

**THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON SETTING THE AGENDA OF
TRADITIONAL MEDIA**

by

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DECLARATION

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Exact wording of the title of the dissertation as appearing on the copies submitted for examination:

The effects of social media on setting the agenda of traditional media.

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



SIGNATURE

31/01/19.

DATE

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ABSTRACT

This study explored how social media are setting the agenda of the traditional media and re-defining the role of the journalists. Content analysis was done to analyse the coverage of Jacob Zuma stories in newspapers and on Facebook, from the 1st of February until the 30th of June 2018. The sample for the study was drawn from three local newspapers, the Citizen, the Sowetan, the NewAge (AfroVoice), as well as the Facebook page called #Zumamustfall. This was done to determine if newspapers which are traditional media were being influenced by social media in what stories to report on. Results from the study showed that social media are influential in building an agenda for the traditional media and in particular, with the Zuma story. In the same vein, it emerged that traditional and social media set the agenda for each other. Based on these findings the research recommends that other social media sites including Twitter be used in similar research to determine their effects on agenda setting of traditional media (newspapers).

Key terms: Social media, traditional media, citizen journalism, agenda setting theory, convergence media, technology, newspapers, web 2.0, journalism, new media

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	1
1.2 Problem statement	3
1.3 Purpose of study.....	4
1.3.1 Objectives of the study	4
1.3.2 Research Questions	4
1.4 Significance of the study.....	4
1.5 Methodology	4
1.6 Rational of the study	5
1.7 Outline of the chapters.....	6
1.8 Conclusion	7
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Print media.....	8
2.3 Electronic media	10
2.4 Social media	11
2.5 Studies on social media impact.....	14
2.6 Changing role of journalism in the social media era	17
2.6 Media models.....	21
2.7 Future of journalism.....	23
2.8 Convergence Media	27
2.9 Conclusion	28
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Gatekeeping theory	29
3.3 Agenda setting theory	30
3.3.1 Three levels of agenda setting.....	33
3.3.2 Agenda setting and agenda melding.....	37
3.3.4 Challenges of the agenda setting theory	38
3.5 Framing theory.....	40

3.6 The role of agenda setting in social media	42
3.7 Studies on agenda setting role of social media	45
3.8 Conclusion	45
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY	47
4.1 Introduction	47
4.2 Research paradigm	47
4.1.2 Philosophical assumptions of Interpretative paradigm	48
4.2 Methodologies	49
4.3 Content analysis	49
4.4 Data Collection	52
4.5 Ethical considerations	57
4.6 Sampling	57
4.7 Conclusion	56
CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	57
5.1. Advantages of quantitative and qualitative methods	57
5.2 Process of analysis	58
5.3 Data presentation	58
5.3.1 Quantitative results	64
5.3.2 Qualitative analysis	67
5.3.3 Qualitative results	70
5.4 Discussion	75
5.5 Recommendation	77
5.6 Limitations of the study	77
5.7 Future research	77
5.8 Conclusions	78
6. REFERENCE LIST	79
APPENDICES	96
APPENDIX A: THE CODE LIST	96
APPENDIX B: DATA ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPERS	97
APPENDIX C: DATA ANALYSED FROM FACEBOOK	99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Agenda setting theory.....	31
Figure 3.2: Levels of agenda setting theory.....	32
Figure 5.1:Articles used for analysis.....	59
Figure 5.2:Facebook articles.....	61
Figure 5.3:Zuma story coverage by newspapers and facabook.....	61

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 5.1: Number of articles analysed.....	62
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LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.2: Number of articles analysed.....	62
Table 5.3:Comparisons of headlines.....	64
Table 5.4: Similarities of headlines.....	68
Tables 5.5: NewAge(Afro voice) headlines.....	69
Table 5.6: Breakdown of articles.....	69
Table 5.7:Timeslive coverage on social media.....	71
Table 5.8: Other posts on facebook.....	72

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the study

The web culture has evolved in the past decade from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0, giving rise to social media. Social media (a technological foundation of Web 2.0) are tools that facilitate easy communication and interaction amongst its users and enables them to share or create information themselves (Alejandro, 2010). Castell (2009) describes social media as the rise of “mass self-communication”, meaning users have become media outlets themselves. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) add that social media are an “alternative platform of public communication” because it is a form of broadcasting news, as it has played a role in the growth of news produced by non-journalists.

Social media have become an integral part of our lives and a necessity in facilitating news sharing (Dwyer, 2010). He affirms that due to its convenience and easy to use tools, the social media has become important to both the media organisations and individuals, because of how they have made it easy to post, share and comment on news stories. This has in turn increased public involvement in news making and participation in news stories. D’Archy (2012) and Hermes (2008) acknowledged the power of social media in enhancing public participation and how the citizens have in fact set the agenda in bringing important stories on the public platform. In this view, Bardoel (1996), as cited by Apuke (2016) speculated that the role of the traditional media would change from being a news gathering source, into a channel of directing information flow. Conventional media, especially the newspapers have been affected by the changes brought about by the social media, because the way journalists do their job has changed and news consumption has also changed (McQuail 2010, as cited in Lee 2015)

D’Archy (2012) has been critical of social media, stating that the rise of citizen journalism undermines the core standards of traditional journalism, which include reporting accurately and objectively. The journalist’s role of disseminating information and deciding what news to give out is now being challenged because social media have allowed their users to create and share information (Feezell, 2017). In addition, the diversity of social media content has meant that the audience

is able to choose stories they deem important (Napoli, 2011), while at the same time, going further as directing traditional media attention on what issues to report on, thus stripping the journalist of their power of controlling and deciding what is news worthy (Napoli 2011).

Media houses are now keeping track of audience activities on the web and making editorial decisions based on what will be more favourable to the audience (Tandoc Thomas, 2015). This undermines the journalist's role, because instead of reporting on issues of concern, journalists are focused on satisfying their audience needs (Burns, 2013). As media houses make efforts to adapt to changes and encourage public participation, scholars are concerned that changes from mainstream media could have an impact on mass communication theories such as the agenda setting theory (Baker and Pantti, 2009).

Social media are taking the place of traditional media as an information source and in setting the agenda for the audience (Grzywinska and Borden, 2012). According to Feezell (2017:2) traditional media set the agenda for the public, because they were the main producers of news. However, recent developments have changed the status quo, enabling anyone with a smart phone or computer with internet to produce content or a news story. Grzywinska and Borden (2012), in their article: *The impact of social media on tradition agenda setting theory*, describe social media as a news broadcaster which is impacting on traditional media's role of setting the agenda. News is now more accessible than before, consumer reading habits have changed, and more and more people are turning to the internet to get free news (Feezell, 2017). The rise of social media use is evidenced by surveys done in Britain and Australia which show a wide spread of social media use as opposed to traditional media (Burns, 2013: 123).

The emergence of social media in the 1990's brought challenges and opportunities for the traditional media especially newspapers (Garrison, 1996). Social media have allowed people who were normally passive receivers of news to become producers and transmitters of news resulting in the concept of produsage. (Salman et al., 2011). Newspapers are the oldest serving media and have been hard hit by these technological advances to a point where some newsroom personnel have lost their

jobs due to a decline in circulation and losses in advertising revenue (McQuail, 1994).

The future looks bleak for newspapers in the 21st century, as there is uncertainty and predictions of the likely end of printing press (Carr, 2014). The imminent death of newspapers is viewed in light of the figures showing an increased use of social media as a news source, *vis a vis* the newspaper (Carr, 2014). Scholars such as McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis and Wanta (2011) believe that the mainstream media will still remain relevant as a news source and they add that newspapers are suffering losses because they have changed the way they cover stories. However, according to Johnson and Bowman (2009), the print version of newspapers should focus on being purely for advertising and it should be distributed free of charge. This according to Johnson and Bowman (2009), could entice the young generation into using newspapers for advertising purposes. The free newspaper concept is already being practiced in other countries like Malaysia, with *The Sun* and *Malay Mail* being distributed at no charge and it is proving to be a success (Johnson and Bowman, 2009).

1.2 Problem statement

Social media have both positively and negatively contributed to journalism and changed the journalist role, as well as how news is gathered and distributed (Dwyer, 2010). Journalists now have the tools to gather news much easier and faster, yet the quality of their work seems to be questionable. Furthermore, there has been growing concern about fake news making their way to social media (Thomas, 2013). A survey conducted by Pew research centre showed that one in three Americans had at some point encountered fake news and this has made more people unsure of the legitimacy of social media as a news source (Apuke, 2016). Based on the above, this study aims to examine how social media affect the traditional media, how journalists are affected and explore how agenda setting theory is affected. Studies of this nature have been done before by Philips and Angela (2012) and their findings showed that social media have changed the media environment. However, they did not address how journalists are affected or if communication theories were still applicable based on these changes. In view of the above, the study aims to fulfil the following objectives.

1.3 Purpose of study

The main purpose of the study is to investigate how social media is affecting traditional media and re-defining the role of the journalist. The study thus examines social media effects on traditional media and journalists, while at the same time, exploring how the agenda setting theory has been remodelled.

1.3.1 Objectives of the study

Given the above description, the study has the following objectives:

1. To explore the effects of social media on the traditional media's agenda setting role.
2. To examine how social media are changing the role of the journalist
3. To establish the theoretical implications of social media on the agenda setting theory

1.3.2 Research Questions

This research question guiding this study are as follows:

4. How do social media users impact on the agenda setting role of the mainstream media?
5. How have social media changed the role of the journalist?
6. What are the theoretical implications of the social media on the agenda setting theory?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study will add on the literature that is already there on social media. Hopefully it will give a glimpse on where the media fraternity is headed in terms of news production

1.5 Methodology

To address the questions raised above, newspapers and social media will be analysed. The positivist and interpretivist paradigms will guide this study. Based on the selected paradigms, content analysis is the best method for this research because it allows for data to be qualitatively and quantitatively presented, as this research requires. Content analysis is the method of analysing written and verbal communication (Elo and Kyngas, 2007). This method gives a better insight, detailed understanding and knowledge on an issue (Elo and Kyngas, 2007). In this study,

qualitative and quantitative methods were employed and a deductive approach was used to test if the agenda setting theory is still applicable in traditional media. The deductive approach, as suggested by Kyngas and Vanhanen (1999) is used to retest existing data in the form of theories, literature review or models.

Data was collected from three local South African newspapers, the *Citizen*, The *Sowetan* and the *New Age* (Afro Voice), as well as the Facebook page #Zumamustfall, from the period of 1st of February to the 30th of June 2018. The newspapers were chosen to represent traditional media because they have been around for the longest of all media. Facebook was used as the social media source firstly, because it is the home of the #Zumamustfall movement created in 2015. Secondly, Facebook according to Lloyd (2013) is the most popular and used media in South Africa. From the two media sources selected, only stories that cover activities leading to President Jacob Zuma's resignation were considered for this study.

The Zuma story is of public interest and it made local and international headlines in both the social and traditional media. Having said that, this research is not about the former statesman, but it is imperative to mention this story and use it as an example of how the social media are influencing the traditional media. Studies on the agenda setting theory (Freeland, 2012; Grzywinska and Borden, 2012) suggest that repetition of object on media can lead to people viewing it as important, hence, this study investigates how the Zuma story (which was constantly talked about in the media), could have set the agenda for the traditional media.

Based on content that emerged from the quantitative analysis, the researcher identified aspects of the manifest content that should be transformed into latent content. Latent content gives meaning of text and the researcher interprets the findings (Patterson et al., 2016). In using qualitative analysis, a deeper understanding is gained.

1.6 Rationale of the study

Researchers have been most focused on the positive contributions of social media, with little data on the negative contributions. Topics such as social media and

politics, social media and society, amongst others, have been the focus of social media studies (Van Der Haaks, Paks and Castells, 2012), yet there is few literature on how social media are affecting the journalist. Secondly, most studies on social media use Twitter as a point of reference, while neglecting other sites such as Facebook, which also has a commendable following. Thirdly, most literature on social media is based on an American audience and there is little on South Africa. This is problematic because social media effects in South Africa and America are different due to the differences in media landscapes. This study is therefore meant to close that gap in literature and contribute to findings related to Africa. The researcher hopes that based on the findings of this study, there can be an understanding on the role of social media in the 21st century and how the journalist can adapt and utilise social media to enhance news sharing.

1.7 Outline of the chapters

Chapter One introduced the concept of social media and the different perspectives on its effects on journalism. The chapter provided the overview of the study, indicating the problems that have emerged with the rise of social media on journalists and the reasons motivating the researcher to address the issue. The objectives of the study were also described, as well as the significance of the study.

Chapter Two describes the different sources that have contributed on the topic. Based on this the researcher is able to compare and identify discrepancies in literature and identify gaps which helps in the positioning of this study. It is from this chapter that the appropriate research methods for the study are determined. Among other things, the following issues are described in the chapter: the foundations of journalism, its development, social media's contribution and how they have penetrated the media fraternity and changed it in relation to the agenda setting theory.

Chapter Three: The role of a theory in research is discussed in this chapter. The study focuses on the theoretical concepts of journalism and social media. A justification of the use of the agenda setting theory is also provided.

Chapter four – This is the methodology chapter, which described the following important issues underpinning the study: the research paradigm, epistemology and methodology. Justification of the choice methods and design are given.

Chapter five- The data analysis and findings from this research are presented qualitatively and quantitatively. A discussion on the interpretation of these results is given. Limitations of this research are also stated.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of what is to be expected in this study, with regards to the effects of social media on traditional media setting the agenda. It also touches on how social media has brought about changes in the way news is consumed and distributed. In the same vein, the researcher will also discuss how social media have affected traditional media and the theoretical lenses of the study were discussed. The gatekeeping theory and audience effects model were also discussed in relation to the agenda setting theory.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of literature review is to enable researchers to position their study based on the review of other sources and make a contribution in the field of study (Randolph, 2009). The benefits of reviewing literature include the fact that a researcher learns and gains expertise in choosing and identifying the appropriate data to use in a study, as they go through literature (Randolph, 2009). In this study, literature from different sources such as the journals, books and internet sources on social media and journalism and the agenda setting theory is discussed. In that view, some of the issues discussed in this chapter include the background of both social media and traditional media, to show how they have developed over the years.

Mass communication has shifted from a passive audience in news consumption, to a more active one (Johnstone and Bowman, 2009). The responsibility of news gathering and distribution was previously left for the journalist who knew little about their audience and this affected their work, but now with new technologies, the journalists' understanding of their audience has become a challenge (Napoli, 2011). Traditional media such as newspapers are the foundation of journalism; they have been the longest serving, most trusted and reputable media, especially amongst the older generation (Scott, 2005). Before the printing press, news was communicated through word of mouth, sailors and merchants brought back news to those on mainland and they spread it. However, this method was unreliable, and it was replaced by the printing press (Apuke, 2016). Newspapers were the first form of media used dating from 1609, where the first publication was reported in Germany, with the first English paper being published in 1622 and it was called the *Weekly News* (Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani and Sambrok, 2016).

2.2 Print media

Newspapers, and to a lesser extent, magazines, have been around since the 18th century and since then, newspaper production has developed from steam to electric press, meaning the process has become more expensive (Cushion et al., 2016). As more people were willing to pay for news that is already packaged for them, there developed a gap in terms of who and how the news stories would be gathered and

distributed. This is where journalism and the journalists came into being (Cushion et al., 2016). The act of collecting and distributing news, be it through print or electronic media such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television and social media sites, is called journalism (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). Originally, journalism referred to the current issues printed on newspapers. This was before the advent of radios and television and lately, the internet (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). The people who wrote and distributed news called themselves journalists, they decide what the public should know (Cushion et al., 2016). They are the bridge between science and specialist knowledge and the public (Simmons, 2007). This means they interpret, explain or simplify the meaning of certain issues to the public for their understanding.

These people, according to Boyd and Ellison (2007), write stories for newspapers, radio and television. Their sole purpose is to interpret information to the public, in such a way that they can understand the world around them. This definition has been highly debated about, as Burns (2013) poses the question that: "Should anyone who writes be called a journalist"? Jeris (1983 cited in Patching and Hirst 2014), elaborates on this confusion by explaining that unlike any other writer, journalists report on news that are concealed and bring to light issues that someone wants hidden. Burns (2013) also argues that accurate and objective reporting is one of the key principles that distinguishes journalists from other writers. However that principle has raised a lot of eyebrows, as there has been questions over whose perception journalist report on and what criteria they use to select topics of interest. Patching and Hirst (2014) echo the same sentiments over the issues of objectivity, accuracy and ethics in journalism, adding that these principles are not implemented by journalists. Instead, journalists avoid reporting on controversial issues that could cause chaos or trouble for them, but rather opt to play it safe in order to stay neutral (Patching and Hirst, 2014).

Over the years, newspapers have faced a lot of opposition from governments in the form of censorship in countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. During the apartheid era, all newspapers that were foreign sponsored were anti-government and these papers were suspended (Tomaselli, 2002). Notably, two newspapers the *World* 1977 and *Sunday Post* 1979 were banned for defending the black oppressed South Africans and allowing the ANC to express their views on the ruling

government, which was the National Party (Tomaselli, 2002). A lot of restrictions were placed on journalists during apartheid, in such a way that journalists were not allowed to report on any unrest in the country or on how the security force retaliated, it was even an offence to be at the scene where there is chaos (Tomaselli, 2002).

When this did not seem to deter the journalists from reporting on apartheid, the government turned its attention on individual journalists by empowering the Minister of Home Affairs who was Stoffel Botha at the time, to register journalists (Tomaselli, 2002). The idea behind this was to get rid of individuals who were seen as a threat to the ruling government by not issuing them with permits. Practising without being registered was a punishable offence that attracted a 10-year jail time (Tomaselli, 2002). This did not go down well with the journalists, who then started a 'save the press' freedom campaign to ward off government and it worked, as a lot of business people and diplomats rallied behind them, stating that this would spell trouble for the government (Lloyd, 2013).

To this day, the relationship between media and the ruling party ANC is still hostile, the ruling government is accusing the media of sabotaging the government, whilst the media hit back to say they are exposing corruption within the government (Lloyd, 2013).

2.3 Electronic media

Over the years, other media that are more advanced were developed and this came to the scene in the 20th century when the television and radio were introduced (Shelly, 2007). The expansion of technological media influenced the growth of the journalism profession (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). There was an increased number of schools offering education on mass communication and more people were joining the profession (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). The English Chartered Institute of Journalists was started in 1833 and University of Missouri was the first to offer a course in journalism in 1879-84, but before journalism schools, journalists got their skills through apprenticeship (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). This marked a time that journalism got recognition as a source of reliable information: groups such as American Society of Newspaper Editors are known to have supported journalists preaching on ethics and the role of journalism (Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

The latest invention is the internet, which was developed in the 1960's, with UseNet being the first social network for chatting through newsletters (Borders, 2010). According to Borders (2010), the idea of social media started with the phone in the 1950's, where through the use of an electronic device, one was able to make free calls. This was called phone phreaking, which allowed one to hack into company voice mailboxes to host blogs and podcasts (Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

The email was introduced in the 1960's and it was a method of exchanging messages from one computer to another. However, both computers had to be online (Borders, 2010). Bulletin boards were the predecessors of the world wide web and conceived in the 1979. It was only in the 1990's that social networking sites such as Six Degrees, MoveOn and others were introduced to allow people to interact (Borders, 2010). In 2000, social media grew and more social networking sites such as MySpace, LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter and Youtube, amongst others, became popular (Borders, 2010). According to an article by Borders (2010), social media's popularity can be attributed to the fact that more people have access to the internet. It is also an added advantage that social media are convenient with its easy to use tools for sharing content and that has made it a prominent source of news (Kumpel, Karnowski, Keyling, 2015).

2.4 Social media

Social media as a new technology have created a new audience and more diversity in media outlets. Newspapers have suffered a great loss and most journalists seeing pay cuts (Lloyd, 2013). South Africa is no exception, as profits are going down, so are the journalists' salaries and this has caused some journalists to leave the profession and seek greener pastures, which also affects the quality of news which has become eroded (Lloyd 2013). It is for this reason that this study is interested in social media, because it has caused so much disruptions, yet it still remains the most used and relevant media of our times.

Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) state that social media can only be understood when Web 2.0 has been defined. This term describes the way in which users use the World Wide Web to share and distribute information. However, the website needs to have certain features to be considered a social network website (Boyd and Ellison 2007 cited in Cox 2010). Some of these include a user profile, methods that permit

users to connect with each other and post comments on each other's pages, users must also be able to join interest groups (Boyd and Ellison 2007 as cited in Cox 2010). Social networks and social media are usually used interchangeably, however, there is a difference between the two. Social networking sites are tools used for sharing and distributing content and they are facilitated by certain programs to make connections (Baruah, 2012).

Scholars have been debating over which tools can be called social media and constitute social media (Grzywinska and Borden, 2012). Butt (2017) describes social media as communication that is aided by the internet and this includes social networking sites that enable people to share their views and interact with others. According to Cox and Rethman (2011), social media refers to an online platform that connects people and allows them to communicate with each other. Alejandro (2010) describes social media as a channel through which people can interact, communicate by means of texting, sending videos and pictures. In the words of Kaplan and Haenlein (2000:35) social media "is a group of internet-based applications...that build on the foundations of Web 2.0 used to communicate exchange and create content".

Baruah (2012) adds that social media is simply web-based tools that change communication into interactive dialogue. She further explains that social media such as Twitter, Facebook, come in different forms of blogs, magazines, photographs, videos, podcasts, amongst other things, and have enabled users to create and broadcast their content. Baruah (2012) contribution is that social media is a platform that disseminates information quickly and to a bigger audience. In addition, she also states that social media are devices in different meaning, they can be accessed from a laptop, phone and tablets. Cothrel, as cited in Cohen and Rethman (2011), adds that social media can be any online platform for user generated content. It is to say that any digital content that is created by users can be classified as social media.

Social media, in simple words, refer to the shift in how we receive our information (Baruah, 2012), and it is the ever-changing nature of online tools which are used for interaction, sharing and accessing information (Handley, 2012). Hofstetter cited in Cohen and Rethman (2011), reinforces that social media is a reflection of the

everyday conversations or activities that are made available online. This idea is in line with what is happening online, people get to share their stories and personal lives in real time. Cohen and Rethman (2011) adds that social media are online platforms facilitated by many tools which rely on listening and conversations. Schaefer (2015) defines them as platforms that have transformed the way people communicate, allowing for free access to information and at the same time allowing users to share their stories.

Social media can be used in a number of ways which include interaction with one or many people at the same time (Cox and Rethman, 2011). Social media also enable people to communicate with other people who are far, at any given time and place (Hantula, Kock, D'Arcy and DeRosa 2011, cited in Thomas 2013). Twitter is the fastest growing website with millions of users around the world and has been found through research conducted in 2010, to being used by companies to gather data on public opinion, brand awareness and as a marketing tool (Mahapatra and Suresh, 2015). Companies have also used social media to allow open relations between management and the employees (Edosomwan, Prakasan, Kouame et al., 2011).

In addition, social media have been used to bridge the gap and bring like-minded people together, politicians utilise them in campaigns and they are used as a customer interaction tool, allowing customers to give feedback to the producers, amongst other things (Baruah, 2012). Reports from the Network Society South Africa in 2011 showed that more young and black South Africans are accessing the internet more often for social reasons, and not for news or information (Snyman, 2016). Of the many social media sites, only two have become most used and popular and these are Facebook and Twitter. Facebook was launched in 2004 by Harvard college students, Mark Zuckerberg and others (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). This site was initially restricted to Harvard students, but it was later opened to the public (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). According to Boyd (2007), Facebook users are able to connect with other users, create profiles, and upload videos, photos and exchange messages, that is why it has attracted a lot of users with a whopping 800 million users recorded in 2011.

Twitter, which came into existence two years after Facebook, had 41 million users by 2009; this can be attributed to its social tools that are different from other sites and

that a lot of celebrities joined it (Wang and Kobsa, 2009). According to a report by SA Social Media Landscape (2015) compiled by the World Wide Worx, Facebook is the most popular website in South Africa, with Twitter and You Tube as runner ups (Snyman, 2016). It is reported that 5.6 million males and 5.6 million females in South Africa are users of Facebook (Snyman, 2016).

Arthur Goldstuck, the managing director of World Wide Worx, has labelled this social media platform as a “mainstream tool” (Snyman, 2016). This is to say that social media are not just a technology device but are viewed as an everyday necessary tool. However, Mike Wronski, the managing director of Analytics Comp, pointed out that most Facebook users are actually from big cities, with Johannesburg having 55% users, Pretoria 49% and Cape Town 44% (Snyman, 2016). These statistics, based on a South African population of over 50 million people, are a reflection of the minimal social media usage, which can be caused by people not having access to the internet.

2.5 Studies on social media impact

There have been numerous studies done on social media ranging from social media and society, social media and politics and social media and the agenda setting theory amongst others. However, due to the ever- changing media environment, scholars and theorists have failed to reach a conclusion on agenda setting, but all studies that followed on agenda setting imitated the Chapel Hill study (McCombs, 2005). Other studies such as those done by Feezell (2016), Grzywinsky and Borden (2013) focus on social media effects on other countries, but not much is on South Africa, hence this study will be more applicable to the South African audience and its media environment.

The consumption of social media by South Africans is definitely different from other countries, with 31% of the people still reading the newspapers daily, as reported by the South African Audience research Foundation (SAARF), (Lloyd, 2013). The majority of South Africans still receive their news via television or radio, and because the internet is still costly, only a few people can access their news from social media (Lloyd, 2013,). This shows that social media use is not as widespread as would have been assumed. In South Africa, the effect of social media on newspapers is still manageable, as statistics show that 65% of South Africans have no access to

internet, with only 5% accessing their newspapers online and 2.8% reading on their smartphones (Lloyd, 2013).

Even though newspaper sales in South Africa have dropped over the years, findings from the Audit Bureau of Circulation show that these figures decline annually by over 6% since 2009. However, advertising revenue is increasing, according to Pricewaterhouse Coopers, by over 10% for newspapers, and 7% for both radio and television (Lloyd, 2013). These findings are testament that mainstream media, especially newspapers, will survive the changes in the media environment, as they have done over the years.

Delwiche (2005), cited in Chaffee and Mertzger (2001), is one of the scholars who examined the agenda setting theory in relation to social media. The most developed work this far has investigated blogs and their contributions in priming and framing. Drezner and Farrell (2004), in their examinations of the relationship between blogs and mainstream media, concluded that blogs set the agenda for the mainstream media, in directing the attention of the mainstream media by emphasising on an issue. These authors proved their thesis by analysing blog links and conducting a survey of media professionals on their blog preferences (Drezner and Farrell, 2004). Prof Delwiche also compared findings from his study on blogs and traditional media and found that blog authors did set the agenda for traditional media (Delwiche, 2005).

Twitter and YouTube have been the most researched social media in most studies (Kumpel, Karnowski and Keyling, 2015). Other social media sites, such as Facebook, which have developed over the years have been neglected (Kumpel et al., 2015). According to Bruns and Burgess (2012), Twitter is mostly used by news researchers because it is easy to use and offers real time stories. It allows for easy tracking of stories as they develop and you can follow users on Twitter (Bruns and Burgess, 2012). However, this study focuses on Facebook, instead of Twitter and its agenda setting role in South Africa.

Most of the studies done on social media have been based on the Western audience and there are few studies on South African audience. Tanja Bosch (2017) is one researcher who did studies on South Africa and her study investigated Twitter activism on the #Rhodesmustfall, and she also did work on social media community

radio. Her work did not investigate the agenda setting theory or newspapers, hence, this gap in literature. There have been similar studies done across Africa and these include Salman et al (2016), whose work is on the agenda setting theory and Malaysian politics, but it still remains irrelevant to South Africa.

Hoffman, Mason and Watts (2011) focused their study on news sharing and it has been found that people who share news normally perceive themselves as leaders and in most cases, they have many followers. Furthermore, studies by Weeks and Holbert (2013); found that people who share news stories online or follow news online and have a positive attitude towards sharing, are not likely to share or engage in news sharing.

Other studies have gone further by investigating the type of people who are likely to share news and they have looked at their attitudes and motivation to share news online. Lee and Ma (2012); as well as Boyd, Golder and Lotan (2010) found that people who share news want to gain reputation amongst other users. Lee and Ma (2012) also state that such people want to gain social approval. Theoretical approaches normally used in these studies focus on the uses and gratification and diffusion of Innovation theory, because they are more concerned with the motivation or intention of people to share news, but they fail to look at social media and news. Thus, this study will focus on social media as the drive in changing journalistic roles. The agenda setting theory will be examined to further understand the effects of social media.

Studies that looked at the impact of social media and traditional media in influencing the public opinion have shown that with social media becoming popular, traditional media's power to influence is no longer as strong as before (Lee, 2015). In the same vein, some studies have found a reverse in the role of who sets the agenda. Traditionally, journalists set the agenda for the public. However, it has come to light that journalists now follow social media such as blogs to get topics of interest and use those topics in traditional media (Lee and Ma, 2012). Other studies also argue that social media, due to the fact that they are less prone to censorship or political power, are more reflective of actual events, as opposed to traditional media which is influenced by many factors, as to what to show in a story (Kumpel et al., 2015). This

has seen the influence of the traditional media weakening and social media getting stronger in setting public opinion. These studies were conducted based on existing theories and results were from empirical studies. This therefore means one cannot conclude that social media are more powerful.

Having gone through the definitions and contributions of both traditional and social media in communication, it is important to look at how newspapers, which are traditional in nature, and social media a modern invention, can co-exist in the same era and render the same service. The study thus investigates how these two extreme opposites can complement each other to achieve the communication goal.

2.6 Changing role of journalism in the social media era

The developments taking place in the web have seen those traditionally known as the 'audience' invading the newsroom space, taking over the journalist's role in distributing, packaging, sharing news and even sharing their views on news websites (Vos, 2016). In turn, news organisations are being 'pushed' to recognise public voices and consider them in the editorial decisions (Vos, 2016). The presence of the audience in the editorial decision making is growing and journalists have become more in touch with what their audience want (Carr, 2014). For years, the audience has been side lined in news room decisions, but new developments have meant that they are more involved in what news is of interest to them.

In the previous years, only those with a television, newspaper, radio, magazine could access news stories. However, in this decade, computers, smartphones and the internet which have become affordable, enable the general public to get news and information for free and fast (Baruah, 2012). Due to these developments, it should be noted that mainstream media are incorporating social media into their broadcast, as evidenced on television where stories that appear on social media are being given attention and some topics of interest put on social sites by traditional media houses for the audience to comment (Baruah, 2012). Journalists and media organisations now have an online presence and they are using social media to keep their audience and entice the younger generation (Lee 2015). Lee (2015) applauds this move, highlighting that this helps news organisations in keeping track of what their audiences want and the same time creating brand awareness (Lee, 2015).

However, traditional media are also losing their grip on the audience. The gatekeeping role has shifted Dietz (2010) and Wilkins (1994) state that social media have allowed the public room to share issues that interest them out of the confines of conventional media (Burns 2013). Singer (2004) asserts that online newspapers adopting participatory journalism by creating blogs and discussion boards are not doing any justice to the journalists and their function. In fact, this has stripped them of their gatekeeping role as their readers are deciding for themselves what they think is news worthy. Studies done also confirm that online editors are losing their gatekeeping powers and moving towards open news. This brings to light the question of how well traditional media can set one clear agenda for the public, if the audience is fragmented and diversified.

In some newsrooms, positions such as social media editor and engagement editor have been created to ensure the audience is monitored more and their contributions are taken note of, which is something new in journalism (Alejandro, 2010). These positions are being created to expand the use of social media and improve journalism; big publications such as New York Times employed their first social media editor in 2009 (Baruah, 2012). These new practices have changed the journalist's role and newsroom dynamics that are promoting audience preferences and editorial decisions.

The changes in the newsroom mean changes in the journalist role. The fact that they have access to the audience views keeps them on the loop of what is happening (Napoli, 2011). Network journalism can be illustrated by using two examples, the Foxcon and Tunisia uprising. Foxcon, an Apple Inc's major contractor, reported a number of its workers to be committing suicide at an alarming rate. This prompted scholars and a other people from different disciplines to came together in a bid to understand what was going on (Nip, 2006). Despite journalists being denied access to the premises to investigate,a group of students who were disguised as job seekers were sent (Nip, 2006). Once inside the students did a number of interviews and took photos with the workers, which they later shared with the journalists (Nip, 2006).

In the Tunisian uprising in December 2010, a man by the name Mohamed Bouzizi was captured from a cell phone setting himself alight protesting the governments'

interference with his vegetable garden (Zuckerman 2011 cited in Burns, 2013). But because websites were blocked domestically, the local people did not see the video, only those outside Tunisia got the video. Someone searching for news on Tunisia stumbled upon it on the web (Zuckerman, 2011 cited in Burns 2013). This person broadcast the story back to Tunisia and it was only then that the Tunisians then found out what was happening from Al Jazeera (Zuckerman 2011 cited in Burn, 2013).

Changes in the newsroom

The Pew Research Centre for the people and the press (2010) did research which showed that 34% of the American population got their news online and those who used traditional media for news were less (Mortland, 2012 cited in Thomas 2013). The inception of social media can be hailed by many as a Saviour. In the past, letters written by the public to the editors could be ignored, yet now, social media have forced news organisations to invite the public to comment on news stories and what more social media allow anyone to publish stories and share them, (Burns, 2013).

The one-way communication that characterised the mainstream media has also been eliminated by the social media. This is because the audience is now active in sharing the information or news and they can contribute towards a topic (Bowman and Willis, 2003 cited in Thomas, 2013). Social media have blurred the distinction between a professional journalist and an amateur journalist, as both can produce, publish and consume content (Salman, Ibrahim, Yusof, Mustafa, Mahbob, 2011). The rise of citizen journalism has seen the public post and share issues they deem important and in some cases, outrunning the traditional media by reporting on events that traditional media had no access to. Yet it can be argued that it is traditional media that confirm and give more detail on the events (Burns, 2013).

Journalists are also using social media for information. According to Garrison (2001), as cited in Salman et al (2011), 90% of newspapers in the United States have online news websites. In contrast to the previous years where journalists used a lead or went out to find a news story, now the stories come to them on social media (Nowak, 2018). In another survey conducted in 2012, it showed that journalists relied on social media by over 50%. This fact is confirmed by Paul Ramadge, who was the

editor of *The Age* at the time and stated that celebrity stories were especially derived from the social media (Nowak 2018). In a survey conducted by George Washington University and a media company in 2008, it emerged that 90% of the journalists used the web as primary sources, 79% used the web to track the responses of the public and 50% were on social media (Nowak, 2018).

One can therefore argue that the social media have created a revolutionary movement in terms of how news is disseminated but in the view of Baruah (2012), social media were never intended to be a news tool, but rather to connect friends and family. Traditional media are now accepting the participation of the public in news production, which was never the case before and including the public voice in their content (Nip, 2006). The public is directly involved, and they influence and benefit from the news coverage. This public journalism model was created after observations of dwindling sales of newspapers. Unfortunately, this strategy did not produce the desired results, as it did not make much of a difference or impact (Rosenstiel, 2005).

While social media journalists are getting more otherwise hidden stories daily, they get to communicate with their audience, more viewpoints and different thoughts on a story get to be shared and the stories are stored and can be retrieved any time (Van Der Haak, Parks, Castells, 2012). Those in power are now monitored to ensure they do not abuse their power and the audience is able to share pictures and videos that matter to them (Nip, 2006). This, according to Van Der Haaks et al. (2012), is what has made journalism more attractive and these developments are aiding journalists in their work. Of course, those more affected are those using traditional business models of print and broadcast journalism (Van Der Haaks et al., 2012).

As the public is no longer willing to pay for information, the sales of media products such as newspapers are declining. This is said to be a crisis in the media industry and not journalism. The media industry has had to cut on costs and give more work to journalists for less and this has resulted in most journalists leaving the profession and in most cases, they refuse to see how technology can make their work easy and instead, they shut it out (Van Der Haaks et al., 2012).

2.6 Media models

Scott (2005) provides an insight into the documenting challenges of technology and changes in digital journalism by suggesting that the traditional media require new business models in response to technology, in order for them to stay relevant. Nip (2006) identified five models that now exist within the news industry and these are traditional journalism, public journalism, interactive journalism, participatory journalism and citizen journalism.

Traditional Journalism – It is journalism as we know it, where professional journalists are gatekeepers and they set the agenda for the public (Nip, 2006). Interaction between the journalists and the public is through letters to the editors and it is minimal (Nip, 2006).

Public Journalism – According to Nip (2006), public journalism is less conservative than traditional media because it includes the public in the collection and distribution of news. Journalists engage the public more face to face and rely on the public for stories. However, professional journalists still verify these stories and choose what news to publish and share (Nip, 2006).

The BBC and The Guardian experimented with these two concepts at a domestic level. The BBC has a user generated content desk in London and it is one of the largest (Costeltoe, 2011). Silvia Costeltoe (2001), a senior journalist at BBC hub, described how they used material posted by the public after they had double checked the accuracy of that information. She also indicated how they use social networks to find stories and then verify them by sending a reporter to the field to check the facts of that story (Costeltoe, 2011). On the other end, The Guardian shows the public the stories which their journalists are working on and invites the public to comment on the stories (Costeltoe, 2011).

Al Jazeera took on the opportunity to crowd source during the 2009 conflict between Israel and the Palestinian (Van Der Haks, 2012). The television station invited the public to post their own videos and photos of Israel attacks on Gaza, offering a free of charge service with a Creative Commons license (Van Der Haak, 2012). These videos were made available via Creative Commons 3.0 licence, enabling remixing and further distribution by users (Van Der Haak, 2012).

Interactive Journalism – According to Cover (2006), interactive journalism is communication that is aided by the internet. The public gets to interact with the content by being able to choose topics that interest them and they are able to communicate or give feedback to the journalists online, through emails and online forums (Nip, 2006).

Participatory Journalism - also called network journalism, this involves users in story collection and distribution (Nip, 2006). This form of journalism acknowledges that the audience is no longer passive in news production and dissemination, but rather more involved (Bowman and Willis, 2003). To encourage public participation, the news outlets are engaging the public and working with them. The potential rise of the audience as producers of news is said to challenge the journalist's role (Lewis, 2012). There have been studies done on this type of journalism, but none have looked into the quality of content being produced by the audience (Singer, 2010).

The power of public participation has been acknowledged by the traditional media. O'Donnell (2009), cited Kenny Plotnic, the New York news director, saying that anyone with a phone and camera can be a reporter. Some news outlets such as BBC are using content created by the public this has allowed citizen journalism to infiltrate traditional media and create an open nature to communicating (Catone, 2007). O'Donnell (2009) states that the up side of public participation is that it creates an informed audience and Friedland (1996) supports this view, stating that it promotes the public to be more vocal in their views. This type of journalism helps in crowd sourcing, which is more than citizen journalism and encompasses many practices from the collection of information, choosing which stories to use to and how news is produced and packaged (Van Der Haaks, 2012).

Citizen Journalism – Refers to anyone who produces and distributes content and this can be non-professional individual or organisation (Nip 2006). Costeltoe (2011) describes citizen journalism as photographs, videos and other material that is provided to the news organisation or website by the public. There are debates on what constitutes non-professional news content, as citizen journalism is a title that is not grounded to one meaning (Costeltoe, 2011). Storms (2007) believes that the appropriate meaning for citizen journalism should be any content produced online by the user, whilst Baker and Pantti (2009) argue that it is confined to photos or images

produced by non-professional photo journalists. Despite the disputes in what citizen journalism is, all the definitions have been accepted. The advantage of citizen journalism is that it unearths information that could expose people to what is happening locally, like in the Tunisian incident. However, journalists still need to use their skills in fact checking of this information provided, to ensure it is accurate and then present this information to the audience or readers in a way that it is easy to interpret and understand (Van Der Haaks et al., 2012).

2.7 Future of journalism

Changes in the media environment mean that media practitioners should seriously consider coming up with new strategies to stay in business and relevant (Dueze and Bruns, 2013). The way forward for newspapers would be for them to improve their credibility as most members in society still see traditional media as a mouth piece for the government (Dueze and Bruns, 2013). The credibility that the new media has gained still sees more South Africans preferring traditional media over social media. Social media might be perceived as credible because the mainstream media such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) are perceived as government controlled, yet the new media has been used to expose some of the scandals that are hidden from the public (Dueze and Bruns, 2013).

Mansour (2018) observes that newspapers need both hard copy publications and online newspapers to grow. He believes hardcopy publications should be maintained, whilst online papers are being used to create new markets and new sources of revenue (Mansour 2018). Revenue is the only way newspapers can stay in business and hence, creating new financial models, new ideas for maintaining, engaging and increasing readership could help (Bakker and Pantti, 2009). The best option for online newspapers as Vos (2016) states is if a subscription is charged for those who wish to read the online newspaper. The print version of newspapers should also focus on being purely for advertising and it should be distributed free of charge (Vos, 2016). This could entice the young generation into using it for advertising purposes.

Boczkowski (2004) states that scholars have investigated how varied media houses have endeavoured to incorporate social media into traditional media. It appears there is more that still needs to be done to ensure that the agenda setting theory is

maintained in the traditional media. The participation of the audience in news sharing, although encouraged, has its consequences. Most traditional news outlets have added websites which are used in publishing user-generated content (Boczkowski, 2004). iReport. Com, for instance, has added tools to their website, to allow the audience to upload videos and share content, the website and community are therefore the ones who make decisions of what gets to be shared as news, thus setting the agenda (Boczkowski, 2004).

Due to the fact that social media content cannot be relied on entirely, iReport consumers verify the stories which they see on websites before using them, by contacting the producer of the story (Boczkowski, 2004). The content they deem news worthy is then used. To some extent, this shows journalism independence, even though the decision is based on public submissions (Hu, 2007). However, it still remains that the public has the power to set the agenda. Almost every example of major news events point to social media being the main source of exposure, where traditional media were not available or had limited access, such events include the Iraq (Hu, 2007). Other studies indicate most media organisations prefer to include public opinion when it is soft news (Dueze and Bruns, 2013). Few studies have shown that the mainstream media are adopting citizen produced content (Dueze et al., 2013). Another study from Nip (2006) suggests that allowing the public to participate in news sharing is affecting the agenda setting theory.

- *Visual journalism*

According to Kuhn (2011), videos, texts and audio sources are increasingly being used and are replacing text-based news. This means that journalists need visual literacy to understand when and where images are needed, if they are to engage their audience. Journalists and filmmakers in Canada who are under the National Film Board of Canada have been rallying behind the idea of multimedia documentaries (Kuhn, 2011). In one of their projects, Highrise use photography, blogging, filmmaking and radio to explore vertical living in the global suburbs. Another website that provides skills for anyone who wants a visual story is Storyplanet.com; it was founded by professional photographers and journalists (Kuhn, 2011).

- *Point of view journalism*

The internet offers diverse versions of the same story attributed to different accounts of one story captured at a different camera angles and then posted on social media sites (Nip, 2006). Once the public has accessed these images from the different platforms, it becomes difficult for the journalists to be objective in their reporting as people interpret the same story based on the photos and videos that look similar but tell different stories (Nip, 2006). Objectivity in the 21st century has become a thing of the past as transparency and independence have become viral. Journalism with a clear perspective is more convincing than neutral narrative and there is increased value placed on a point of view (Nip, 2006). Journalists can only rely on producing reliable and objective content by being transparent to maintain their position.

A story can now be easily constructed by the point of view used by the camera. Technological advancements have added to the camera tools which can be manipulated to capture the point of view desired (Nip, 2006). Rob Spence, a Canadian filmmaker, lost his one eye and asked his friend to replace it with a miniature camera, the camera moves in tandem with Spence's natural eye and sends pictures wirelessly to a monitor (Nip, 2006).

- *Automated journalism*

This is machine written news and uses an algorithm process of converting data into narrative news texts with little or sometimes no human input (Coddington, 2015). There are now software robots being used to retrieve news and press releases for redistributing to other networks of information (Clerwall, 2014). Forbes is one organisation that uses them because they are fast and essential in their line of work where they deal with financial markets (Van Der Haak et al., 2012). It works well for producing routine news stories and the algorithms that it uses can generate news faster without making mistakes compared to humans (Clerwall, 2014). In addition, these algorithms can tell the same story in different languages, angles and it caters for individual needs (Willnat, Weaver and Choi, 2013).

There is also a software that has tools that allows users to automatically create stories from their own data. However, automated journalism is limited in what it can do, it cannot give interpretations on what is happening (Podolny 2015). Even so,

automation is changing the journalist's role, meaning that in the future, the journalist might have to work hand in hand with the robots to complement each other (Podolny, 2015). The journalist will have to focus on skills that automation lacks and these include in depth interviews and investigative journalism, whilst automation focuses on routine topics (Willnat et al, 2013). Currently automation is being used in financial and sports news because it deals with providing facts, but it is less interesting to read (Willnat et al., 2013). Having said that. It should be taken into account that the writing quality of automation is yet to improve with more developments on technology.

The ability of the automation journalism to create news faster and cheaper means there will be more news available, whilst personalising news for individual needs will create audience fragmentation and set a lot of agendas (Willnat et al., 2013). This means that the traditional media could have a challenge in being able to set the agenda for its audience. As news organisations have adopted participatory journalism, there is a high possibility that automation journalism will also soon be used by media houses.

- *Global journalism*

New technology has changed how people interact and changed journalism into a global interactive enterprise being practiced by an unusual group of people who include the bloggers and citizens (Mansour, 2018). According to Mansour (2018), journalists' work can be seen internationally, even though it was intended for a local population. Unlike with traditional media such as newspaper, television and radio which are confined to certain areas, online news transcends borders (Mansour, 2018). This can be looked at as an opportunity for journalists to gain international recognition, or it can be seen to weaken the power of the media (Mansour, 2018). As broadcast networks and newspapers are closing their foreign branches, new technology has sustained the dissemination of information based on different points of view and cultural diversity (Nip, 2006).

With changes in the media environment, it has become imperative that the media industry keeps up in order to survive and as Scott (2005) observed, mainstream media adopted convergence, cross media and digital news, in order to remain relevant.

2.8 Convergence Media

As technology changes, communication theories need to evolve in order to also remain relevant (Livingstone and Bennett, 2003). These technologies allow one to capture a story they deem newsworthy and share in the media with just a phone and or camera (Gordon, 2007). Convergence is the morphing of media on either a technological, production or organisational level (Erdal 2007). The media refer to media outlets that have one news gathering operation across different platforms (Scott 2005). In journalism, convergence would be the process of consuming, creating and distributing media (Scott 2005). For example, we can access news from the television through smartphones. Newsrooms are able to reproduce the same stories across different platforms like in print, broadcasting and the web (Scott 2005). This is especially evident in most newsrooms where they now post stories on the web and still produce hard copies in order to cater for both the younger generation which is more in tuned to the net, and those still preferring hardcopy newspapers (Scott, 2005).

The term convergence has not been clarified, even though scholars will be using this term as they move towards developing new theories. Dailey, Dempo and Spillman (2005) argue that scholars are unable to do research or make decisions if the definition of convergence is not clarified. It may seem that news organisations will struggle with implications of citizen journalism, convergence of media and using content produced by the public, because newsrooms function differently (Bakker and Pantti, 2009). But participatory journalism, according to Hujanen and Pietikainen (2004), is the only answer for the newspapers to survive.

Interactivity is another new business model. There is more interactivity in the digital world, as the public has become more engaged in communication (Cover 2006). Hujanen and Pietikainen (2004) define interactivity as cutting across from the old traditional media where communication was one way, to a more open online environment which enables the public to communicate with the journalist. In cross media, news is shared and distributed across media platforms (Dailey, Demo Spillman 2005). Cross media can be implemented by cross promotion, which is how content is promoted on television and radio. It can also be used by duplicating or copying and pasting the same content from one platform to another, with little or no editing (Dailey et al, 2005). Media houses can also collect and share content and

this is called full convergence, whilst in some occasions, news outlets also compete in content gathering and in the same light share that information (Dailey et al., 2005).

Bruns (2008) stated that there is a paradigm shift called produsage in which the rise of the citizen journalism and bloggers amongst others, defer from the traditional way of news gathering and sharing. News producers are now able to produce content for the web, print and broadcasting, to become alternative news providers. Sambrook (2005) observes that the internet has become a crucial news source dating back to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The public has been playing an active role in capturing and sharing important moments such as the London terrorist bombings, before traditional media outlets (Clairmont, 2007).

2.9 Conclusion

Based on the literature reviewed, it was evident that there have been a number of studies and research done on social media's effect around the world and in South Africa. There is work by Tanya Bosch (2017) about South Africa and it looks at social media's effect on the radio and #Rhodesmustfall campaign. Both works investigated social media, but not Facebook like this study, and none of these works address the effect of social media on the newspaper, in particular. For this study, it was essential to investigate Facebook as a social media site of interest because it is widely used in South Africa and using it would show a true reflection on the effects. However, newspapers are also still preferred by the population.

In the next chapter the theoretical framework will be discussed to illustrate its significance for the study. In order to measure the effects of social media on traditional media, a theory has to be used to either refute or agree with the arguments.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theory that form the basis of this study and makes reference to other theories which are also relevant to the study. A theory is a tool that allows us to identify a problem and a plan to remedy the situation (Lysaght, 2011). It offers a doorway into understanding things we see happening and how to bring about change (Gran and Osanloo, 2016). It helps us understand what we do not know, thus guiding us in research (Gran and Osanloo, 2016).

Social theories are constructed by drawing ideas from different disciplines (Kawulich, 2009). Grant and Osanloo (2016) states that a theoretical framework is the most important aspect of a research because it is the basis from which knowledge is constructed. It is an anchor for the literature review, methodology and a theory can be used to highlight one's beliefs and understanding (Lysaght, 2011). According to Melendez (2002), a study without a theory lacks structure and vision. When discussing social media, one can look at a number of theories such as the issue of salience theory, the gatekeeping theory, as well as the agenda setting theory. All these theories are discussed in this study, as they play a part in agenda setting theory. According to Creswell (2009), a theory is built from the model, concept, constructs and propositions. Silverman (2007) explains that the relationship between models, concepts and theories is interlinked in such a way that a model is built from experiences, a concept comes from that model and theories are a set of concepts.

3.2 Gatekeeping theory

The focus of this study is on news, hence, the gatekeeping theory cannot be left out because it is a process through which news stories are selected and filtered to the audience (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Gatekeeping is important in the traditional media sense because it is the process involved in the selection, filtering and distribution of news content (Singer, 2004).

In the selection process, according to Singer (2004), social problems such as villain and victim stories make it on the list because the media find such topics attractive.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that the media are being manipulative in that they would, for example, interview crying victims to evoke emotion from the viewers, thus pushing their agendas. As Singer (2001) illustrates, media houses have their own agendas that they push and these are influenced by who the financier is, as well as competition. These two elements play a crucial role in the stories which the media outlet decides to select.

Even so, gatekeeping in media is and can be used to protect a person or persons if the truth can cause more harm than good, especially in a case where there is a war between groups (Shabir, Safdar, Imran, Mumtaz and Anjum 2015). As eluded by Shabir et al (2015), gate keeping can also be used to protect victims of crime such a rape. The identities of the victims have to be protected, especially if the victim is a minor, yet certain information is sometimes left out because there is not enough space and time to cover everything in such instances, only recent, relevant and prominent issues are covered (Shabir et al., 2015). Social media on the other hand sees no privacy and tells it like it is. One might argue that it is a good thing, but sometimes sensitive issues need to be handled with care.

Although gatekeeping has been used extensively, this study will not focus much on it as it is not part of the study, but it contributes to the role of the journalists as we traditionally know it. This theory was not relevant as it considers how the messages or news stories are selected and the effects of such messages thereafter are not addressed (Shoemaker and Reece, 1996). The agenda setting theory was the most appropriate of the three, as it meets the objectives of the study. One of the research questions of this study is: Can social media users set the agenda for the mainstream media? To address this question, the agenda setting theory was considered the most ideal because it speaks to the objectives of the study.

3.3 Agenda setting theory

In selecting the agenda setting theory, the researcher was influenced by her own personal beliefs about social media's impact on the traditional media. As a communications student, the researcher is well aware of the changes in the communication sector, especially in the media fraternity. It was therefore necessary for the researcher to explore and understand the implications of social media and how the communications personal will be affected. The agenda setting theory offers

a more detailed explanation as to why certain things are happening in a certain way. The researcher is thus able to measure and test the theory due to the ability to evaluate a problem and determine the research design.

The concept of agenda setting was first introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1968 and it states that the mass media set the agenda for the public by highlighting certain issues as important (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). McCombs and Shaw tested this theory in the 1972 US elections, in an effort to show that issues that dominated the media became public opinion. The findings were that the news media effects set the agenda (McCombs, 1972). The news media's role in setting the agenda comes with emphasis on an issue and decisions on stories based on the agenda of the news organisation, for example, in 1995, unemployment was very high in Pamplona, Spain and the public was concerned (McCombs, 2004). It was found that the issues the public raised with regards to unemployment were directly linked to what was covered in the media, the match with Pamplona daily was +74, television +66 and the local newspaper +90 (McCombs, 2004).

Walter Lipman introduced the concept of agenda setting in 1922 in his book: *Public Opinion*. At that time, he did not use the phrase "agenda setting" but his observations were centred on the thought that public opinions were shaped by news media based on the information they gave out (McCombs 2004:3). In one of the chapters of the book: *The world outside and the pictures in our heads*, Lipman explains this title by stating that the media provide the door or insights into what we know of the world and what is happening around our spaces (McCombs 2004). Bernard Cohen notes that the media are not telling people what to think and talk about, but merely pointing out issues of importance (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Another scholar who did similar studies was Ray Funkhouser but has not been credited because he did not give the theory a name and never pursued the concept (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Agenda setting theory works on two assumptions that is 1) the media determine what the public sees as a pressing issue; (2) through constantly emphasising on an issue, the public tends to perceive some issues as more important than others (McCombs 2004). According to Rodgers and Dearing (1988), there are three types of agenda setting and these include the media, the public and policy agendas. Media

agenda, as explained by Rodgers and Dearing (1988), is the influence of media on the public. In the same way, public agenda is the audience agenda, while policy agenda is the influence of the media and the public in policy making. According to Gauntlett (2012), of the three agendas, the media agenda has been the most criticised, with it being accused of influencing undesirable behaviours from those exposed to it. He argues that other factors cause individuals to act badly and states the media has no effect or influence and hence, media cannot be said to set the agenda. However, the latter is not as popular as the first two agendas. McCombs (1972) notes that not only does media set the agenda, it also shapes how the public understands and perceives a topic.

Social science researchers start with a model then progress to producing a concept based on an identified research problem then collect data to establish links between concepts. It is through concepts that a theory is built, hence, concepts are an essential component of theories (Bryman,2012). Fig 3.1 below offers an understanding of the agenda setting theory without explaining it in detail, as would a theory, yet it still communicates the idea behind the theory.

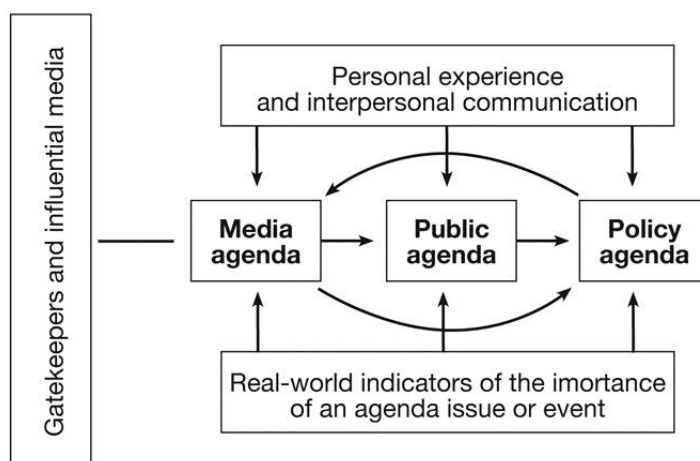


Fig 3.1: Agenda setting theory

Source: McQuail & Windahl (1993)

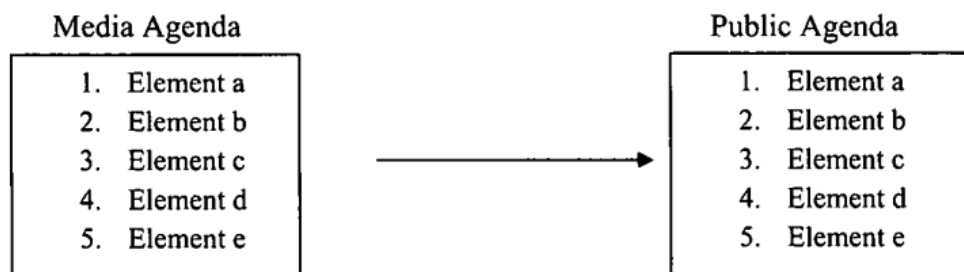
Researchers' main route to conceptual framework is through the model. According to Silverman (2000), quantitative traditionalists produce models after the theory has been formed whilst qualitative models start with the model. Celine (2011) adds that can lead to the formation of a theory.

3.3.1 Three levels of agenda setting

It is important to note that there are three levels of agenda setting and all three are discussed in detail below, these are the first level agenda setting, second level agenda setting and third level of agenda setting.

In **the first level of agenda setting**, the public believes in a reality that is constructed by a journalist (McCombs, 2004). This is to astern that people have opinions or information based on what the media have told them and not necessary from their experiences. Media agenda can be accessed by studying how many times an issue is repeated in news over a certain period of time, (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Traditional Agenda Setting Approach



Network Agenda Setting Model

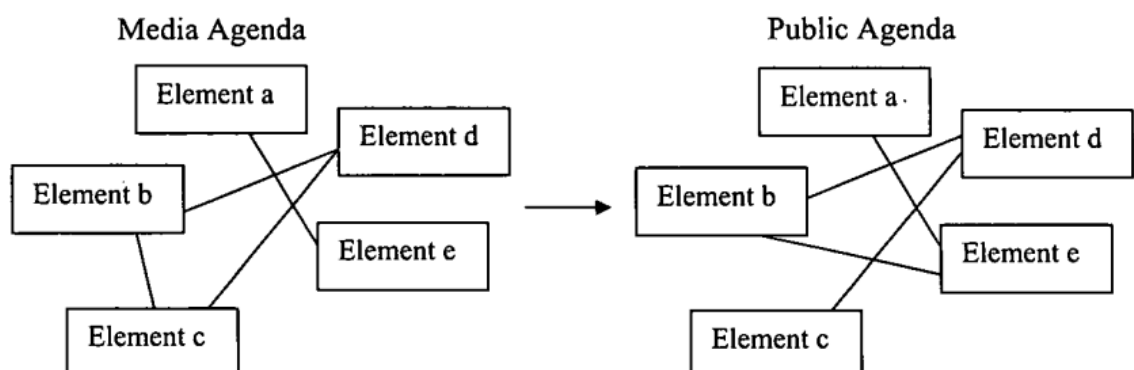


Fig 3.2 shows the differences among first level agenda setting, second level agenda setting and third level agenda setting.

Source: L. Guo, (2012).

McCombs and Shaw (1972) are of the view that it is through what the news editors select and show the public as important or news worthy that is called agenda setting. To get public attention, Mahapatra and Suresh (2015) cited in Nowak (2018) state that newspapers for instance, put important stories on the front page, the headline and the size of the story all contribute in bringing to attention, the media agenda. With television news, the lead stories would normally be mentioned at the start of the bulletin and more time spent talking about the story. Through repetition of certain issues by the media, the public ends up considering those stories as important and focus on them (Mahapatra and Suresh 2015 cited in Nowak 2018).

Second level agenda setting states that the media can influence public opinion by emphasising on the attributes of the object (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). When the media reports on certain features or attributes of a particular issue, people will always link that attribute to the issue and create a picture in their heads, based on that attribute (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). In an article on the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, McCombs (2006) also shows that media coverage does affect behaviours. In the case of the University of Pennsylvania, when there were many media reports of rape and violence cases on campus, this saw a decline in the admission of women and thus, one can argue about the influenced of media coverage (McCombs, 2004).

When Spain held its elections in 1996, voters in Navarra descriptions of the political leaders were based on media descriptions (Nowak, 2018). A similar case was found in the US elections, sketches of the 11 candidates were put in the *News week* and the results showed that voters and news agenda were linked (Nowak, 2018). The other example is on how the +60 people talked so much about social welfare, all because the media had focused on it during the elections. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) also noted that people make decisions or rate politicians or public figures, based on the 'issues of salience' to them and this process is referred to as priming. In

psychology, priming is selecting what one wants to pay attention to and this has been found to be the case even with the media audience (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), people select the topics they want to focus on because it is difficult to pay attention to everything and as a topic appears, the public uses bits and pieces of that information to form an opinion on the issue.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) also illustrate that as much as priming and attribute agenda setting influence the audience, it is the tone in the message that has an impact, a positive message will gain support and a negative message is likely to get less support. McCombs and Shaw (1972) give an example of the US elections where if a Republican was reported positively, this would increase supporters for the Republican Party, decreasing supporters for the Democratic Party and vice versa. They add that in the same vein, a negative headline about the state of the economy can create an impression that the country is struggling.

With the second level agenda setting, the attributes of media are examined to determine their effect on both the object salience and public opinion, with particular interest on cognitive and effective attributes (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). This level of the agenda setting theory is said to open a new chapter on the effects of media and how media can be persuasive (Nowak, 2018). In order to accommodate the changing media environment caused by new media, in 2004, McCombs and his associates came up with **third level agenda setting** which is network agenda-setting. This theory states that the more the media mention an object by its feature or attribute, the more the public associates the object with the attribute (McCombs, 2004). This level of agenda setting is the basis of this study, as it incorporates the social media.

The idea behind the third level agenda setting is that when media depict a presidential candidate as weak and incompetent, that candidate will be evaluated according to the attribute. This approach is being investigated and it looks at the extent the public agenda influences the media agenda, since new media allows users to publish and share news stories. The change in roles of the journalist and public has meant that journalists need to keep track of what is on social media and

then making it a media agenda (McCombs, 2004). This research is developing in the studies concerned with the effect of agenda setting on various regions and countries. The research has moved from focusing on media agenda and public agenda and it is now looking at media agenda and political agenda.

The frequency in which an issue such as politics is covered by the media has a bearing on public thinking (McCombs, 2004). The idea of third level agenda setting comes from research on cognitive process which assumes that we see the world in a network manner and not linear (McCombs, 2004). In network agenda, when a person receives new information, he or she links it to information he or she already has stored in the memory, McCombs (2004). In a study by McCombs and associates, they found that network agenda is also used in intermedia agendas, where similar issues are emphasised by the different media channels and the findings from that study also emphasised the idea that the media do set the agenda for the public (McCombs, 2004). In a study conducted from Chapel Hill voters, it showed that the most undecided people made their decisions based on what they saw on the media (McCombs, 2004). It was evident that different media shared the same agendas when results based on nine diverse media houses which include five newspapers, two television stations CBS and NBC and two magazines, The Times and News weekly came in showing similarities on the stories shared across the nine mentioned media (McCombs, 2006).

The first hypothesis is that a lot of people use the web to access news and information, seeing as the internet has become affordable and computers are not as expensive (McCombs, 2006). Due to that fact, a lot of agendas are presented, and users choose which agenda is of interest to them. On the other hand, the second hypothesis is that web users only use the web for communication, whereas traditional media focus on the publics' daily habits (McCombs, 2006).

In intermediate agenda setting, traditional journalists use blogs for news story and bloggers use traditional media for information (McCombs, 2004). This exchange of information, according to Messner and DiStaso (2011) cited in McCombs (2006), is in such a way that traditional media report on an issue, the bloggers focus on it, they then stir attention towards that issue, traditional media revisit that issue and the

bloggers gain interest on the issue again. Third level agenda setting analyses the effect of agenda setting in this new model and shows that objects move as agendas in groups and not individually, as with traditional media and the media are capable of influencing what and how we associate. Network agenda setting, unlike traditional agenda setting, goes a step further than first level and second level agenda because in this case, the media do not transfer into the public agenda, the salience of an issues, but a bundle of attributes.

With second level agenda setting, though attributes of an issue are presented differently from one medium to another, the topics might be similar, but attributes attached to the issue will differ; bloggers and internet users reframe issues in a totally different way from traditional media (McCombs, 2006).

Scholars study the salience of an issue in an attempt to understand the reasons behind selecting such an issue as important (Rodgers and Dearing 1988). The issue of salience is found in the second level of agenda setting and determines the importance of an issue in the public agenda and how that eventually influences policymakers incorporating such issues as a law or policy (Rodgers and Dearing, 1988). McCombs (1972) notes that not only do the media set the agenda, they also shape how the public understands and perceives a topic.

3.3.2 Agenda setting and agenda melding

To measure the influence of media agenda on public agenda, media channels being used need to be looked at, because different media channels have different effects (McCombs, 2004). Agenda melding does not replace agenda setting, but it is a concept introduced to help explain new technologies with old theories to show the flexibility of old theories in a new environment (Nowak, 2018). In fact, it combines personal agendas into one collective agenda, explaining the effects of agenda setting from one person to another. It also looks at the effects of different media channels (Nowak, 2018). It focuses on the functioning of vertical (traditional) and horizontal media (civic, new media). Horizontal media normally represent topics from mainstream agenda and studies proved that there is a relationship between vertical and horizontal media, and that each could set the public agenda, even though vertical media is still dominant (Nowak, 2018).

3.3.3 Challenges of the agenda setting theory

The agenda setting theory comes with its challenges, as most studies done within the theory use the typical first level agenda setting approach of how media is influencing public opinion (Weiman and Brosius, 2016). This has raised a lot of questions and critics of the theory argue that this theory and its methodology fail to show or demonstrate the link between mass media and public opinion, basing their arguments on one study, the Chapel Hill study (McCombs, 2006). However, later studies verified the legitimacy and accuracy of the theory and its methodology throughout USA, Poland and Western America (McCombs, 2006).

Takeshita (1997) agrees that some of the effects of the agenda setting theory are most prominently seen on highly educated groups, as opposed to their less educated counterparts. McCombs (1972) argues that as much as the media do have an effect on the public, the public is still able to make its own decisions. His argument is that the media basically lays the foundation for the public on what is 'important' and its relevance or impact on the public opinion, but ultimately, the decision lies with the person. The Clinton-Lewinsky scandal is a typical example of how media coverage failed to grab public attention, as the public did not see the relevance of the scandal (McCombs, 2004). According to Freeland (2012), the audience effects model comes to effect when the audiences react to issues that they are most sensitive to, or are relevant to them only when such issues are discussed in the media. Those who relate to the issue are less likely to be swayed by media as opposed to those less sensitive to it. Research shows that if the issue is closer to home, it has the power to affect the public, for example, increase in food prices or unemployment rate would affect someone who is unemployed. The same issue would have less effect on someone who is employed (Freeland, 2012).

McCombs and Shaw (1972) add that public opinion is formed by salience of objects in which the media's coverage of public personalities in the media has a bearing on how the public will view that person. An example is the US presidential candidates between 1980 and 1996, which revealed that candidates were judged by the public, following the media's depiction of them (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Maher (2001) pointed out that the founders of the agenda setting theory did not provide information on how the psychological effects brought by the agenda setting theory occur. One of the scholars who attempted to show the effects of agenda setting (Iyengar 1996 cited in Takeshita, 1987). He came up with the accessibility bias model which states that the more a person is exposed to information in media, the higher the chances that information sticks into that person's memory such that when that person is asked a question, she or he retrieves information previously exposed to in the media.

Agenda setting has been known as the transfer of information considered important by the media (McCombs and Shaw, 1977). Scheffle (1999) argues that this is not a true reflection of the effects of media, noting that the importance of a message and perceived importance of a message are two different concepts. Based on an experiment done by Nelson, Clawson and Oxley (1997), where accessibility was measured by the speed to stimulus words shown on a computer, while perceived importance was measured using a self-report question (Takeshita, 1997). The findings showed that theoretically, the perceived importance was more viable than accessibility.

Other studies have been conducted to question the validity of the accessibility model. Geer (1991) got evidence that contradicts this view. In his experiment, the participants responded with what they thought about, as well as the information they had recently heard. Miller and Krosnick (2000) cited in Takeshita (1997), in their experiment, concluded that participants exposed to more media and had opinions on current affairs were the ones with the strongest effect on agenda setting, yet those less exposed to media had a less effect on agenda setting. This proved that agenda setting is in two types: the first group of audience were active in the consumption of news and it was 'genuine' agenda setting which is active and not passive, as opposed to the other group where agenda setting is automatic and can be explained by the accessibility bias mode.

It is important to clarify what salience means because this is where Scheffle's (1999) criticism of the agenda setting theory lies. His argument is that accessibility

and salience are not the same, as cognitive psychologists suggested. However, the word 'salience' has a different meaning to different scholars in different discipline. The question is how the founders of the agenda setting defined salience. It should be noted that McCombs and Shaw graduated in journalism and had no background in cognitive psychology; hence, they would not have attached the concept of accessibility as a definition of salience (Takeshita, 1997).

Secondly, Takeshita (1997) points out that there is concern over the growth of media outlets which would minimise media agenda setting and hence, the theory will be obsolete, and the reversed roles of the receiver and sender will force traditional outlets to submit to the agendas set, instead of setting the agenda as the norm. Unlike with previous decades where editors choose what topics to use as news, media houses find themselves getting direction from the public as to what to include as news (Weimann, 2014: 808). All these are assumptions but there has not been research done to confirm this. McCombs (2006) supports this idea stating that with diversity in media, they can be different agendas and individuals can decide which agenda to pursue.

3.4 Framing theory

There is a clash between the agenda setting theory and the framing theory, as they are similar and closely related (Takeshita, 1997). The framing concept was developed first in the 1980's and it looked at how the media cover issues by applying certain frames. The difference between the two concepts is that the framing theory addresses issues that are ignored by traditional agenda setting and it focuses on a specific issue. Traditional agenda setting on the other hand tackles many issues and not just one (Takeshita, 1997). Agenda setting researchers advanced the traditional agenda setting concept and called it the second level of agenda setting or as it is sometimes called, the attribute agenda setting (Ghanem 1997; Takeshita, 1997). The second level agenda setting concept looks at an individual or specific issue or object, for instance, when covering a news story, emphasis is placed on a certain attitude and others ignored (Takeshita, 1997). As a result, the agenda setting research and framing tackle the same problems. Researchers of the framing concept have accused the agenda setting researchers of imitating the framing concept.

McCombs and Shaw maintain that the second level of agenda setting is merely an extension of the original concept and not a replica of framing. Their argument is based on studies done in 1976 and these studied the attributes of the US presidential candidates.

Agenda setting theorists McCombs and Ghanem (2011) suggest that framing should be part of agenda setting, as it does to a certain extent, fall into the attribute level of the agenda setting concept. However, framing theorists argue that agenda setting is too narrow, and it does not look at the origins of frames and the active role audience plays when receiving the frames (Gamsen, 2001 as cited in Takeshita, 1997). But if this matter is put into perspective, framing is much broader as it covers various disciplines such as sociology, psychology and others, whilst agenda setting is only concerned with mass communication, hence, the odds of framing concepts being swallowed by agenda setting are close to nil (Takeshita, 1997).

Takeshiro (1997) believes that the two theories should not converge, but rather each should be able to explore and contribute into the different disciplines. According to Mahr (2001), the loophole with the agenda setting theory is that it is said to have an effect, but the effects were never investigated. The biggest challenge that agenda setting theorists have yet to address is that the media are transforming and evolving, and all findings from studies done on new media are still based on the 1st level agenda setting theory (Castells, 2013). Suggestions on how to address this problem were that the media be split into three media formats, traditional offline, traditional online and social networks (Weiman and Brosius, 2016) and should be treated differently. With new media growing in popularity and traditional media still taking a central position in media systems, this has seen these two compete with each other, work together and contribute in the communication sector. Despite all these challenges with the agenda setting theory, the researcher chose to use this theory because it is the most relevant in answering the research questions. The other theories described cannot go unnoticed when dealing with the agenda setting theory, but they cannot answer the research question effectively, if used independently. Although the studies on social media are limited, they may have been successful in showing the effects or impact of the agenda setting theory in relation to the traditional media.

3.6 The role of agenda setting in social media

Before getting to agenda setting, the initial stage is agenda building, which is described by McCombs (2001) as a process through which the media choose the stories that take precedence over others. Grzywinska and Borden (2012) describe it as a process of selecting which stories or topics of preference. In agenda building, Zach and Molleda cited in Grzywinska and Borden (2012), postulated that it starts with who started the story and what the nature of the story is. Media agenda building might have changed, but the issues on both traditional and new media are still similar and to substantiate this claim, a study carried out in USA revealed that 3900 news items were compared and popular topics were covered by both traditional and new media (McCombs, 2011).

Scheufele, cited in Thomas (2013), argues that agenda building is the first stage of both media and public agenda. Sheaffer and Weimann, cited in Thomas (2013), add that media outlets indulge in agenda building in a bid to satisfy their audiences' needs. This brings to question, who exactly are the audiences? Can it be an average citizen or powerful figure using social media that influences the media. As new media is growing, the traditional media, which constitutes- radios, television and newspapers, are incorporating some elements from social media and competing with each other, but both channels are focused on communicating (Feezell, 2017). Social media are feared to have fragmented the audience and social observers predict that the agenda setting theory will lose its significance, as there are now many agendas (Feezell, 2017)

In social media, journalism practices have changed in the sense that the public now participates in news sharing and the question of news organizations setting the agenda is being challenged (Lee 2015). In 2003, Lasica an online journalist, stated that social media are in fact now part of the mainstream media (Singer, Domingo and Hermida, 2011:45). Pew research agrees with this view, stating that news is now socially shared and ordinary people have published stories of significance before the mainstream could get the scoop. Such stories include *The Moldova protest* in 2009, where activists used Twitter and Facebook to organise protests to express their

unhappiness over the elections, even though local mainstream media did not cover the event, pictures and videos put on social media managed to grab international attention (Mahapanta and Suresh, 2013 cited in Nowak 2018).

In India, social media was used by protestors seeking justice for the gang raped victim named 'Damini' or 'Nirbhaya'. A movement called 'The Black Dot Shame' was started on social media and it gained momentum and saw many Facebook users using the black dot on their profiles, symbolising the shame of the government's inability to protect its citizens (Mahapatra and Suresh, 2013 cited in Nowak, 2018). "The Black dot" Facebook page was used as a way of reaching out to the victim and showing her that they were mourning the brave girl and people showed their support by liking the posts. As Mahapatra and Suresh 2013 cited in Nowak 2018 highlight, it was the first time Indians used social media for social justice. Gaurav Mishra, a social media analyst estimated that there was a total of 1.5 million people who supported this movement.

The biggest case study on the power of social media was of the Iran elections in 2009, where Iranians protested over the elections which they believed to have been unfair (Newman, 2009). Government authorities did not want the rest of the world to know so they tried in vain to block the internet and harassed bloggers who were giving out information. A PEJ report on Iran's elections showed that Iran dominated online more than other issues; online activity on Twitter was high, as users were sharing information and organizing support for Iran (Newman, 2009). In as much as traditional media covered the issue by 28% and devoted the rest of the time to other issues, the differences in the amount of attention given to the issues showed that both traditional and social media put the Iran issue on the forefront (Newman, 2009). At the same time, Western journalists coming in to cover the story were restricted and they began to rely entirely on social media content to get a glimpse of what was happening in Iran (Newman, 2009).

Despite the fact that mainstream media relied on social media for information, Stelther (2009), in his article: *Journalism Rules are Bent in News Coverage From Iran*, argues that journalists could not verify the information and sources as they could not access Iran. He says this forced journalists to report information as it came

and then ask questions later. Traditional media had to use information from bloggers (Newman, 2009). CNN iReport even hired Farsi speakers to interpret what was being heard on some of the videos received and also as Newman (2009) indicates, out of the 6000 stories which CNN received, only 200 made it to television, as it emerged that some information turned out to be false, since journalists had little choice but to use social media yet compromising the principles of verifying stories.

According to the Project of Excellence Journalism (PEJ), 60% of the links from blogs and Twitter were all about Iran (Newman, 2009). There were even issues on the importance of social media discussed and articles on how the Iranians could post things without being censored, were all part of conversations online (Newman 2009). Stelter (2009) argued that the Cable News Network (CNN) coverage of the protests was received with mixed emotions, as many people felt that they needed to cover more of the story and the protest in real time.

CNN, New York Times, the Huffington Post and the *Guardian* used social media as part of their coverage. Matthew Weaver from *The Guardian* spent days blogging the activities (Newman, 2009). In Newman's (2009) opinion social media enhanced news gathering possibilities instead of journalists having to go out for stories, the stories presented themselves on the web.

Mark Jones, the Head of Reuters, believes that the role of traditional media in breaking news stories is changing. The issue with Iran, as illustrated by Newman (2009), has seen it being labelled as a "Twitter revolution" because Twitter was used as the main tool in distributing information on the situation of Iran to the world. Newman (2009) suggests that the traditional media run after social media in breaking news stories in future. However, Andrew Keen cited in Newman (2009), asserts that the Iran situation will always be remembered through the eyes of traditional media and not social media, despite the fact that social media played a big part in reporting the Iran elections.

3.7 Studies on agenda setting role of social media

Research previously done on social media, such as agenda setting, investigated bloggers and how issues raised on blogs seemed to make their way to mainstream media (Burns, 2013). After analysing hundreds of videos on Youtube in a survey in 2010, a group of scholars found that news on Youtube allowed users to air out their views on socially and politically relevant issues, as opposed to the mainstream media which selected individuals within society to comment on issues (Freeland, 2017). It was also found that the social media did not censor content, whereas the mainstream media was seen to be covering some issues (Grzywinska and Borden, 2012).

Freeland (2012) believes that the media agenda setting can longer apply in this digital world, because the public is able to choose which media they want to consume and social media encourage a two way model of communication. McCombs and Shaw (2004) agree with this view, stating that fragmentation in the audience due to the rise of many media outlets is a threat to the agenda setting theory, and more and more people are gaining access to the internet, with the young and affluent accessing the web more. The agendas found online are more diverse than those on traditional media and as the web is growing, more people are choosing what they want to see (McCombs, 2006). Hamilton (2004) found that five of America's largest newspapers namely the *New York Times*, *Washington post*, *Los Angeles times*, *USA Today* and *Wall street journal*, had a circulation of 21.5% and a 41.4% online links (McCombs, 2006).

Seeing as it is difficult to validate the agenda setting theory, this study thus analyses to what extent do social media (public opinion) influence traditional media reporting. The objective of this study is to show that social media do play a part in setting the agenda for traditional media and that it can change the journalists' role.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, theories were discussed. However, the agenda setting theory emerged as the best theory to use in answering the research questions. Based on the literature, it is evident that this theory has evolved with time, as explained by the

different levels that have been developed within this theory to accommodate the media changes. The methodology chapter describes the research paradigms, methods and techniques used in order to collect relevant data for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

A research methodology entails scientific procedures undertaken to achieve the objectives of the study and is a discussion on what methods were used, how they were selected and applied in the study (Kumar, 2005). It gives reasoning on why certain techniques and methods were used in the context of the study (Kumar, 2005). However, the chosen methods should correlate with the research questions and the description of the methods used should also be clear and give enough information on how research was conducted, so that other researchers can reproduce the same results (Von Diether, 2016). The methodology, according to Kumar (2005), should be able to answer the following questions:

- How and where will you collect the data?
- Which methods will you use to collect the data?
- Why did you use this method?
- How will the method answer the research questions?

In view of the above, this chapter describes the methodology undertaken to answer the research questions of this study amongst other things.

4.2 Research paradigm

A research paradigm should guide every study, because in order for research to be considered as valid, it has to be based on some underlying philosophical assumptions which give direction to what research method is appropriate for the development of knowledge in a study (Antiwa and Hamza, 2015). A paradigm can be described as a set of beliefs, assumptions and values shared by researchers on how research and research problems should be tackled within a research study (Kuhn 1977). In essence, paradigms describe the accepted structure or framework within the academic world of how scientific and academic ideas can be handled (Olsen, Lodwick and Dunlop, 1992).

Paradigms are characterised by three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology, which differ in their approaches on how to conduct research and their contributions (TerreBlanche and Durrheim, 1999). Ontology is how the researcher

sees the truth, epistemology is how you get knowledge about the truth and methodology is the method used in conducting the research (Antwi and Hamza, 2015). It is through addressing these three elements that the research process is guided in terms of research methods to use and the analysis of data is determined (Antwi and Hamza, 2015). Each of these are different and ignoring the differences could result in researchers combining paradigms that are inappropriate, hence, it is important to understand each paradigm individually.

4.1.1 Philosophical assumptions of positivistic paradigm

Ontology focuses on articulating the structure of the world and the realities and what is known about it (Wand and Weber, 1993). A positivistic ontology paradigm assumes a quantitative methodology, and this is based on August Comte's ideas that to understand human behaviour, observation and reason are the best instruments (Antiwa and Hamza, 2015). Those who support this view assume that reality can be measured, while objective and scientific methods are used to quantify and enhance the accuracy of data collected (Antiwa and Hamza, 2015). This study will thus use this positivist ontology paradigm to explore the effects of social media on agenda setting of traditional media and the outcomes and variables will be presented in quantitative terms.

The epistemological assumptions that positivistic hold is that the purpose of research is to give a scientific explanation (Antiwa and Hamza, 2015). Their approach is to combine deductive logic with empirical observations of human behaviour in order to discover or confirm the reasons behind certain behaviours (Ulin, Robinson and Tolley, 2004). The assumption is that through the use of science, it is possible to get a close approximation to reality (Ulin et al., 2004). Based on the above, this research also employed the quantitative methods which use the deductive approach in order to confirm or refute the presence of the agenda setting effects on traditional media.

4.1.2 Philosophical assumptions of Interpretative paradigm

For the qualitative part of this study the interpretative epistemology was used for the purpose of exploring the effects of social media. With the interpretative paradigm the world is analysed from a subjective view based on individual experiences, and relationship between the researcher and subjects (Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994). This paradigm interprets the meaning of what has been observed (Merriam, 1997). The

paradigm is also naturalistic as it uses real world events, as they happen naturally without alterations or interference from the researcher (Merriam, 1988). Qualitative research uses this approach as it allows the researcher to interact with the subjects and gain a deeper understanding of subjects, thus producing rich information (Ulin, Robinson and Tolley, 2004). Meaning placed on subjects' experiences is mediated through the researcher's own perceptions (Merriam, 1998). Researchers using this method usually interact with people and analyse existing documents or artefacts (Merriman, 1998). They also analyse words, conduct the study in a natural setting in order to understand the subjects of study (Merriam, 1997). It is for this reason the qualitative studies are inductive, because they pay attention to the object of study in its unique context. In this study qualitative methods will be used to explore the effects of social media.

According to Kawulich and Holland (2012), interpretivists, unlike positivists believe that reality is subjective because it is socially constructed and there is no one reality, but multiple realities. Statements on what is true or false are based on experiences that could be from historical experiences and or cultural experiences (Kawulich and Holland, 2012). Interpretivists interpret findings based on interactions and aim to understand the specific subject of enquiry without generalising findings to a population (Farzanfar, 2005).

4.2 Methodologies

A research methodology translates ontology (what is the reality) and an epistemology (how do I know the reality) principles as guidelines of how a research should be conducted. This involves the procedures and practices that govern research (Sarantakos, 2005). Methodology is a procedure that can be used to acquire knowledge (Crotty, 1998).

4.3 Content analysis

In this study, content analysis will be used as a methodology to understand the impact of media on people (Macnamara, 2003). Content analysis is being used across different disciplines due to the fact that it deals with analysis of any text. Content analysis is defined by Neuendorf (2002) as the channel which allows one to

make inferences from data provided in order to draw conclusions. Berger (1991: 25) says:

“Content analysis ... is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art”.

Furthermore, content analysis can be applied to study texts from published material such as newspapers, magazines, interviews and discussions, (Macnamara, 2003). Palmquist (1980) posits that content analysis focuses on the content of media to determine the presence of certain trends, themes and words within texts. Texts include books, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and conversations (Palmquist, 1980). Content analysis can be used to examine both the latent and manifest content of text. Latent content encompasses the parts of a message that can be counted and the manifest content is in the form of images that can be analysed deeply and inferences drawn (Macnamara, 2003). For example, when more images of women are used every time when there is mention of domestic work or child minders that can point to gender stereotyping (Macnamara, 2003).

Berelson (1952) cited by Palmquist (1980) reveals the use of content analysis as a tool of identifying differences in communication in the international world, behavioural and attitudes differences and intentions. Content analysis became popular during the World War II when the US government sponsored a project which looked at Harold Lasswell's dictatorship to evaluate enemy propaganda (Macnamara, 2003). Results obtained from this project were successful in making content analysis a recognised methodology in research, eventually all the other disciplines used it and it has gained credibility of late (Macnamara 2003). Neuendorf (2002:27) cites studies from Riffe and Freitag (1997) and Yale and Gilly (1988) that show that content analysis methodology use had increased from 6.3% in 1971 to over 34% in 1995. Fowler affirmed this by reporting that in 1980's more than 50% of masters' level research methods will use content analysis and it is fast growing especially in the communication and journalism disciplines respectively (Neuendorf, 2002).

4.3.1 Views on content analysis

Neuendorf (2000) does not acknowledge qualitative methods as content analysis, arguing that content analysis is quantitative research mainly because it pays attention to reliability, objectivity, validity, replicability and it is used to test a hypothesis. Qualitative analysis as she put it, is mainly descriptive and can be categorised as narrative analysis, discourse analysis or critical analysis. She does acknowledge though that qualitative analyses can be used minimally in content analysis (Neuendorf 2000). Shoemaker and Reece on the other hand, do not agree with Neuendorf's (2002) definition of content analysis as a quantitative research. Shoemaker and Reece state that depending on the approach one is using, content analysis can be used in both qualitative, quantitative and both qualitative and quantitative research (Neuendorf, 2002).

Qualitative content analysis has been criticised by some researchers as unreliable because it relies on the researchers' interpretation of text (Neuendorf, 2002). On the upside, qualitative analysis of texts is said to produce data with deeper meanings and understanding, especially when analysing media content (Cresswell, 2002). On the other hand, quantitative content analysis is said to conform to the scientific method and produce reliable findings, whilst qualitative content analysis is difficult and maybe impossible to do with scientific reliability (Creswell, 2002). The use of both methods will thus ensure the shortcomings of one method is compensated by another.

Despite these arguments content analysis was chosen because the use of secondary data allows for easy accessibility of data, one can get new insights analysing data and the researcher cannot influence data like with interviews and observations because someone else has collected the data already (Krippendorff, 2004). The downfall of using secondary data is that the researcher has no control over the quality of data, as someone else has collected the data already, if the data is not necessarily relevant to the research, it might address a certain portion of the research and not answer all the research questions (Krippendorff, 2004)

4.4 Data Collection

4.4.1 Daily newspapers

To examine how social media are affecting the reporting of news in traditional media, data was collected from three daily newspapers- the *Citizen*, the *Sowetan* and *New Age* (Afro Voice) and Facebook. The three publications selected were all daily newspapers, written in English and they are among South Africa's largest publications and are printed in tabloid form (Hadland 2007). Patterson (2016) states that tabloids are sensational, less serious in tone and have a predominately older, middle class readership.

These publications were chosen because of their widespread reach, which can be assumed to represent the traditional media's view; they cover stories of human interest, they have an online presence, as evidenced by their Facebook and Twitter accounts and they circulate in hard copy, as well as electronically. The *Citizen* was founded in 1976 and is currently based in Johannesburg. It has been around for a while, dating back to the Apartheid era (Harber, 2006). This newspaper is currently under CTP and Caxton and it caters for the black middle-class men (Harber, 2006). The *Citizen* newspaper was the only English language newspaper that was pro-government and reported favourably on the then ruling government, the National Party (NP) (Harber, 2006). As was mentioned before, English publications were funded by foreign investors who were anti-government and were against the apartheid system. The newspaper, under new ownership, has tried a couple of times to revamp over the years and improve its online presence (Marsh, 2012). The paper does have a weekly sports edition which is called *Saturday Citizen* and a readership of over 300000 in December 2017 (Marsh, 2012).

The *Sowetan* newspaper was founded in 1981 during apartheid and it replaced the *Post Transvaal* newspaper (Sparks, 2009). The *Post Transvaal* was banned by the government and they decided to use The *Sowetan* (Sparks, 2009). The *Sowetan* as we know it today, started off as a weekly Saturday and Sunday paper, but not for long, as it was not financially viable (Sparks, 2009). During the struggle, the *Sowetan* was a liberation struggle newspaper and was distributed in the segregated township of Soweto (Sparks, 2009). Post-apartheid, the newspaper was still struggling with sales as most people thought it had stories on Soweto the township (Sparks, 2009).

It had to stop distribution to Port Elizabeth and Cape Town because of poor sales, but after a few years the paper was accepted and sales went up (Sparks, 2009). The newspaper is under the Times Media Group and currently has a readership of almost 2 million people and in 2006 it had a circulation of 124000 (Sparks, 2009).

The New Age newspaper was owned by the Guptas family under TNA Media (Finlay, 2017). The owner of the paper said its aim is to report positively about government to provide constructive criticism (Finlay, 2017). According to the South Africa Research Foundation's official All Media Products Survey (AMPS), the newspaper had a readership of over 100000 between January and December 2017 (Gibney and Crook, 2018). The same newspaper was awarded a controversial tender where they could distribute free copies at the Cape Town International Airport (Finlay, 2017).

The paper's short life span was tainted by accusations of impartial reporting of the president and the ruling party ANC (Hlongwane, 2010). The Gupta family was reported to be close to the former President Jacob Zuma (Gibney and Crooks, 2018). That relationship opened up a can of worms when it was discovered in 2013 that government enterprises such as Telkom and Eskom funded the New Age Business Breakfast with millions of rands (Gibney and Crooks, 2018). This story and many more others were reported by the media throughout when the researcher was covering the resignation of former president Jacob Zuma and events after that.

When Mr Nene, the finance minister was abruptly dismissed, this newspaper and its sister station ANN7 went to great lengths to discredit the minister by fabricating evidence and biased stories all to justify the President's actions (Gibney and Crooks, 2018). After the owners of this publication were being investigated for corruption, they sold the publication, but the damage done to the reputation of the newspaper was too great such that the paper did not survive even after new ownership (Gibney and Crooks, 2018). Despite attempts to re-brand to Afro Voice, the paper still closed down (Gibney and Crooks, 2018). Although the newspaper is no longer operating, stories on the newspaper were collected from archives. Choosing this publication was a deliberate move in order to see how they reported the Zuma story to make it more favourable.

4.4.2 Jacob Zuma stories

Jacob Zuma is a controversial political figure and the fourth President of the independent South Africa (Gumede, 2008). The former president has been labelled the accidental president who ascended into office because of his appealing 'man of the people' attitude, as opposed to his predecessor, Thabo Mbeki (Southall, 2011). At the time he was elected as president, he had a string of criminal charges hanging over him and he was being investigated for 783 criminal charges including fraud, racketeering and corruption (Southall, 2011). Despite the allegations of wrongdoing, he was acquitted of all charges and in 2007 he took over from Thabo Mbeki (Gumede, 2008).

Jacob Zuma is a person of interest because during his tenure as the president, he brought the South African economy to its knees (Karadia and Soni, 2016). His decision to fire the former Minister of Finance, Mr N Nene on the 9th December 2015, without a valid reason, opened up the President and his party to public scrutiny and criticism (Karadia and Soni, 2016). This led to ratings agencies moving South Africa to junk status and investor confidence reduced, prospective investors repelled, and this brought frustration to the masses (Karadia and Soni, 2016).

According to analysts, the rand plummeted to the worst ever since the terrorist attack on America on the 9th of September 2001, also known as the (9/11), and it was predicted that South Africa would fall into recession (Karadia and Soni, 2016). What this means is that without investors, there would be no job creation, instead there would be job losses and high inflation if investors pull out. South Africans saw interest rates increase and a tax hike.

Although the reasons behind the firing of the finance minister were never clear, Karadia and Soni (2016) suggest that he was fired because he kept the purse strings tight and kept a close eye on governments expenditure, seeing as the time when South Africa could not afford reckless spending. The two projects which the former President Zuma wanted to spend on unnecessarily included the South African Airways (SAA) which was continuously being bailed out for reckless expenditure and the Russian nuclear deal (Karadia and Soni, 2016). The South African President had promised the Russian President the nuclear deal in 2014 and Mr Nene's delay in authorising the transactions frustrated the President (Karadia and Soni, 2016).

Going ahead with the Russian nuclear deal at a time when South Africa could not afford it would mean that South Africa would be in debt that would be paid up in over a decade (Karadia and Soni 2016).

The sacking of Nene saw Mr David Van Rooyen being appointed, even though he had no experience and his failure in previous position made him an unlikely candidate for any position (Karadia and Soni, 2016). He was also fired as the Finance Minister after he held the position for only a few days and he was replaced by Pravin Gordhan who had been the Minister of Finance previously, from 2009 to 2014. In essence, South Africa had three finance ministers in one week (Karadia and Soni, 2016).

Through all this, the ANC said nothing, only on the 14th of December did they issue out a statement announcing that they were in support of the President and that the decision to sack Nene was taken six months ago (Karadia and Soni, 2016). All these events taking place saw the President being put under scrutiny and hence, such Facebook pages as #Zumamustfall were created all in abide to push the President to resign. It is unfortunate that the former statesman's decision created more enemies for himself even from within ANC allies which include the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest union publicly criticised the President's decision (Karadia and Soni, 2016). These unions felt they should also have been consulted and been part of the decision-making in the firing of the Minister. In an interview that the SACP and COSATU leaders had with the *Mail and Guardian*, the union leaders did not mince their words in expressing their disappointment with the ANC in reaching decisions without notifying them (Steyn and Donnelley, 2016). The cracks in the tripartite alliance could be seen developing.

Numerous times, the opposition parties tried to impeach the President, but he survived due to the backing of his party the ANC (Southall, 2011). On the upside, the appointment of Pravin Gordhan as Finance Minister brought stability to the economy but the damage had been done, the people of South Africa wanted the President gone. The public protested, asking him to step down, a Facebook page #Zumamustfall was used to organise these protests, all to no avail (Karadia and Soni, 2016).

Having mentioned all this, it is only in February 2018 that things took a turn. It is in this period that this study pays more attention to, as consequences of the President's actions are awarded. The breakthrough came when his own party which had previously protected him asked him to step down or face impeachment in Parliament (Donelley and Steyn 2016 cited in Karadia and Soni, 2016). It must be noted that the President had not finished his term of office and his Deputy, Cyril Ramaphosa, took over from him.

4.4.3 Facebook

Facebook was chosen because it is the most used social media platform in South Africa, and this is the home of the #Zumamustfall movement. Although there were three pages with a relationship with the #Zumamustfall movement, only one of these pages, which was the first to be opened when the movement started, was used. On this page, there were 145 600 likes and 14 535 followers by September 2018 when the researcher collected data. The second page on Facebook was created after the first one and this one is called #Zumamustfall Gauteng. The researcher did not use it because it was confined more to those living in Gauteng and could not be a representation of the views of the whole country. Twitter, even though less popular in South Africa, had a similar page created in 2016, it managed to attract 1612 followers, 117likes and 117 tweets. These social sites were used to organise marches, protests and news on Zuma that was reported on traditional media was shared there.

Data collected on Facebook was that from the 1st of February to 30TH of June 2018, the #Zumamustfall movement's objectives were to represent the views of South African citizens from all political, social and religious spheres (Mazibuko, 2015). The movement was formed because of the political instability, economic decline and certain decisions taken by the President which negatively impacted on the country and made the masses unhappy with the President's leadership (Mazibuko, 2015). The founders of this page felt the President's leadership was smeared with corruption, lack of accountability and those who suffered were the average citizens.

In view of that, Facebook was used because it is the most common platform South Africa, as previously mentioned. Only posts in connection with the Zuma stories were selected and any other stories that were posted were not considered. Drawing

from the existing agenda setting analysis, the researcher used posts and articles as the data for inclusion in this study. As per the methodology requirements, when using content analysis, the researcher had to come up with a coding list or guide. As Macnamara (2003) states, the more comprehensive the coding list and guidelines to coders, the more reliable the analysis will be. The code list was classified into these categories. The list was derived from Grzywińska and Borden (2012) and was adjusted accordingly to suit this study.

- a) The name of the medium used. This included the *Citizen*, *The Sowetan* and the *NewAge (Afro Voice)*.
- b) Date of the publication: this will explain when the story was first published
- c) The type of publication: this divides data into two categories, traditional media (newspapers) and social media (Facebook)
- d) The researcher examined all the headlines that have the key words.

To collect data on Facebook the researcher used this list:

- a) Does the headline mention Zuma?
- b) How many comments or likes are there for each story?
- c) Date of publication

4.5 Ethical considerations

The researcher applied for ethical clearance from the research committee to ensure the research was of no risk. Since the study did not involve human participation, the issues of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity did not apply. In this study, the former President Jacob Zuma was used as an example of how social media have become a drive in agenda setting, hence it should be noted that all information collected about him is information in the public domain. All sources of information for this study have been acknowledged.

4.6 Sampling

Content analysis was used to study the newspaper articles from the 1st of February to 30 June 2018. Purposive sampling of the print media was used as it has been identified by Palys (2008) to be the best method of analysing media publications. Quantitative data was collected first to examine the effects of social media and newspapers were used for this. After searching for the relevant newspaper articles

on Sabinet, a total of 133 articles were retrieved. This electronic database contains a number of newspaper articles and it shows dates, pages number and name of publication.

The initial search yielded over 140 articles, as the researcher used the word 'Zuma' only and it turned out there were other Zumas like Duduzane Zuma and Nkosana Zuma- Dlamini making headlines around that time. This prompted a second search and this time the words 'Jacob Zuma' were used to identify the person of interest for this study. All articles which contained headlines with the words Jacob Zuma were used. Of all these articles, the *Citizen* had 96 articles, followed by *The Sowetan* with 21 articles and the *New Age (Afro Voice)* with 16 articles. The New Age recorded the lowest number of articles on Zuma because just after the President resigned, the Guptas who owned the publication were investigated for alleged corruption, money laundering and state capture, which led them to leave the country and moved to Dubai, claiming they were innocent (Gibney and Crook, 2018). The paper was later sold to Jimmy Manyi, who changed the newspaper name to Afro Voice, hence, all the data collected from this publication start from the month of May 2018 (Gibney and Crook, 2018). It is important to note that advertisements and opinion pieces were not included. The Zuma story was a conscious decision as it caused a lot of political and social turmoil in South Africa.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter described the step by step research process and methods employed in the study. It also discussed and explained why certain research methods were chosen over others. The aims and principles of the methodology were explored as well as an overview of how data were collected and evaluated. The next chapter will give an analysis of data, findings and the discussion on whether the results addressed the research questions.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the data analysis processes in relation to the quantitative and qualitative content analysis is outlined. The findings of the research are discussed in relation to the objectives of the study. This chapter also show the importance of this study and what it will contribute to the communications field.

5.1.1 Advantages of using Qualitative and Quantitative methods

Antiwa and Hamaza (2003) support the use of both methods in one study as it compensates for the shortfall of the other. In this study, for example, qualitative methods could not measure the effects of social media as quantitative methods would, whilst quantitative methods could not explore the agenda setting theory part of the research question. By using both quantitative and qualitative methods, the researcher is able to answer some research questions that would otherwise have not been addressed if one method had been used.

Using qualitative and quantitative methods allows the researcher flexibility in terms of choosing data gathering tools to use (Creswell, 2006). According to Creswell (2006), both quantitative and qualitative methods complement one another, as it has been argued that quantitative research is weak in understanding the context of the setting and the voice of the participants is not heard. Whilst quantitative studies have also come under fire for using findings that are based on the researcher's point of view, using both methods will ensure such weakness are offset by the other method (Creswell, 2006).

According to Tariq and Woodman (2010), the results from both qualitative and quantitative methods can help develop the other method. Through use of the results from both methods, areas that need more attention are identified and new insights can be generated (Tariq and Woodman, 2010).

However, using both methods in one study is not easy because the researcher needs to know how to collect and present both forms of data (Creswell, 2006). Secondly, mixing quantitative and qualitative methods is seen as problematic

because these two methods use different paradigms (Tariq and Woodman, 2010). Researchers argue that it is not possible to combine these two methods as they collect data differently and their paradigms view the world differently (Tariq and Woodman, 2010).

The table below gives an overview of the difference between qualitative and quantitative methods (Lee 1992).

Qualitative	Quantitative
Data collected is in the form of words and picture	Data collected is in numbers.
Used to generate a new theory	used to test existing theory
Exploratory	Examines
Study in natural setting	Use experiments
Researchers are close to the object of study as they collect data	Study from a distance and use tools such as questionnaires used to measure what is being observed
View human behaviour as ever changing	Assumes human behaviour is predictable and can be explained.
Takes subjective approach	Takes objective approach
Inductive approach	Deductive approach

5. 2 Process of data analysis

As per the methodology requirements, when using content analysis, the researcher had to come up with a coding list or guide to analysis this data, Neuendorf (2005) flowchart for content analysis was used.

5.2.1 Quantitative analysis

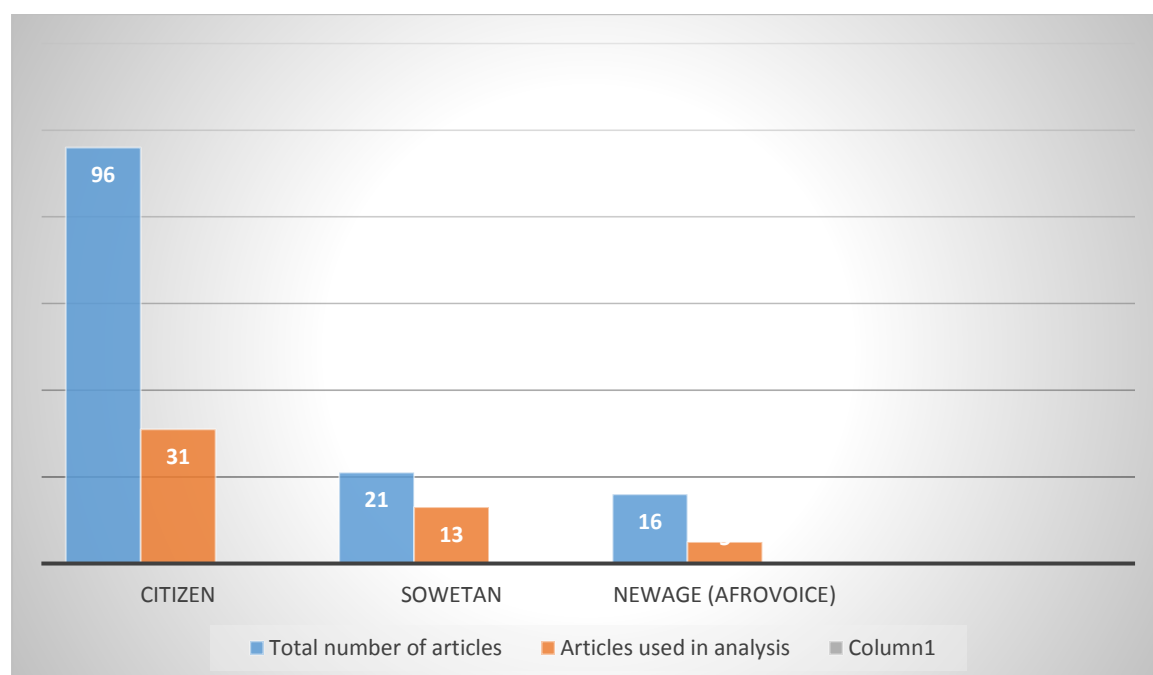
1. Theory and rationale- In this study the agenda setting theory was used. This theory states that the media, through repeatedly emphasising on certain issues, make the public perceive such issues as more important than others (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Studies on agenda setting theory such as those done by Freeland (2012), Grzywinska and Borden (2012) all suggest that repetition of an object on media can lead to people viewing it as important hence the researcher analysed the number of times the Zuma story was mentioned in the newspapers and on social media.
2. Conceptual decision- The Jacob Zuma story was the variable used.
3. Operationalisation measures- From the total of 133 articles that were collected from the newspapers, the researcher reduced the number of articles to be analysed to 49, because these articles were prominent in that they appeared on the first three pages of the publications. On Facebook, only 48 articles of whose headlines which mentioned Jacob Zuma were collected. Facebook page represented the social media. Only headline stories with the words Zuma, Jacob Zuma or JZ were analysed. By comparing social media and traditional media content, the researcher wanted to test if social media (Facebook) activities or conversations are affecting the agenda setting role of the traditional media (newspapers).
4. Coding- Human coding was chosen over computer coding because human coding according to Morris (1994), the coders are able to recognise unambiguous words to make reference to words as they are used in text, which is something that computers cannot do. Below are the articles analysed in newspapers.

Medium used	Media form	Date of publication	Newspaper	Headline of article
Sowetan	Newspaper	07/02/2018	page 2	Victim did not march for Zuma
Sowetan	Newspaper	09/02/2018	page 3	Zuma's change of attitude bought him ...
Sowetan	Newspaper	13/02/2018	page 2	Zuma's plea to stay longer
Sowetan	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	NDZ tells party its time for Zuma to go
Sowetan	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	People happy JZ is going
Sowetan	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	Ace still singing Zuma's praises
Sowetan	Newspaper	15/02/2018	page 2	Zuma's victim card earns little sympathy
Sowetan	Newspaper	15/02/2018	page 3	Zuma finally calls it quits as president

Sowetan	Newspaper	15/02/2018	page 3	JZ lacks discipline
Sowetan	Newspaper	15/03/2018	page 2	Zuma to know if he will be charged
Sowetan	Newspaper	22/03/2019	page 1	Zuma fights back
Sowetan	Newspaper	06/04/2018	page 2	JZ court case puts pressure on Ramaphosa
Sowetan	Newspaper	24/04/2018	page 3	Zuma bride riles her mentor
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	Newspaper	01/06/2018	page 2	Zuma says he's "done nothing wrong"
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	Newspaper	06/06/2018	page 3	NPA's decision angers Zuma fans
NewAge				Zuma backers to show support in court today
(AfroVoice	Newspaper	08/06/2018	page 2	
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	Newspaper	04/06/2018	page 3	no sentiment from SACP for Zuma and allies
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	Newspaper	21/06/2018	page 1	Govt to foot Zuma's bills
Citizen	Newspaper	01/02/2018	page 2	DA, EFF press JZ to leave
Citizen	Newspaper	01/02/2018	page 2	Zuma yet to make representation to NDPP
Citizen	Newspaper	03/02/2018	page 3	"Zuma will deliver SONA
Citizen	Newspaper	03/02/2018	page 2	Zuma faces vote of no confidence
Citizen	Newspaper	07/02/2018	page 2	Key JZ allies deserting him
Citizen	Newspaper	07/02/2018	page 3	Another twist in JZ tale
Citizen	Newspaper	07/02/2018	page 3	JZ plans to replace Cyril with NDZ
Citizen	Newspaper	08/02/2018	page 3	No place to hide for Zuma
Citizen	Newspaper	09/02/2018	page 3	Immunity for Zuma not on the table, Cyril
Citizen	Newspaper	10/02/2018	page 3	Prince Cyril vs villain Zuma
Citizen	Newspaper	12/02/2018	page 2	Anti-JZ march slated
Citizen	Newspaper	13/02/2018	page 3	ANC's dithering on Zuma an insult
Citizen	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	Zuma recall doesn't impress opposition
Citizen	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	Abrahams wants feedback on JZ
Citizen	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	JZ 'not bigger than the party
Citizen	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	We will vultured eat you-Gwede to Zuma
Citizen	Newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	Zuma must go
Citizen	Newspaper	15/02/2018	page 2	ANC 'not celebrating' Zuma exit
Citizen	Newspaper	17/02/2018	page 2	The dirty truth about Jacob Zuma
Citizen	Newspaper	01/03/2018	page 2	NPA boss a product of 'JZ power abuse
Citizen	Newspaper	20/03/2018	page 3	Zuma charges recipe for rally in SA assets
Citizen	Newspaper	23/03/2018	page 3	BEE on trial in Zuma case
Citizen	Newspaper	27/03/2018	page 3	Pressure mounting on Zuma
Citizen	Newspaper	04/04/2018	page 2	JZ 'stole the second spot from Winnie'
Citizen	Newspaper	06/04/2018	page 3	Poor' JZ's wings clipped
Citizen	Newspaper	10/04/2018	page 3	Zuma is playing a dangerous game
Citizen	Newspaper	23/04/2018	page 3	Zuma, Mahumapelo in spotlight for cattle gift
Citizen	Newspaper	26/04/2018	page 2	Zuma Nkandla trial on track
Citizen	Newspaper	16/05/2018	page 3	Outrage at Zuma visit
Citizen	Newspaper	11/06/2018	page 3	Zuma 'saboteur' in KZN
Citizen	Newspaper	12/06/2018	page 3	JZ must put up or shut up

Fig 5.1: Articles used for analysis

The graph below shows how data collected from newspapers was categorised to make it easy for analysis.



Graph 5.1: Number of newspapers articles collected

As indicated in Figure 5.1, *The Citizen* had 96 articles on Zuma, but only 31 were considered for analysis; the *Sowetan* had 21 articles in total, but only 13 were used. Lastly the *NewAge (Afro Voice)* had 16 articles and only 5 were used for analysis.

From Facebook, these are the articles that were analysed.

Date of publication	Headline	Source of information	No. of likes or comments
05/02/2018	ANC top six failed to remove Zuma today. Will Zuma survive SONA?	Poll	5
13/02/2018	the only way Zuma will leave the union buildings (cartoon)	personal posts	10
14/02/2018	South Africa received early Valentine-JZ has resigned	personal posts	6
14/02/2018	JZ resigned	personal posts	58
15/02/2018	Zuma has fallen	personal posts	60
08/02/2018	No we don't love you JZ	personal posts	3
08/02/2018	Yes JZ, lying to the country is a crime	personal posts	3
19/04/2018	Thanks to Zuma I have been lying on my death bed	personal posts	7
09/06/2018	Zuma's gangster government	personal posts	4
07/02/2018	Come on CR don't be damp squid, fire ZJ already	Zumamustfall	2

12/02/2018	Ramaphosa returns still no answers on Zuma fate	Citypress	1
16/02/2018	Zuma absent at SONA	Timeslive	6
08/02/2018	No immunity for Zuma, Ramaphosa tells ANC caucus	Timeslive	11
18/02/2018	Zuma is going to have his day in court	Timeslive	17
20/02/2018	Trevor Noah bids farewell to his president of jokes, Jacob Zuma	Timeslive	2
0228/02/2018	Ululation greets upbeat Zuma at opening KZN legislature	Timeslive	5
22/04/2018	Zuma and Mahumapelo must pay back money of R1.5m	Timeslive	9
24/05/2018	Zuma to use apartheid era case to try postpone corruption case	Timeslive	10
09/02/2018	Zuma's week that was	Timeslive	0
06/02/2018	Zuma 'agrees to go'	Timeslive	14
14/02/2018	Why Zuma wont resigned	Sowetan	5
01/03/2018	State security agency says Zuma book must be recalled	Mail and Guardian	10
14/02/2018	Zuma defiant	Mail and Guardian	6
25/05/2018	Michael Hulley cuts advocated in Zuma corruption case	ENW	1
09/02/2018	Reaveled: Whats holding up Zuma exit talks	ENCA	1
08/06/2018	Zuma corruption case	ENCA	4
12/02/2018	Opposition wants Zuma removed	SA People	4
17/02/2018	KZN ANC plans a welcome back celebrations for the 'son of the soil' Zuma	SABC	7
14/02/2018	President Zuma maintains he has done nothing wrong	SABC	1
14/02/2018	Zuma refuses to step down	Mail and Guardian	5
14/02/2018	Zuma to respond to recall today	Youtube	7
13/02/2018	Zuma to be recalled after refusing to resign	News24	20
13/02/2018	Recalled but still President-How South Africans reacted to Zuma recall	thesouthafrican.com	1
13/02/2018	We will finish the job ANC can't do- John Steenhuisen on Zuma recall	thesouthafrican.com	1
11/02/2018	Zuma offered immunity if he turns in the Gupatas	Mybroadband	1
08/04/2018	Zuma could have iNkandla taken away	Mybroadband	17
13/02/2018	ANC recalls Zuma-now what	Dailymaverick	1
06/02/2018	Zuma asks for postponement of SONA	Thepresidency	8
10/02/2018	Final talks in progress with ANC's top six for Zuma to quit	IOL	1
12/02/2016	Zuma has failed to remove Zuma Jacob Zuma- Five bombshell	Capetalk	1
09/06/2018	quotes from his rally	southafrican.com	4
06/04/2018	Zuma corruption trial	Mail and Guardian	5
25/02/2018	Zuma to appear in court for money-laundering	IOL	4
16/02/2018	Richard Calland: the corrupt are quivering in their boots with Zuma gone	Biznews	1

13/02/2018	Breaking news: Ramaphosa to tell Zuma he has been fired	businesslive	25
12/02/2018	Even an ANC recall is not enough may not be enough to boot Zuma	southafrican.com	8
13/02/2018	Ramaphosa returns to NEC after meeting with Zuma	southafrican.com	1
12/02/2018	Breaking: Zuma want 3 month notice period	businesslive	21

Fig 5.2: Articles analysed on facebook

Data collected were categorised in this manner:

Table 5.2: Number of articles used from Facebook

Media type	Type of post	Number of articles
Facebook	Online traditional media	18
	Personal posts	10
	Other social media sites	20
Total		48

The table above gives a breakdown of the different Zuma related post which were used for the study. Online traditional media refers to online content from the Sowetan and the Citizen. Personal posts are posts made by individuals on the story of Zuma and other social media sites refers to posts from other online sites such as Twitter. As much as the research is about facebook and traditional media the researcher chose not ignore posts that were found on facebook that were contributed by other online sources to show the versatility of social media. Social media sites constituted almost half of the posts, whilst traditional media took the second spot and was followed by personal posts.

- 5) Sampling- The criteria used for sampling was based on page numbers and only stories that appeared on the first three pages of the publications were chosen hence the 49 articles were chosen. This type of sampling was chosen

because it is an accurate representation of the larger population (Krippendorff, 2008). All editorial pieces and advertisements were not included in the study.

- 6) Reliability- to ensure the reliability of the data collected, the researcher followed Neuendorf's (2002) flowchart, which means that anyone reproducing this study and using the same chart should be able to get similar results.

5.3 Data presentation

According to Drotar, Turbek, Donahue et al (2016) findings present the results in an objective manner and lays the foundation for the discussion section, which is more subjective. The researcher identified the data that she felt were necessary for telling the story and this is presented in the form of graphs and tables (Drotar et al., 2016). The discussion section details what has been accomplished in the study, as well as the implications of the study (Drotan, 2009).

5.3.1 Quantitative results

From the 1st of February to the 30th of June 2018, a total of 133 articles on Zuma were published on the three publications being used in this study. The researcher analysed 49 articles from the newspapers. Of these articles, 89% of them were from two newspapers, the *Citizen* and the *Sowetan* and 11% coverage was from the *NewAge (Afro Voice)*. On the social media, posts and comments were based on news stories provided by the traditional media, posts from other social groups and individual posts. Traditional media online posts constituted 12% of the content on social media, whilst 86% was from other posts other than traditional media. However, the traditional media maximised on reporting the Zuma story by covering stories on both hard copies (49 articles) and online (18 articles). Traditional media's online presence captured the attention of users, as evidenced by online users using posts from online traditional media as a centre for their discussions.

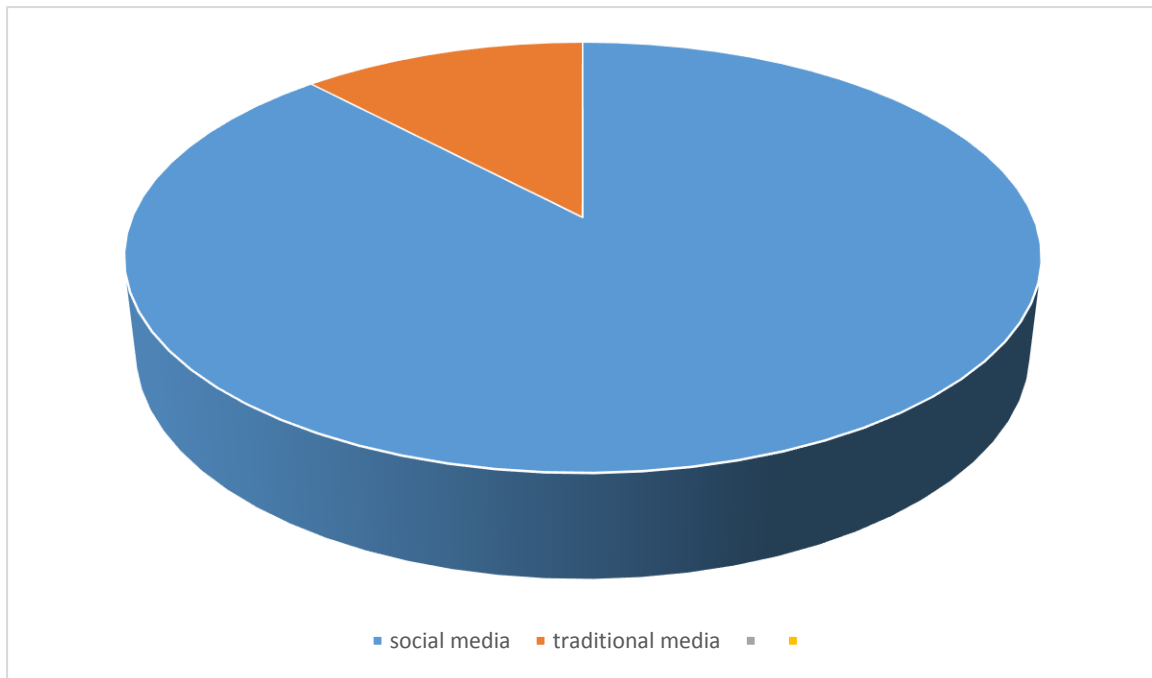


Fig 5.3: Zuma story coverage by newspapers and Facebook

Fig 5.3 shows the coverage of Zuma on social media and traditional media during the months of investigation. Based on this information, it would be safe to say that social media actively facilitated the resignation of the President. In addition, the social media also enabled the online versions or editions of traditional media to post and share posts on the Zuma stories to create public conversation. In the same breath, social media used traditional media content such as stories from *the Sowetan*, and *the Citizen* amongst others and this can be translated into social media following traditional media news stories and using traditional media as reference. However, the same cannot be said about traditional media, which did not mention social media as a source at any point. One would therefore argue that this could have been intentional, based on the fact that the #Zumamustfall movement had no organisational structure and that the movement describes itself as leaderless.

Table 5.3: Similarities in Zuma story coverage by newspapers and Facebook

Headline	Date published	Type of medium
Zuma to appear in court for money-laundering	25/02/2018	Timeslive (social media)
Zuma corruption case'	08/06/2018	ENCA (social media)
We will leave vulture eat you Zuma'	14/02/2018	Citizen (newspaper)
Zuma stole the second spot from Winnie'	04/04/2018	Sowetan (newspaper)

These negative headlines can be interpreted as a mechanism to add panic to both social and traditional media users, whilst pushing the agenda of forcing the President to resign. Despite all this negativity surrounding Zuma's leadership, the *NewAge* (*AfroVoice*) seemed to be pushing a different agenda. Table 5.1 below gives a glimpse of this:

Table 5.4: NewAge coverage of Zuma story

Headline stories	Date of publication	Page number
NewAge (AfroVoice)		
NPA's decision angers Zuma fans	06/06/2018	Page 3
Govt to foot Zuma bill	21/06/2018	Page 1
Zuma says 'he has done no wrong'	01/06/2018	Page 2

These headlines are not demeaning Zuma as seen with other publications. Instead, the *NewAge* offers another side to the Zuma story, other than him being a 'villain'. Zuma is presented as a victim in these stories and as someone still having support from the citizens. The placement of these stories cannot be ignored. This is to say that the *NewAge* used a different agenda from the rest of the other publications and it should be noted that at no point was this publication used on social media for reference.

With the *Citizen* and *the Sowetan*, positive stories on Zuma were placed at the last pages of the publication and social media made no mention of a positive Zuma story at all. In the 2 days leading to Zuma's resignation, there was a peak in the number of articles from both the newspapers and the social media, as they were building momentum and intensifying the coverage of Jacob Zuma. In some publications such as the *Citizen*, three different Zuma stories were reported on 12 and 13 February, whilst on the 14th of February 2018, five stories were covered. The *Sowetan* had one story of Zuma on 13 February 2018 and three different stories on Zuma on the 14th of February. Towards Zuma's resignation, a lot of headlines such as the ones below were prominent:

13 February (Opposition plan for JZ's exit), the *Citizen*

13 February (SA must avoid future JZ's), the *Sowetan*

14 February (ANC's dithering on Zuma an insult), the *Citizen*

14 February (Zuma must go) the *Citizen*

Moving to the second part of analysis, manifest content was transformed to latent content.

5.3.2 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis was done through the agenda setting theory lens. The concept of agenda setting was first introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1968 and it states that the mass media set the agenda for the public by highlighting certain issues as important (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). This theory has three levels which are the first level agenda setting, second level agenda setting and third level agenda setting.

In the first level of agenda setting, as McCombs (2004) points out, the public believes in a reality that is constructed by a journalist. This is to astern that people have opinions or information based on what the media has told them and not necessary from their experiences. Media agenda can be accessed by studying how many times an issue is repeated in news over a certain period of time, (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Through highlighting what issues are more important than others and need more attention, the media set the agenda (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). In

this study the number of times the Zuma story was mentioned in the newspapers can be translated into first level agenda setting. This can be evidenced by the number of times media mentioned his name on the headlines as shown below

Table 5.5: Headlines from newspapers

Facebook Headlines	Date published	Newspaper headlines	Date published
No immunity for Zuma, Ramaphosa tells ANC caucus (Facebook 2018)	08/02/2018	Immunity for Zuma not on the table, Cyril (Citizen, 2018 p.9)	09/02/2018
President Zuma announces his resignation from office (Facebook, 2018)	14/02/2018	Zuma finally calls it quits as President of the country (Sowetan, 2018 p.2)	15/02/2018
Zuma could have Inkandla taken (Facebook, 2018)	08/04/2018	Zuma Inkandla trial on track (Citizen, 2018)	26/04/2018

However as the table above shows social media contradicts this concept of the media having power over the public agenda. Looking at the dates some stories were covered for example, breaking news on the President's resignation was on social media as it happened on the 14th of February, but only appeared on the Sowetan newspaper on the 15th February 2018. The inkandla issue also first appeared on social media on the 8th of April 2018 and 18 days later, newspapers started reporting on the issue. This is to show that the roles have changed, the public in the form of social media users is showing the media what agendas are important. This is to show that social media, which represent the public voice, is now setting the agenda for traditional media.

Second level agenda setting indicates that the media can influence public opinion by emphasising the attributes of the object (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). When the media report on certain features or attributes of a particular issue, people will always link that attribute to the issue and create a picture in their heads, based on that attribute (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Table 5.6 below illustrates how the second level agenda can leave impressions on people's minds about an individual, based on how the media describes such a person. Even though there is no research backing the Zuma story, one can assume people will always perceive Zuma in the negative way he has been described in the articles.

Table 5.6: Comparison of newspapers and Facebook

Facebook	Date	Newspapers	Date
Headline	published	Headline	published
Zuma defiant (Facebook, 2018)	14/02/2018	Prince Cyril vs villain Zuma (<i>Citizen</i> , 2018 p.3)	10/02/2018
Zuma recalled but still president	13/02/2018	Poor 'JZ' wings clipped (<i>Citizen</i> , p. 2)	06/04/2018
Zuma refuses to go (Facebook, 2018)	14/02/2018	JZ lacks discipline (<i>Sowetan</i> , 2018 p3)	15/02/2018

The words used on headlines to describe Jacob Zuma will always stay in the minds of the people and he shall be remembered in a negative way.

Third level agenda setting which is network agenda- setting, postulates that the more the media mention an object by its feature or attribute, the more the public associates the object with the attribute (McCombs 2004). This level of agenda setting is the basis of this study, as it incorporates new media.

The steps to qualitative analysis are adopted from Ward (2015), who noted the following:

1. Prepare the data- this has been done already with the quantitative methods
2. Define the unit of analysis- that was also covered in the quantitative methods
3. Develop categories and coding scheme- All the stories chosen were Zuma related, and themes such as corruption, Guptas, Inkandla emerged. Various articles of Zuma made reference to his criminal activities more than on his disastrous relationship qualities. After the 14th of February 2018, a lot of articles were related to his court appearances.
4. Code all the text- All headlines on Facebook were mostly negative and pushing for the resignation of the former statesman. The presence of traditional online media shows the widespread impact of the social media in effective communication.

5.3.3 Qualitative results

On the day of the President's resignation on the 14th of February 2018, the traditional media such as SABC broadcast the resignation live on their online website and on facebook. There were 225 147 people viewing the online coverage of Zuma's resignation, excluding the millions who might have watched the news from the television or listened on the radio. This means that social media now allow traditional media such as the television and radio to produce immediate; live news as it happens, especially if it is of national importance. Based on the number of views of the Zuma's resignation on social media one can argue that there is a growth in the number of people who own mobile devices such as smartphones and tablets. This translates to the high number of people who can now access social media or online news, which in turn shows the switching role in media accessibility. These people could easily be the social media users who were setting the agenda for the traditional media.

Unfortunately, though for newspapers which are the basis of this study, their production cannot allow them to print ‘live’ stories or produce content as it happens. It is for that reason that the Zuma’s resignation was only reported on the newspapers the next day. The process of newspaper production requires that the paper layout be done the day before (Shelley 2017). This might explain why the *Sowetan* and the *Citizen* newspapers only placed the President’s resignation on page 3; they had already placed a front page news story the previous day. This particular news story could have been just slotted in, despite the paper being prepared already for printing. Nonetheless, the story made it to most important parts of the newspaper which are the first three pages.

The presence of online newspapers such as the *Citizen*, *Sowetan* and *Times*, amongst others, show the changes in how journalists do their work. Before social media, journalist worked on hard copy news, but social media have re-defined their role and pushed them to the online world. Based on the activity online and the participation of users on online, it is clear that news can no longer be confined to traditional media, but it needs to be accessible on different platforms in order to reach the different audiences.

Table 5.7: Breakdown of articles from both newspapers and Facebook

Media	Type	Number of Online contributions
Traditional media	Television	3
	Newspaper	15
Social media	Personal posts	10
	Other social media sites	20

These figures show that newspapers, despite the limitations mentioned above, are more active online than all other types of traditional media, meaning that newspapers are actually coming to the fold in terms of reaching out to their online users. The

Timeslive was the biggest contributor, with 9 articles recorded in the period of February to June 2018. Stories such as the one mentioned above were published.

Table 5.8: *Timeslive* coverage of Zuma story

Date of publication	Headline stories	Number of likes or comments
16/02/2018	Zuma absent at SONA	6
08/02/2018	No immunity for Zuma,.....	11
18/02/2018	Zuma is going to have his day in court	17
20/02/2018	Trevor Noah bids farewell to his President	2
28/02/2018	Ululation greets upbeat Zuma	5
22/04/2018	Zuma and Mahumapelo must pay.....	9
24/05/2018	Zuma to use apartheid era case	10
06/02/2018	Zuma 'agrees to go'	14
09/02/2018	Zuma's week that was	0

The television only featured when they were broadcasting the President's resignation live.

5.4 Discussion

The researcher will interpret what the findings mean in relation to what has been researched before. Research questions will be used to guide this process

5.4.1 Research Question 1: How do social media users set the agenda for traditional media?

In this study, social media users created a #Zumamustfall page to show their dissatisfaction with the President's leadership; this was all before traditional media caught up with Zuma must go reporting. Social media merely pointed out issues of importance and the traditional media ran the stories. On the other hand, social media users followed traditional media, based on the fact that traditional media stories were used as part of the discussion on Facebook. This shows that traditional media still sets the agenda for the public to a lesser extent as the public is now more active in news gathering and consumption. However traditional media is the trusted medium in news distribution as can be evidenced by the fact that all major stories that have been on social media need the back up of traditional media to be qualified as accurate.

5.4.2 Research Question 2: How have social media changed the role of a journalist?

Changes in the newsroom have seen positions such as social media editor being created to expand the use of social media and improve journalism. Big publications such as the *New York Times* employed their first social media editor in 2009, (Baruah,2012). These new practices have changed the journalist's role and newsroom dynamics that are promoting audience preferences and editorial decisions. In this study, the presence of online newspapers such as the *City Press*, *Sowetan*, *Times* amongst others, confirms the change on how the journalists work. Journalists can no longer rely solely on hard copy news, but need an online presence on social media to remain relevant. Based on the activity online and the participation of users online, it is clear that news needs to be accessible on different platforms in order to reach the different audiences. The #Zumamustfall page was a testament that journalists could no longer work on print and broadcasting media only, but they needed to expand their scope and produce online content. The findings of

this research are in line with Alejandro's (2010) sentiments that social media is benefiting journalists in their work.

5.4.3 Research Question 3: What are the theoretical implications of social media on the agenda setting theory?

Unlike the traditional media which set one clear agenda, social media (Facebook) on the #Zumamustfall page, followed other stories other than the Zuma story. The first hypothesis in the agenda setting theory is that a lot of people use the web to access news and information, as the internet has become affordable and computers are not as expensive (McCombs, 2006,p546). The fact is that a lot of agendas are presented and users choose which agenda is of interest to them (McCombs, 2006). The #Zumamustfall page was no exceptional, other stories made their way to the social sites and took precedence. Such stories included the following:

Table 5.9: Other posts on Facebook

Headlines on Facebook	Date published	Source
Cabinet reshuffle: Bathabile Dlamini's appointment	28/02/2018	Dailymaverick.co.za
ANC's Lynne Brown resigns as member of parliament....	01/03/2018	Sapeople.com
John Steanhuizen lead the calls to boot Public Protector out of office	12/06/2018	Southafrican.com

Traditional media put important stories for public attention in the first 3 pages of their publication. The Zuma story showed that if the social media and traditional media worked together, they could accomplish a lot. The Zuma story was a success because both media played a role in pushing for the President to resign. Traditional media's 49 articles on Zuma and 18 posts from Facebook worked, so did the 48 posts on social media.

This means that the agenda setting theory is still valid in this era, despite the changes in the media environment. The same concept that McCombs used in 1972 can still be applied to this day.

5.5 Recommendation

Studies on social media need to be consistently updated all the time to ensure such research is relevant. It would also be beneficial to have more studies on how journalists feel about using social media to get better a picture of journalists perceptions on social media.

5.6 Limitations of the study

There were limitations to this study due to time constraints, the researcher had to focus on one part of the Zuma story and this was his resignation. With the Zuma story, one can investigate it from different angles, such as the state capture, corruption allegations, Inkandla and recently, the VBS scandal and many other alleged crimes that are still unveiling. Having mentioned the above, it is clear that this study could not address all these issues. It should also be noted that the findings are based on one case study, hence, it is not a true reflection of the effects of social media.

Using content analysis methods was interesting, but after going through literature that uses the same method, it was difficult to execute the process without challenges as studies previously done never specify if they are using qualitative or quantitative analysis.

5.7 Future research

This study will add on to literature on the agenda setting theory and social media. Future studies should look at the agenda setting theory on a broader scope and not confine it to one case study, this will ensure more reliable data are obtained. On a wider perspective, future research could also look at participatory gatekeeping, as it contributes to the agenda setting theory.

Other social media sites that have emerged such as Whatsapp should also be looked at, as they are also widely used, probably much more than Facebook or Twitter and will be more representative of reality. Researchers undertaking research on social media should use more recent literature as social media is ever evolving.

Having done literature review, it was clear that social media cannot be generalised for every country, as each country has different media environments. For example, in South Africa, the internet is not as accessible or affordable as it is in the United States of America, thus, to assume social media have the same effect will be a huge mistake.

5.8 Conclusions

The study examined the effects of social media on traditional media through quantitative analysis whilst the qualitative analysis looked at how the agenda setting theory was affected by social media. It emerged that traditional media utilised social media in order to stay relevant, as online postings from *Timeslive*, *Sowetan*, *ENCA*, amongst other traditional media, participated on social media to cover the Zuma story. It should be noted that social media were the pioneer of the #Zumamustfall movement, while the traditional media took an interest on the story along the way. Based on this, it is clear that the public set the agenda on what should be the focus of traditional media and this is seen in how the traditional media gradually start reporting on the story. In essence, these findings confirmed the presence of an influence of social media in directing traditional media on what is important news.

Even though this study was based on one case study of Zuma, it was successful in showing how that story was used by both social and traditional media into pushing Zuma to resign. Even though the findings are not conclusive, as to whether social media set the agenda for traditional media, it is without doubt true that social media set the agenda for the traditional media. The inception of the #Zumamustfall movement drew attention and pulled the traditional media into focusing on the Zuma story.

The agenda setting theory is still valid as a theory, regardless of who sets the agenda because it re-invents itself to accommodate the changes in media, hence, it will never be absolute. Social media have had an effect on journalism, in terms of changing the way news is collected and distributed. In that view, journalism is conforming to the changes, as evidenced by the online presence of the traditional media.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE CODE LIST

The code list used in this study was adopted from Grzywinska and Borden (2012) and adjusted slightly to suit this study.

- a) The name of the medium used. This would be then Citizen, The Sowetan and the NewAge (Afro Voice).
- b) Date of the publication this will explain when the story was first published
- c) The researcher examined all headlines that have the key words.

To collect data on Facebook the researcher used the above list

- d) Does the headline mention Zuma
- e) How many comments or likes were shared on the story
- f) Date of publication

The third part of the list will look at whether the sources of the news information are mentioned as coming from social media or traditional media.

APPENDIX B: DATA ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPERS

Medium used	Media form	Date of publication	Newspaper	Headline of article
Sowetan	newspaper	07/02/2018	page 2	Victim did not march for Zuma
Sowetan	newspaper	09/02/2018	page 3	Zuma's change of attitude bought him ...
Sowetan	newspaper	13/02/2018	page 2	Zuma's plea to stay longer
Sowetan	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	NDZ tells party its time for Zuma to go
Sowetan	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	People happy JZ is going
Sowetan	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	Ace still singing Zuma's praises
Sowetan	newspaper	15/02/2018	page 2	Zuma's victim card earns little sympathy
Sowetan	newspaper	15/02/2018	page 3	Zuma finally calls it quits as president
Sowetan	newspaper	15/02/2018	page 3	JZ lacks discipline
Sowetan	newspaper	15/03/2018	page 2	Zuma to know if he will be charged
Sowetan	newspaper	22/03/2019	page 1	Zuma fights back
Sowetan	newspaper	06/04/2018	page 2	JZ court case puts pressure on Ramaphosa
Sowetan	newspaper	24/04/2018	page 3	Zuma bride riles her mentor
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	newspaper	01/06/2018	page 2	Zuma says he's "done nothing wrong"
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	newspaper	06/06/2018	page 3	NPA's decision angers Zuma fans
NewAge				Zuma backers to show support in court today
(AfroVoice	newspaper	08/06/2018	page 2	
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	newspaper	04/06/2018	page 3	no sentiment from SACP for Zuma and allies
NewAge				
(AfroVoice	newspaper	21/06/2018	page 1	Govt to foot Zuma's bills
Citizen	newspaper	01/02/2018	page 2	DA, EFF press JZ to leave
Citizen	newspaper	01/02/2018	page 2	Zuma yet to make representation to NDPP
Citizen	newspaper	03/02/2018	page 3	"Zuma will deliver SONA
Citizen	newspaper	03/02/2018	page 2	Zuma faces vote of no confidence
Citizen	newspaper	07/02/2018	page 2	Key JZ allies deserting him
Citizen	newspaper	07/02/2018	page 3	Another twist in JZ tale
Citizen	newspaper	07/02/2018	page 3	JZ plans to replace Cyril with NDZ
Citizen	newspaper	08/02/2018	page 3	No place to hide for Zuma
Citizen	newspaper	09/02/2018	page 3	Immunity for Zuma not on the table, Cyril
Citizen	newspaper	10/02/2018	page 3	Prince Cyril vs villain Zuma
Citizen	newspaper	12/02/2018	page 2	Anti-JZ march slated
Citizen	newspaper	13/02/2018	page 3	ANC's dithering on Zuma an insult
Citizen	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	Zuma recall doesn't impress opposition
Citizen	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 2	Abrahams wants feedback on JZ
Citizen	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	JZ 'not bigger than the party
Citizen	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	We will vultured eat you-Gwede to Zuma
Citizen	newspaper	14/02/2018	page 3	Zuma must go
Citizen	newspaper	15/02/2018	page 2	ANC 'not celebrating' Zuma exit
Citizen	newspaper	17/02/2018	page 2	The dirty truth about Jacob Zuma
Citizen	newspaper	01/03/2018	page 2	NPA boss a product of 'JZ power abuse
Citizen	newspaper	20/03/2018	page 3	Zuma charges recipe for rally in SA assets
Citizen	newspaper	23/03/2018	page 3	BEE on trial in Zuma case

Citizen	newspaper	27/03/2018	page 3	Pressure mounting on Zuma
Citizen	newspaper	04/04/2018	page 2	JZ 'stole the second spot from Winnie'
Citizen	newspaper	06/04/2018	page 3	Poor' JZ's wings clipped
Citizen	newspaper	10/04/2018	page 3	Zuma is playing a dangerous game
Citizen	newspaper	23/04/2018	page 3	Zuma, Mahumapelo in spotlight for cattle gift
Citizen	newspaper	26/04/2018	page 2	Zuma Nkandla trial on track
Citizen	newspaper	16/05/2018	page 3	Outrage at Zuma visit
Citizen	newspaper	11/06/2018	page 3	Zuma 'saboteur' in KZN
Citizen	newspaper	12/06/2018	page 3	JZ must put up or shut up

APPENDIX C: DATA ANALYSED FROM FACEBOOK

Date of publication	Headline	Source of information	No. of likes or comments
05/02/2018	ANC top six failed to remove Zuma today.Will Zuma survive SONA	Poll	5
13/02/2018	the only way Zuma will leave the union buildings (cartoon)	personal posts	10
14/02/2018	South Africa received early Valentine-JZ has resigned	personal posts	6
14/02/2018	JZ resigned	personal posts	58
15/02/2018	Zuma has fallen	personal posts	60
08/02/2018	No we don't love you JZ	personal posts	3
08/02/2018	Yes JZ, lying to the country is a crime	personal posts	3
19/04/2018	Thanks to Zuma I have been lying on my death bed	personal posts	7
09/06/2018	Zuma's gangster government	personal posts	4
07/02/2018	Come on CR don't be damp squid, fire ZJ already	Zumamustfall	2
12/02/2018	Ramaphosa returns still no answers on Zuma fate	Citypress	1
16/02/2018	Zuma absent at SONA	Timeslive	6
08/02/2018	No immunity for Zuma, Ramaphosa tells ANC caucus	Timeslive	11
18/02/2018	Zuma is going to have his day in court	Timeslive	17
20/02/2018	Trevour Noah bids farewell to his president of jokes, Jacob Zuma	Timeslive	2
28/02/2018	Ululation greets upbeat Zuma at opening KZN legislature	Timeslive	5
22/04/2018	Zuma and Mahumapelo must pay back money of R1.5m	Timeslive	9
24/05/2018	Zuma to use apartheid era case to try posepone corruption case	Timeslive	10
09/02/2018	Zuma's week that was	Timeslive	0
06/02/2018	Zuma 'agrees to go'	Timeslive	14
14/02/2018	Why Zuma wont resigned	Sowetan	5
01/03/2018	State security agency says Zuma book must be recalled	Mail and Guardian	10
14/02/2018	Zuma defiant	Mail and Guardian	6
25/05/2018	Michael Hulley cuts advocated in Zuma corruption case	ENW	1
09/02/2018	Reaveled:Whats holding up Zuma exit talks	ENCA	1
08/06/2018	Zuma corruption case	ENCA	4
12/02/2018	Opposition wants Zuma removed	SA People	4
17/02/2018	KZN ANC plans a welcome back	SABC	7

	8	celebrations for the 'son of the soil' Zuma		
14/02/201	8	President Zuma maintains he has done nothing wrong	SABC	1
14/02/201	8	Zuma refuses to step down	Mail and Guardian	5
14/02/201	8	Zuma to respond to recall today	Youtube	7
13/02/201	8	Zuma to be recalled after refusing to resign	News24	20
13/02/201	8	Recalled but still President-How South Africans reacted to Zuma recall	thesouthafrican.com	1
13/02/201	8	We will finish the job ANC can't do-John Steenhuisen on Zuma recall	thesouthafrican.com	1
11/02/201	8	Zuma offered immunity if he turns in the Guptas	Mybroadband	1
08/04/201	8	Zuma could have iNkandla taken away	Mybroadband	17
13/02/201	8	ANC recalls Zuma-now what	Dailymaverick	1
06/02/201	8	Zuma asks for postponement of SONA	Thepresidency	8
10/02/201	8	Final talks in progress with ANC's top six for Zuma to quit	IOL	1
12/02/201	6	Zuma has failed to remove Zuma	Capetalk	1
09/06/201	8	Jacob Zuma- Five bombshell quotes from his rally	southafrican.com	4
06/04/201	8	Zuma corruption trial	Mail and Guardian	5
25/02/201	8	Zuma to appear in court for money-laundering	IOL	4
16/02/201	8	Richard Calland: the corrupt are quivering in their boots with Zuma gone	Biznews	1
13/02/201	8	Breaking news: Ramaphosa to tell Zuma he has been fired	Businesslive	25
12/02/201	8	Even an ANC recall is not enough may not be enough to boot Zuma	southafrican.com	8
13/02/201	8	Ramaphosa returns to NEC after meeting with Zuma	southafrican.com	1
12/02/201	8	Breaking: Zuma want 3 month notice period	Businesslive	21

