remain important media platforms. Evidence shows that these are also channels that citizens use and trust as providers of information. A survey among South African youth showed that almost 80% of young people trust the news they see and hear on television and radio (79.5% and 78.3%, respectively). Fewer young people, 71.9%, said they trusted newspapers (Malila et al. 2013).

The voices of journalists themselves need more consideration in further research. Are journalists already thinking of listening as a self-conscious act when they talk to citizens about their lived experience, or when they interview citizens who have attended meetings or who have participated in protest action? To what extent? And how would they describe their 'listening' strategies? What devices do they use to hear 'the truth'? A particular area of research could focus on mechanisms used by presenters of radio talk shows in South Africa. How do they listen and mediate the plurality of voices that talk to them on phone-in programmes? It will be important to examine perceptions of journalists about their ability to mediate political deliberation in agonistic, and pluralistic settings. More research is necessary to understand how journalists talk about the way in which they currently listen to marginalised citizens. To what extent is listening a self-conscious act when journalists engage with citizens?

Socio-economic marginalisation is one of the ways in which citizens find themselves on the side lines of mediated political deliberative spaces but there are myriad ways in which society marginalises citizens with orientations that differ from those in the mainstream. What do these experiences look like, and what are the challenges of listening to these diverse voices?

4. Conclusion

A fundamental focus of the study was to dissect the potential of talking and listening as elements of access, to unsettle and disrupt current constructs of the 'central truth' about the position of poor and marginalised citizens and the position of journalists in mainstream media in South Africa. The 'central truth' that has been constructed of poor and marginalised citizens is that of minor, subaltern participants in South Africa's political process. The 'central truth' that has been constructed of journalists is as guardians of accountable political process in the public interest.

These are the two key assumptions that are challenged in this study.

While one should be careful of romantic notions that assume a past in which the relationship between journalists and citizens was one of trust, it seems that journalists have become particularly disconnected from the majority of citizens they produce news for. In South Africa, concerns about media freedom often seem to be something that concerns mostly journalists. Protest action against threats to freedom of expression or efforts from the state to curtail media freedom is often supported mostly by journalists. Citizens don't seem concerned enough to join in these protests.

The South African society continues to deal with the deep and complex divisions left by apartheid. In curating and facilitating spaces of political deliberation, journalists have immense power to enable South African citizens to talk and listen to each other across these divisions and differences. This is a complex task that requires reflection on the part of journalists about the meaning of serving democracy, and the meaning of the public's interest. It requires imagination to re-invent practices of news production that connect journalists with citizens, and enable them to listen closely and attentively especially to those who come from different spaces than the spaces mainstream journalists are comfortable in.

Not only the 'surprise' victory of Donald Trump as president of the United States, but also other instances of unexpected ways in which the disconnect between mainstream media and citizens have manifested in the last year or so, seem to have invigorated self-reflection about the production process, what news is produced, and how the news gets produced. These are some of the headlines in major publications calling for change: *Beyond the Parachute: Newsrooms rethink centralized model* (Friedman-Rudovsky 2017), *I think journalism needs to rediscover its roots as a blue-collar profession* (Staff 2017), and, *How Journalists Need to Begin Imagining the Unimaginable* (Umansky 2016).

This seems to be a time for reflection about journalists' work and their relationship to citizens and communities. If there is a realisation that "too much of the media spends too much time talking to itself and not the communities it serves" (Sambrook 2016), there is an opportunity to take a closer look at what serving communities mean, and who the media should talk to if it is not talking to itself.

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Appendices

1. Focus group discussion guide (Afrikaans)

Welkom aan almal van julle en dankie dat julle bereid is om julle tyd te spandeer aan my projek. Ek is besig met studies by Rhodes Universiteit in Grahamstad wat gaan oor of en hoe mense die media gebruik om hulle te help om iets aan probleme in die gemeenskap te doen en dis waaroor ek in die volgende paar dae met mense hier in Hangberg wil gesels. Ek probeer veral om drie kwessies te verstaan:

1. Hoe julle en ander mense in die gemeenskap met mekaar praat en na mekaar luister as julle praat oor probleme wat julle as gemeenskap ervaar, en hoe julle met politieke leiers of ander leiers in die gemeenskap praat en na hulle luister as dit kom by probleme wat die mense hier in Hangberg ervaar
2. Ek probeer verder verstaan waar julle en ander mense in Hangberg inligting kry wat julle help om te verstaan wat die probleme in Hangberg veroorsaak en wat gedoen kan word om die probleem op te los, en laastens probeer ek verstaan
3. Wat julle en ander mense hier doen , of wat julle dink gedoen kan word, om probleme hier in Hangberg op te los.

Daar is sommige vrae op 'n vraelys wat ek vir elkeen van julle wil vra om individueel in te vul. Daarna wil ek graag met julle almal saam gesels oor 'n paar vrae. Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie. Ek is geïnteresseerd in jou eie ervaring en wat jy self dink . Om die vraelys in te vul en die bespreking te doen sal ongeveer 'n uur neem.

Het julle enige vrae in die stadium?

Ek wil graag die gesprek op band opneem, maar julle hoef nie julle name te noem nie en ek sal niemand vra om haar of homself te identifiseer nie.

Ek wil graag weer beklemtoon dat jy nie jou naam hoef te verskaf op enige plek op die vraelys nie en dat jy nie enige vrae waarmee jy ongemaklik voel hoef te beantwoord nie. In die groepbespreking hoef jy ook nie jou naam te noem nie en enige een is welkom die bespreking te verlaat as jy ongemaklik voel met die bespreking.

Verstaan almal dit?

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Voor ons begin, kan ek vir elkeen van julle vra om hierdie vorm te lees en dit te teken. Dit is 'n vorm wat verduidelik waaroor die navorsingsprojek gaan en wat met die inligting gaan gebeur. Jou handtekening beteken dat jy verstaan waaroor die projek gaan, waarvoor die inligting gebruik gaan word en dat jy aan die projek deelneem uit jou eie vrye wil. Dit beteken ook jy is bereid dat die inligting in die vraelys en jou bydrae in die groepbespreking gebruik kan word vir die navorsingsprojek. Jou handtekening sal onder geen omstandighede gebruik word om jou te identifiseer as a deelnemer aan die navorsingsprojek nie.

Is dit duidelik?

Kan ek dan vir almal vra om 'n paar minute te neem om die vorm te teken en dan die vraelys in te vul? Ek het vir elkeen 'n pen. Ek wil net weer beklemtoon, jy hoef nie jou naam op die vraelys te skryf nie. As jy klaar is met die vraelys, kan jy dit, saam met die vorm in hierdie leer sit? As almal klaar is kan ons met die gesprek begin.

Is almal klaar?

Kom ons begin deur te praat oor die manier waarop jy praat en luister na ander mense oor die`zc probleme hier in Hangberg:

1. Eerstens, vertel vir my wat sou julle se is grootste probleem hier in Hangberg waaroor mense die afgelope tyd praat?
   - *Waar* praat mense meestal oor hierdie probleem - by die huis, by hul werkplekke, in die kerk , of waar anders?
   - *Met wie*, sou julle sê , praat julle en ander mense hier in Hangberg , meestal oor hierdie probleem – vriende? familie ?
   - Sou julle, of mense wat julle ken, kontak maak met 'n leier in die gemeenskap om met hom of haar oor hierdie probleem te praat?
     - o Sou daardie leier iemand wees van die kerk, skool, 'n politieke party, 'n burgerlike vereniging?
2. Sou julle sê dat julle en ander mense hier in Hangberg baie oor politiek praat?
3. Wanneer mense praat oor [probleem x], het julle al gehoor dat mense praat van inligting oor die probleem wat hulle oor die radio gehoor het?
   - Wat van inligting wat hulle op televisie gesien het?
   - En wat van inligting wat hulle in die koerante lees?

- En op Facebook of Twitter?

4. Het julle al iemand hier in Hangberg teegekom van 'n koerant of 'n radio -stasie of van 'n televisie- stasie wat wou luister na die mense in Hangberg oor [probleem x]?

- Of enige ander probleem hier in Hangberg?

- Vertel my meer van daardie ervaring?

5. As julle en ander mense in Hangberg met politieke leiers of gemeenskapsleiers of iemand in die plaaslike regering wil praat oor hierdie probleem, hoe sal julle dit doen?

- Is daar plekke waar *al* die mense van Hangberg kan bymekaarkom om met die burgemeester of die plaaslike raadslid of ander gemeenskapsleiers te praat oor [probleem x] of enige ander probleem in die gemeenskap?

- Wat dink julle moet gemeenskapsleiers en regeringsamptenare doen as hulle wil luister na wat mense hier te sê het oor [probleem x]?

- Dink julle die radio of koerante of televisie kan iets doen om te verseker dat politieke of gemeenskapsleiers en regeringsamptenare luister na wat mense hier sê en doen om die probleem van [probleem x] op te los?

Kom ons praat nou oor wat julle en ander mense hier in Hangberg doen om te help om die probleem van [x] of enige ander probleem hier op te los:

6. Laat my begin deur te vra: dink julle mense hier in Hangberg neem deel aan politieke aktiwiteite?

- Hoe doen mense dit?

- Wie sou julle sê neem die meeste deel aan die aktiwiteite? Jong mense? Mans? Vroue? Mense met politieke ambisie? Mense met geld?

7. In julle ervaring , neem mense hier in Hangberg soms deel aan politieke aktiwiteit omdat hulle iets oor die radio gehoor het, of in 'n koerant gelees het of op televisie gesien het?

8. Vertel my meer oor die soort van dinge wat julle en ander mense in Hangberg doen om die probleem van [x] te probeer oplos?

9. Het enige een van julle of iemand wat julle ken al 'n radiostasie gebel of 'n brief aan 'n koerant geskryf of getwitter of op facebook gepos oor die probleme in Hangberg?

- Hoekom het jy dit gedoen? Of hoekom dink julle doen mense dit?

10. Watter soort inligting dink julle sal julle of ander mense in Hangberg kan help om iets te doen aan die probleem van [x]?

- Wie dink julle behoort daardie inligting aan julle te gee?

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Laat ons die einde van die bespreking met twee laaste vrae:

11. Dink julle daar is dinge wat burgers – mense soos julle – kan doen om te help om die probleme wat ons in die gesig staar in Suid-Afrika?

En laastens :

12. Wat dink julle is die mees waardevolle ding wat julle deel met ander Suid-Afrikaners?

Voor julle gaan, wil ek graag julle hulp vra. Ek wil graag 'n gesprek soos hierdie hê met meer mense hier in Hangberg.

Weet julle van mense wat bereid sal wees om met my te praat?

Hoe ken jy hierdie mense?

2. Interview discussion guide (English)

Welcome to all of you and thank you for giving your time to my project. My name is Marietjie Oelofsen. I am a student in Media Studies at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and I am interested in if and how people use the media to do something about the problems they have in their communities. In the next few days I will be talking to you and other people here in Hangberg to try and understand three things:

1. How you and other people in this community *talk* and *listen* to each other when you talk about the problems facing this community, and how you talk and listen to political leaders or other community leaders or people from government about the problems you experience here in Hangberg
2. Where you and other people in Hangberg find information to understand what causes the problems in Hangberg and what can be done about it, and
3. What you and other people do, or think you can do, to help solve the problems you face here in Hangberg

Some of these questions will be on a questionnaire that I would like you to take a few minutes individually to fill in. Then there will be some other questions that I want us to discuss together in the group. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in your own experience and what you think. Filling in the questionnaire and having the discussion would probably take an hour or so.

Do you have any questions?

I will tape the conversation but I will not ask anyone to identify him or herself and I will not mention anyone by name.

I would like to emphasise again that you do not have to provide your name anywhere on the questionnaire and that you do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with. In the group discussion you also do not have to state your name and you should feel free to leave the group discussion any time you feel that you are not comfortable with the discussion.

Do you all understand that?

Before we start the group discussion could I ask each one of you to sign a consent form? The consent form provides more information about the research I am doing and how I will use the information you provide. Your signature means that you understand what the project is about and what will happen to the information and that you are participating in the project out of your own free will. It also means that you are willing for the information you provide in the questionnaire and the group discussion to be used for the purpose of the project. Your signature will under no circumstances be used to identify you as a participant in the research project.

Is that clear?

Can I ask everybody to take a few minutes to fill in the questionnaire? I have a pen for everyone. I want to confirm again that you do not have to add your name anywhere on the questionnaire. When you have signed the consent form and you have completed the questionnaire could you please place it in the folder on the table? Once everyone has completed the questionnaire we will start with the group discussion.

Let's start by talking about the way you *talk* and *listen* to other people about problems here in Hangberg:

1. First, I need to understand what you think the biggest problem is that people here in Hangberg have been talking about lately?
    - *Where* do people talk mostly about this problem – at home, at their workplaces, at church or where else?
    - *Who*, would you say, do you and other people here in Hangberg, talk to mostly about this problem – friends? Family?
    - Would you, or people you know, contact a political leader or any other community leader in Hangberg to talk about this problem?
        - Would that leader be someone from the church, school, a political party, a civic association?
2. Would you say that you and other people here in Hangberg talk a lot about politics?
3. When people talk about this problem, have you heard them mentioning information about the problem they have heard on the radio?
    - What about information they have seen on television?
    - And what about information they have read in the newspapers?

- And on facebook or twitter?

4. Have you come across anybody from a newspaper or radio station or from a television station here who wanted to listen to the people in Hangberg about the problem of [issue discussed most]

    - Or any other problem?
    - Tell me about that experience?

5. If you and other people in Hangberg want to talk to the political leaders or other community leaders or to the local government about this problem, how would you do that?

    - Are there places where *all* the people from Hangberg can come together with the mayor or the local councillor to discuss the problem of [issue discussed most]?
    - What do you think community leaders and government officials should do if they want to listen to what people are saying about the problem of [issue discussed most]?
    - Do you think the radio station or the newspaper or television can do something that would make political leaders or community leaders or government officials listen to what people here are saying about the problem of [issue discussed most]?

Now let's talk about what you and other people *do* about the problem of [issue discussed most] or any other problem in Hangberg:

6. Let me start by asking you this question: do you think people in Hangberg participate in politics?

    - What do they do when the do this?
    - Who would you say participate most actively? Young people? Men? Women? People with political ambition? People with money?

7. In your experience, do people here sometimes participate in political activity because of something they have heard on the radio, or read in a newspaper or seen on television?

8. What kinds of things have you and other people in Hangberg done to help solve the problem of [issue discussed most]?

9. Have you or anyone you know ever phoned in to radio chat shows or written to newspapers about the problems in Hangberg?

- Why have you done that? Or why do you think people would do that?

10. What kind of information would be helpful to you or others in Hangberg if you wanted to do help solve the problem of [issue discussed most]?

- Who do you think should provide you with that information?

Let's end the discussion with two last questions:

11. Do you think there are things that citizens – people like you – can do to help solve the problems we face in South Africa?

And lastly:

12. What do you think is the most valuable thing that you share with other South Africans?

Before you go, I would like to ask your help. I would like to have a discussion like this with more people in this community.

Do you know people who would be willing to talk to me?

How do you know them?

3. Extended questionnaire for participants in group interviews (Afrikaans)

*Merk wat van toepassing is op jou:

1. Geslag

Vroulik	
Manlik	

2. Ouderdom

18 to 25	
26 to 35	
36 to 45	
46 to 55	
56 to 65	

3. Watter taal praat jy meesal by die huis?

Engels	
Afrikaans	
Xhosa	
'n Ander taal	

4. Hoogste kwalifikasie

Laerskool	
Bietjie hoërskool	
Matriek geslaag	
Naskoolse kwalifikasie	
Het nooit skool toe gegaan nie	

5. Werk jy

Voltyds?	
Deeltyds?	
As 'n casual?	
Het nie werk nie?	
Ek is 'n student	

6. In die afgelope jaar, het jy of enige een in jou familie:

	Nooit	Een of twee keer	Soms	Baie keer	Altyd	Ek weet nie
Nie genoeg gehad om te eet nie?						
Nie skoon water gehad vir gebruik in die huis nie?						
Nie 'n kontant inkomste gehad nie?						

Nie elektrisiteit in die huis gehad nie?					

7. Watter van die besit jy in jou huis?

	Nee (besit nie)	Ja (het my eie)	Weet nie
Radio			
Televisie			
Computer			
Selfoon			

*As enige vraag jou ongemaklik laat voel, gaan na die volgende vraag

8. Hoe dikwels kry jy nuus van die:

	Elke dag	Paar keer 'n week	Paar keer 'n maand	Minder as een keer 'n maand	Nooit	Ek weet nie
Radio?						
Televisie?						
Koerant?						
Facebook?						
Twitter?						

9. As jy en jou familie en vriende saam is, sou jy sê julle praat oor politiek?

Gereeld	
Partykeer	
Nooit	
Ek weet nie	

10. Hier is 'n lys van goed wat mense soms doen as burgers van 'n land. Vir elke aktiwiteit, wat het jy persoonlik, gedoen in die afgelope jaar?

	Ja, baie kere	Ja, dikwels	Ja, een of twee keer	Nee, maar ek sal as ek die kans kry	Nee, ek sal dit nooit doen nie	Ek weet nie
'n Community meeting bygewoon?						
Het saam met ander gestaan om 'n kwessie aan te spreek?						
'n Regeringskantoor gekontak om te kla?						
'n Radio stasie of 'n koerant geskakel om te kla?						
Aan 'n march of ander protesaksie deelgeneem?						

*As enige vraag jou ongemaklik laat voel, gaan na die volgende vraag

4. Extended questionnaire for participants in group interviews (English)

*Please tick where applicable

1. Gender

Female	
Male	

2. Age

18 to 25	
26 to 35	
36 to 45	
46 to 55	
56 to 65	

3. What language do you speak mostly at home?

English	
Afrikaans	
Xhosa	
Other	

4. Highest qualification

Primary school	
Some secondary schooling	
Completed secondary schooling (matric)	
Tertiary qualification	
No schooling	

5. Employment status

Full-time employment	
Part-time employment	
Casual labour	
Unemployed	
Student / scholar	

6. Over the past year, how often, if ever have you or anyone in your family:

	Never	Once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Don't know
Gone without enough food to eat?						
Gone without enough clean water for home use?						
Gone without a cash income?						

Gone without electricity in your home?					

7. Which of these do you personally own?

	No (don't own)	Yes, (do own)	Don't know
Radio			
Television			
Computer			
Cellphone			

*If you feel uncomfortable in answering any of these questions, feel free to continue to the next question

8. How often do you get news from the following sources?

	Every day	Few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know
Radio						
Television						
Newspaper						
Facebook						
Twitter						

9. When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters?

Frequently	
Occasionally	
Never	
Don't know	

10. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year?

	Yes, often	Yes, several times	Yes, once or twice	No, but would if I had the chance	No, I would never do this	Don't know
Attend a community meeting						
Got together with others to raise an issue						
Contacted a government department to raise an issue						
Contacted radio, tv or a newspaper to complain about an issue						
Attend a demonstration or a protest march						

*If you feel uncomfortable in answering any of these questions, feel free to continue to the next question