RESEARCH REPORT

MAKING PUBLIC CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPORTS ON CORRUPTION OVER THE PERIOD 1 NOVEMBER 2000 - 31 DECEMBER 2001

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study focused on newspaper reports of corruption in South Africa over the period November 2000 until December 2001. Since the majority of citizens, including policy makers, report that they receive their information about corruption from the media, it is important to analyse what type of information is in the public realm about corruption.

The purpose was to look at ways in which cases of corruption had been reported in the media over the 14-month period. It was originally intended as a control study of a similar study conducted on articles published during the 17-month period immediately prior to this (June 1999 to October 2000)[1], but has since adopted a wider focus. The two questions guiding the analysis asked 1) who was most responsible for exposing corruption in South Africa and, 2) what happens once a case of corruption had been uncovered (even if it is only alleged and has not yet been proven)?

A broad definition of corruption was adopted, referring to all cases where a person(s) used their positions of power, influence or access to public resources for their own personal gain. This included activities ranging from accepting bribes in exchange for favours, to nepotism or fraud.

2. METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study was threefold: Firstly, it aimed to identify the individual cases of corruption that the media reported on over the 14-month period. Secondly, it wanted to establish which agent (for example an official process, investigative journalist, civil society actor or whistle-blower) was responsible for bringing the corruption into the public sphere. Lastly, it wanted to identify which agents were called in to take follow-up steps on these now public cases of, often only alleged, corruption.

A total of 1705 articles from the South African print media published over the period in question, were analysed. The articles were assembled by the SA Media Service based at the University of the Free State and included reports by 25 sources in the South African print media. This included all the national and provincial newspapers and articles appeared in English and Afrikaans.

The information was logged onto an Excel worksheet into several categories. Altogether there were 12 categories. For all cases the following information was included:

■ **Number given to an article**

These range from 1 – 268 and provide easy reference to cases. Articles were arranged according to dates.

■ **The date of the article in which the case was first reported.**

Only individual instances of corruption that were reported on by the media for the FIRST time in the period under consideration were included. Reports on follow-up steps on older (i.e. pre-November 2000) cases, or new developments in such "older" cases (for example, the R43 billion- government arms deal on which new information on bribery or irregularities came to light over a period of months) were not counted.

■ **The source of the above article**

This refers to the newspaper in which the article was published.

■ **A brief description of the case**

■ **The agent responsible for making the corruption public**.

This category refers to the way in which corruption was exposed, leading to media reports. This could have four values: official processes; investigative journalists; civil society or whistleblowers. The analysis was heavily dependent upon the information provided by the media. It can be well conceived that, in some instances, another agent, such as a whistleblower, brought the corruption to the attention of the authorities before it was brought to the attention by the media. For example, a whistleblower within the SAPS could have alerted the SAPS anti-corruption unit to the irregularities. However, if it was through the anti-corruption unit that the incident was made public in the media, the SAPS anti-corruption unit – and not the whistleblower - will be logged as the agent responsible for making the corruption public. The media mostly does not provide information (conceivably because they do not have access to it) about such whistleblowers.

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[1] See Landman, J.P. 2001. "Corruption – not a one way street" in *Beeld*, 25 March 2001.

■ **The follow-up steps taken (either internal or external, or both)**

If the corruption took place within state structures, the following additional information was logged:

■ **The level** (national, provincial or local) within the state machinery where the corruption occurred.

■ **The location** (referring to the department or parastatal, for example) of the corruption

■ **Information on previous incidents of corruption** within the body named in the previous category, if this information was mentioned in the articles.

An example of a case of corruption within state structures has been logged as follows:

Number		28
Date of article		4 Jan 01
Source of article		Pretoria News
Description of case		Commander and two staff members of Ga-Rankuwa Murder and Robbery unit accused of accepting R2000 bribe to release two murder suspects.
Corruption within state structures	Level of corruption	National
	Location (Department)	SAPS, Police station in North West
	Corruption track record	
Agent responsible for exposing corruption	Official process (specify)	SAPS Anti-corruption unit
	Investigative journalism	
	Civil Society	
	Whistleblowers	
Follow-up steps taken	Internal	Suspended without pay
	External (specify)	CJS

3. RESULTS

The analysis was carried out in the period 1 May 2002 to 15 June 2002. The following sections set out the major findings, organised according to the categories on the log sheet.

3.1. Number of cases:

The print media reported on altogether 268 individual "new" cases of corruption in the period November 2000 to December 2001 (inclusive). These cases were classified into two categories: Firstly, instances where corruption took place within the public sector (also referred to as state structures). This includes corruption within government departments (national or provincial), local municipalities, parastatals and incidents where judges or magistrates were involved (they form part of the broader judicial sphere.) In this category 239 cases were logged.

Secondly, there were instances where the corruption took place in the private sector or civil society, such as political parties or community organisations. In this category 29 cases were logged.

This report, however, is mostly concerned with the cases of corruption that took place within state structures and will therefore focus on the analysis of data in that category. The study hopes to shed light on the ability of, specifically, the state to detect and deal with corruption within its own ranks.

It should be remembered that, whilst 268 individual cases of corruption were reported in the South African media over a 14-month period, one cannot conclude that only 268 cases of corruption occurred in South African during this time. The results of this study will also propose some answers to the questions: What makes a case of corruption appear in the print media? Why have these cases come to light, and not others? What makes a case of corruption newsworthy?

3.2 Types of corruption

A table relating the nature of the crimes which landed in the public sphere, is constructed based on the descriptions of each case. These broad categories of crimes are fraud, bribery, corruption in general (this includes cases where the media reports did not specify the nature of the offence, or cases where two or more of the other crimes named here, were committed simultaneously), mismanagement, theft, nepotism, a severe conflict of interest (such as cases where an official has strong business interests in a company which had won a contract with the official's department) and money laundering.

TABLE 1
Types of corruption uncovered within the public sector

Code[2]	Type of corruption	No. of cases	% of 239
2	Bribery	78	32.6%
3	Corruption in general	71	29.7%
1	Fraud	29	12%
4	Mismanagement	20	8.3%
5	Theft	18	7.5%
6	Nepotism	11	4.6%
7	Conflict of interest	11	4.6%
8	Money laundering	1	0,4%
	TOTAL	*239*	*100%*

The above table shows that 32.6% of cases reported refer explicitly to bribery. These are followed closely by corruption in general, where 71 cases (29.7%) are reported. Other corruption related crimes, which received media attention are fraud (12%), mismanagement (8.3%), theft (7.5%), nepotism (4.6%), conflict of interest (4.6%) and money laundering (0.4%).

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[2] The column named "Code" contains the coding value awarded to each category (as stated in the next column) on the original data-spreadsheets. Therefore, the numbers in this column are not necessarily in descending order. This is the case with all the tables in this report.

3.3. Agents responsible for uncovering corruption

3.3.1 Within state structures

The exposure of corruption is important, because once cases of corruption come into the public arena there is an assumption that the glare of publicity may put pressure on public officials to deal with the corruption in question.[3] One example from the dataset of this clearly happening, is the case of the KwaZulu Natal MEC for Housing who evacuated his mansion for a more modest dwelling after revelations by a newspaper about the extravagant monthly rent of R22 500, which the taxpayer is paying[4].

The breakdown of agents responsible for exposing corruption within the public sector, were as follows:

TABLE 2
Agents responsible for uncovering corruption in state structures

Agent	No. of cases	% of 239
Official processes	144	60.2%
Civil society	44	18.4%
Whistleblowers	31	13.0%
Investigative journalism	20	8.4%
TOTAL	*239*	*100%*

In the overwhelming majority of cases (60% or 144 instances), corruption was exposed through official processes. These processes are instituted, maintained and controlled by the state. (A further breakdown of the nature of these processes can be found in table 2.1.) Civil society was responsible for uncovering 18 % (44 cases) of the exposed corruption, whistleblowers for 13 % (31 cases) and investigations by journalists for a mere 8% (20 cases.)

The state is clearly the agent most responsible for bringing corruption within its own ranks into the public sphere. However, it should still be remembered that it is not known how much

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[3] The Public Service Accountability Monitor at Rhodes University had developed an innovative methodology which follows up on newspaper reports on corruption in the Eastern Cape to make sure that public officials in that province are held accountable once allegations of corruption have come to light. Visit their website at www.psam.ru.ac.za.
[4] Case 3 on the data sheet.

corruption remains hidden. What is important to note is that the official processes in place are indeed able to pick up corruption.

- **Corruption brought to light by official processes**

The 144 cases made public by official processes can be broken into further categories, which will shed light on the specific nature of these state-generated and controlled processes.

TABLE 2.1
Official processes exposing corruption

Code	Category	No. of cases	% of 144
1	Internal departmental investigation	72	50%
3	External reports	28	19.4%
4	SAPS investigation	26	18%
5	Others	11	7.6%
2	CJS (Criminal Justice System)	7	4.8%
	TOTAL	*144*	*100*

In this breakdown, 50% of cases (72 of 144) came to the attention of the public through the media following a departmental investigation. The first category includes investigations by the SAPS Anti-corruption unit, because these are investigations by the Police into irregularities within their own ranks. Other examples of processes in this category include internal audit reports, cases highlighted in speeches by the MEC or Minister, and departmental anti-corruption drives.

In the second instance, 28 cases (19.4%) were exposed by external reports, generated by actors **outside the department** where the corruption took place. Examples of such actors are the Auditor-general, outside bodies such as the Automobile Association and other departments.

In a further 26 cases (18%), the SAPS was responsible for making corruption public. This category only includes **investigations** (whether by the Scorpions or another divisions of the Police Service) into irregularities, which could then be followed with actions by the Criminal Justice System (CJS) (which includes arrests and court cases) at a later stage. Corruption, which was reported on before a suspect was arrested or brought to court (i.e. before the case entered the CJS) , fell into this category.

Eleven cases were uncovered through joint operations by two or more of any of the above-mentioned actors and were placed in the category "others". Often corruption would only become public after a joint investigation by the Scorpions and the Auditor-general, for example.

In the last category, where the media picked up on corruption only **after** the case had entered the CJS, 7 cases, (4.8% of all reports) were logged. These cases were thus reported on after arrests or court appearances had been made.

- **Corruption brought to light by civil society**

The category of actors responsible for uncovering the second largest number of corruption cases, was civil society. Civil society also consists of a variety of actors, existing within the sphere between the state and the family. The following table sets out the number of cases exposed by the various actors in the civil society sphere.

TABLE 2.2.
Civil society actors exposing corruption

Code	Category	No of cases	% of 44
2	Community and interest groups	23	52%
1	Political party	10	23%
3	Trade Unions	9	20%
4	Individual in positions in community	2	5%
	TOTAL	*44*	*100%*

The majority of cases here (24) were made public by community and interest groups. These range from community groups concerned about housing allocation, to formal associations such as the SA Gun Owner's Association.

Ten of the 44 cases exposed by civil society was the result of allegations voiced in public by various political parties. In this respect, the Democratic Alliance was by far the most vocal, making public allegations of 6 instances of corruption. Interestingly, the ANC youth league, despite their strong links with the governing party and therefore expected access to officials to

pressure them into putting official processes in place, was responsible for bringing one case directly to the media's attention.

Formal trade unions were responsible for exposing 9 cases and individuals in influential positions within the civil society sphere, such as a prominent businessperson or director of a training institution, exposed 2 cases.

3.3.2 Within private sector and civil society

The analysis has shown that official processes were also the agent most successful in exposing corruption in the private sector and civil society. Here official processes exposed 12 cases (41.4%), whistleblowers exposed 9 cases (31%), civil society made five cases public (17.3%) and investigating journalists three cases (10.3%).

However, the gap between the success of whistleblowers (31%) and official processes (41%) in exposing corruption is much smaller than is the case with corruption in the public sector where whistleblowers uncovered a mere 13%. There is a possible explanation for this observation: the state-generated official processes uncovering corruption in the state machinery probably often act on tip-offs by whistleblowers within these departments. The corruption thus only became public through the state's public relations capacity, which related it to the media. In the private and civil society sectors, whistleblowers often have to speak directly to the media, since the intermediary processes and mechanisms are not yet in place.

TABLE 3
Agents responsible for uncovering corruption in private sector and civil society

Agent	No. of cases	% of 29
Official processes	12	41.4%
Whistleblowers	9	31.0%
Civil society	5	17.3%
Investigative journalism	3	10.3%
TOTAL	*29*	*100%*

3.4. Level and location of corruption

The following analysis is based only on the incidents of corruption that took place within the public sector.

- **Level of corruption**

Corruption in the public sector can take place on various levels: national, provincial or local. Individual incidents of corruption are categorised into one of these levels, based on the level of authority under which the perpetrators were employed. In all instances of corruption on a national level, the incident took place within national state departments or the national headquarters of parastatals, such as Telkom. Corruption involving police officers at local police stations were classified under 'national SAPS', because of the national command structure of the SAPS. Corruption in provincial departments were logged on the provincial level and corruption in all sections that fall under the authority of a municipality were classified as local.

TABLE 4
Levels within state structures where corruption was uncovered

Level within state structures	No. of cases	% of 239
National	99	41%
Provincial	83	35%
Local	50	21%
No level specified	7	3%
TOTAL	*239*	*100%*

According to this breakdown, reported corruption occurred mainly at national level (41%) followed by provincial (35%) and local (21%) levels. In seven of these cases the perpetrators were magistrates or judges who are supposedly independent from the state. Corruption thus took place within the broader judicial sphere and not within a government department as such. However, one could argue that, although these actors are not within a specific department, they do fall under the authority of other national bodies such as the Magistrate's Commission that regulate their conduct. In this view, they can be classified on the 'national' level, which would increase that amount from 99 to 106 (44% of all cases).

A similar study[5], commissioned by Transparency International and executed by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), analysed 1358 articles on corruption (that occurred nationally and internationally) in the period January 1999 to June 1999. They found that most of corruption took place on local level (35%), with provincial (34%) and national (27%) levels following. This is the inverse from this study's findings. However, the different definitions adopted by the two studies, can explain this contradiction. The Transparency International study assigned instances of corruption to the various levels on the basis of the geographical position of the crime. If the crime took place in a certain province and its effect was limited to that province, it was classified under "provincial". In this study, cases were assigned to the various levels, based on the structure of authority under which that crime was committed. Therefore, where this study would classify all cases of police corruption on the national level (as explained previously), the Transparency International study would classify cases of police corruption according to the geographical location of the police station where the crime took place.

- **Location of corruption**

The focus can be shifted slightly to highlight the location of the irregularity by grouping all the cases into sectors. These sectors include cases from all three levels of the state - local, provincial or national. A case of housing irregularities by officials in a municipality (thus taking place at the local level) would be placed in the same Housing Sector as fraud committed by an official in the National Department of Housing, which falls on the national level.

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[5] Research report. Transparency South Africa. 2000. Corruption and Good Governance: A media profile. Published by Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE).

TABLE 5
Corruption in state sectors

Code	Sector	No. of cases	% of 239
5	Police, Safety and Security	34	14.2%
9	Transport and Traffic	26	10.9%
1	Housing	20	8.4%
8	Public Works and Enterprise	20	8.4%
14	Education	20	8.4%
21	Legislature/ Council	17	7.1%
4	Health	16	6.6%
6	Justice	16	6.6%
2	Correctional Services and Prisons	12	5%
13	Finance	9	3.8%
15	Welfare and Social Work	8	3.3%
22	Office of the Premier/President	8	3.3%
10	Home Affairs	7	2.9%
3	Environment and Tourism	5	2.1%
19	Agriculture	5	2.1%
7	Trade and Industry	4	1.7%
12	Telecommunications	4	1.7%
17	Sport	3	
20	Culture, Arts and Science	2	
11	Labour	1	
16	Mineral and Energy	1	
18	Defence	1	
	TOTAL	*239*	

Altogether 22 sectors were identified. Many of these divisions between sectors are clear-cut, but explanatory comments on the delimitation of the boundaries of some sectors are necessary. Over and above the obvious cases where officials within specific government departments were the perpetrators, some sectors include additional actors.

- The Health sector includes corruption within ambulance services, as well as in hospitals and in the various health departments (whether at national or provincial level).

- The Police, Safety and Security sector includes all cases of corruption, often such as bribery, that took place in Police stations where police officers were involved.

- The Justice sector also includes irregularities perpetrated by magistrates and judges (who do not fall directly under the Department of Justice).

- Corruption concerning the awarding of general contracts by Tender boards etc. (which are not within a specific department) also fall under the Public Works and Enterprise sector.

- The Transport and Traffic sector includes drivers' licences scams and acts of corruption perpetrated by traffic officials.

- Irregularities in the South African Revenue Service, as well as the payment of 'ghost' workers where various departments are involved, are grouped under the Finance sector.

- Lastly, the sector for Legislatures and Councils includes acts perpetrated by members of these bodies in their capacity as members.

Table 5 shows that the Police, Safety and Security sector had the most cases (34 cases or 14.2%) of corruption that were made public. Other sectors with high scores are Transport and Traffic (26 cases or 10.9%), Housing (20 cases), Public Works and Enterprise (20 cases) and Education (20 cases) or 8.4% each.

The relatively high score for the Police, Safety and Security sector could be attributed to the effectiveness of the SAPS anti-corruption unit in making public corruption within its own ranks.

- **Corruption at provincial level**

A further breakdown of corruption on the provincial level (table 5), reveals the Eastern Cape (with 25 cases) as the one province where the most corruption at the provincial level was exposed, followed by KwaZulu-Natal with 19 cases.[6]

TABLE 6
Corruption in provinces

Province	No. of cases	% of 83
Eastern Cape	25	30%
KwaZulu Natal	19	23%
Gauteng	10	12%
Northern Province (Limpopo)	9	11%
Mpumalanga	7	8%
North West province	5	6%
Western Cape	4	5%
Free State	3	4%
Northern Cape	1	1%
TOTAL	83	100

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[6] It must be remembered that this only refers to corruption within provincial structures. Irregularities within traffic departments and local councils, which may have been reported more frequently in the other provinces, were not classified as falling on the 'provincial' level.

3.5 Follow-up steps taken

The state could respond to reports of corruption in two ways. Firstly, it could deal with it internally. In this response, the body (e.g. department) where the corruption occurred could appoint a departmental investigation into the matter or charge the suspects to appear in front of a disciplinary hearing. The other option is to request external agents to follow the matter up. These agents are external to the department or unit where the corruption was detected, but can still fall under the broader umbrella of the state. (A breakdown of the variety of external agents called upon is provided in table 8.)

TABLE 7
Follow-up steps taken in response to corruption within state structures

Follow-up steps	No. of cases[7]
External	113
Internal	94
No action taken	57

Sometimes one case of corruption would elicit an internal departmental investigation, as well as an external agent to investigate. In 57 instances of corruption (this is 23.8% of the total 239 cases included in this study), no follow-up steps were logged due to the absence of such information in the news reports. In some cases newspaper reports did not stipulate whether any follow-up steps had been taken. In other cases, these steps could have been taken and been appropriately been reported on, albeit in the period after December 2001, which then falls outside the scope of this study.

In the cases where follow-up steps were reported to have been taken, it is clear that bringing an external agent in to take charge of the matter is the favourite response. However, again a word of caution: Sometimes irregularities only became public after an internal investigation had been instituted in response to rumours of such irregularities. In these cases, the internal investigation, which had lead to the exposure of corruption, would be classified as the 'official process' exposing corruption, rather than as the immediate follow-up step. Table 2.1, which had set out

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[7] It is therefore important to notice that, due to the double responses elicited by some single instances of corruption, the sum of the amounts in the column of table 7 will NOT equal the total number of cases in this study (239 cases).

the nature of official processes, showed that departmental investigations exposed 50% of corruption incidents. This, coupled with the relatively high number of internal responses to corruption, shows a high level of action taken by government departments and state structures themselves towards corruption in their own ranks.

A variety of external agents were called in to deal with or investigate alleged corruption. Many cases had already been referred to the criminal justice system, where arrests or court appearances had been made, by the time the corruption became known. In such cases the external follow-up steps were classified as Criminal Justice System (CJS), thus indicating that the case (and perpetrators) has entered the machinery of the official criminal justice system, consisting of an arrest, a following court appearance and court case.

The following table is a breakdown of the number of cases referred to each external agent.

TABLE 8
External agents dealing with corruption in the state structures

Code	External Agent	No. of Cases	% of 113
1	Criminal Justice System (CJS) and Police	88	78%
2	Directorate of Public Prosecution, National Prosecution Authority	7	6%
3	Scorpions	7	6%
7	Other department to investigate	4	4%
4	Auditor -general	2	2%
5	External auditors/ external bodies	2	2%
6	Public Protector	2	2%
8	Heath Commission	1	0.9%
	TOTAL	*113*	

The official Criminal Justice System (CJS) is by far the most popular external body for referring corruption in the public sector to. In these 88 cases (78%), arrests or court appearances have already been made by the time it was reported, or shortly after being reported. In a further seven cases each (6%), the Scorpions specifically and the Public Prosecutor were asked to investigate.

When looking at the follow-up steps taken in relation to each agent responsible for making corruption public, we see the following correlations:

TABLE 9[8]
Follow-up steps taken in response to corruption made public by various agents

Exposing agent	No. of cases	Internal follow-up steps	% of cases per agent	External follow-up steps	% of cases per agent	No action taken	% of cases per agent
Official processes	144	50	35%	88	61%	22	15%
Civil Society	44	21	48%	11	25%	16	36%
Whistleblowers	31	12	39%	11	35%	12	39%
Investigative Journalism	20	11	55%	3	15%	7	35%
TOTAL	239	94		113		57	

Exposures through official processes were followed by internal steps in 50 cases (35%) and external steps in 88 cases (61%). In 22 (15%) cases no follow-up action was taken. Exposures by investigative journalists elicited an internal response in 55% (11) of the cases and an external response in only 15% (3) of the cases. In 35% (7) of the cases no action was taken. Internal steps were taken in response to 21 (48%) of the cases made public by civil society, external steps followed exposure in 11 (25%) of these cases and inaction followed on 16 (36%) of these cases. Lastly, corruption exposed by whistleblowers were reacted upon by internal follow-up steps in 12 (39%) cases, external steps in 11 (35%) of the cases and no action was taken in 12 (39%) of the cases.

The results show that, with the only exception of corruption exposed by official processes, exposures by all other agents were met with more internal follow-up steps than other action (or

inaction). Exposures through official processes elicited the greatest number of external follow-ups, but that could be attributed to the fact that internal processes had exposed many cases to start with, and that even further internal follow-up steps were deemed to be of little use.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The original aim of this study was to find out to what extent it confirms the findings of the previous 1999-2000 study. That first study found that in the period June 1999 to October 2000 (inclusive) 167 instances of corruption was reported in the media for the first time. In 75% of these cases the exposure was the result of official processes, 11% by investigative journalists, 10% by civil society and 4% by whistleblowers.

The following table 10 compares the two sets of results:

TABLE 10

Comparison of 2000 and 2002 study

Agent uncovering corruption	2000 study	2002 study
Official processes	125 (75%)	144 (60.2%)
Civil society	16 (10%)	44 (18.4%)
Whistleblowers	7 (4%)	31 (13.0%)
Investigative Journalism	19 (11%)	20 (8.4%)
TOTAL	*167 (100)%*	*239 (100%)*

Although the numbers differ, official processes were also in this 2002 study by a clear majority (60%) the agent most responsible for uncovering corruption. Civil society (18%) was in the second place (as opposed to investigative journalism in the previous study), whistleblowers third (13%) and investigative journalism (8%) responsible for bringing least cases to the media's attention. There is a remarkable increase (almost 10%) from the 2000 study in the success of whistleblowers to make public irregularities within the state machinery.

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[8] Due to some instances of corruption eliciting both an internal and external response, the sum of the amounts in the horizontal rows (in columns # 3, 5 and 7) will not equal the totals for that category (as indicated in column # 2).

Media reporting of corruption was not this study's chief focal point, but it rather used media reports as a source of information. However, some conclusions regarding media reporting of corruption can be drawn. Firstly, the South African print media are willing partners of the government in making corruption public. Most newspapers widely reported specific statements or revelations by departments concerning corruption in their ranks, at the time. Secondly, the media is ineffective in tracking cases of corruption once they have become public, except in cases where high profile individuals are involved. The media would thus report on corruption exposed, but then produce no follow-up reporting on events after the exposure. Questions such as did the case go to court, was the perpetrator found guilty and sentenced, remain largely unanswered.[9] Thirdly, reporters seldom refer to the specific department's past experiences (or 'track record') with corruption when writing about a new irregularity. Including this information in newspaper reports could be useful for the public to keep track of the government's general performance regarding corruption and to contextualise "new" individual instances of corruption.

And lastly, coming back to one of the questions asked earlier in the report: What makes the media report on some instances of corruption and not on others? According to the analysis, investigative journalists are the agents least likely to expose corruption. On the other hand, the state is overwhelmingly the most successful agent in making public sector corruption public through official processes, which are then reported on by the media. This raises the possible existence of a wide-spread culture of so-called "press-release" journalism, where the media are largely unwilling (or unable) to expose corruption pro-actively and on own initiative, preferring to wait for a cue from the state.

The analysis has shown that the South African state is largely responsible for bringing corruption within its own structures to light and also in following up these instances of corruption (whether by their own mechanisms or commissioning an external agent) once it has become public. However, there exist doubts regarding the effectiveness and pro-activeness of the South African media in their reporting of corruption in the public sector.

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[9] This is illustrated by the 57 cases (24 % of all 239 cases logged) where no follow-up steps were reported.

Research Report

**Audit and Analysis of 2006 South African Print Media Reports on
CORRUPTION**

For JP Landman and Associates

30 September 2007

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Introduction

Opening a newspaper in South Africa, chances are good, almost 100% on any given day of the year, that you will read about corruption. This will be in the form of either a media report detailing a "new" case of corruption (i.e. one that you have not read about before), or an article updating an ongoing case of corruption (such as "Travelgate" or the arms deal), possibly a hard-hitting editorial opining on the declining state of public sector ethics, or a vehement letter to the editor complaining about corruption in a particular department, and perhaps even a cartoon by Zapiro lampooning the political leaders of the day.

The role of the media in shaping both citizens' opinions and perceptions of corruption justifies an analysis of the type of information, albeit sometimes limited and incomplete, that exists in the public realm about corruption.

This report, undertaken by JP Landman and Associates for the Department of Public Service and Administration, looks at the South African print media's reporting of corruption over a twelve-month period (January to December 2006). The media reports from over 40 print media sources were collated by the CORE press clipping service at the University of the Free State and coded as being reports on the topic of "corruption". The research methodology is described in more detail below.

A number of research questions are raised by such a study: What can an audit and analysis of media reports on corruption actually tell us? Can it tell us something new about corruption, where and how it happens, what form it takes etc and most importantly, whether it is being dealt with or not? Or, is it more likely that this type of study potentially tells us something about the state of the media's reporting on corruption, rather than corruption per se? What is the role of the media in reporting on corruption? What determines the type of corruption cases that the media report and follow up on? Who determines what is in the public interest? Does media reporting of corruption make a difference in terms of preventing it? Does media coverage of corruption foster the perception that corruption is actually increasing or rather that progress is being made in tackling it when it comes to light? Can an analysis of media reports potentially assist anti-corruption agencies to do their job more effectively by detailing information on the type of corruption and where it occurs etc? What do print media reports tell us about how a particular corruption incident originally came into the public domain? For instance was it through the hard work on an investigative journalist, possibly a whistle-blower, or more likely an official process such as an Auditor General's report, or media reporting on a court appearance? These are some of the questions that frame this study.

Outline of the report

The report is structured in the following way: First, a brief background note highlights the context of anti-corruption reforms and research in South Africa; Second, the context summarizes the main findings of the SANEF study that looked at corruption reporting in the South Africa media in general over a two-year period; Third, the methodology for this analysis is described in termso f the architecture of the electronic database, the coding of media reports and the list of publications. The section on Findings and Analysis looks at the media's coverage of corruption in general, followed by a focus on the "new" cases. These are analysed in more detail by sector, level, province and department. A few thoughts are offered on the public interest angle of corruption reporting before concluding the report.

Background

Since 1997 the South African government has committed itself to proactively address the issue of corruption, including trying to understand this complex phenomenon. Resolutions passed at the cross-sectoral National Anti-Corruption Summit in April 1999 stress the importance of social analysis and research on corruption.

In 2002/3 as part of the United Nations Global Program Against Corruption signed with the Department of Public Service and Administration, a Country Corruption Assessment was undertaken to collect baseline data on the nature and extent of corruption in South Africa, using various data collection methods and survey tools, including an analysis of media reports. In 2007, a similar country assessment is being undertaken, and this report, looking at media reports of corruption during 2006, feeds into the larger project of trying to understand the nature of the problem of corruption as it currently manifests itself in South Africa.

In April 2007 South Africa hosted Global Forum V on Fighting Corruption, an inter-governmental forum attended by over 1000 delegates from around the world. The final conference resolution confirmed the urgent recognition that measurements of corruption need to move beyond pure perception based approaches and that there are other sources of data that can give one an indication as to the extent of the problem a corruption, a problem rated by the Afrobarometer in 2006 as serious by almost 20% of South Africans.

This report, which builds on two earlier studies undertaken by Landman and Associates, is thus a contribution to our understanding of corruption and media reporting thereof. It does not cover reporting on corruption that comes to light through other media sources that citizens may use to get their news, such as the internet or the broadcast media. It also does not engage with larger questions such as the distribution of print journalists in the country and how that in turn might affect the type of corruption stories that are covered.

Context

Before detailing the findings that emerged from this study, a recent study on corruption reporting, undertaken by the SA National Editors Forum (SANEF) provides some context to this report. The findings that are relevant to this report are summarized below.

The survey, "Corruption Reporting in leading SA media" was commissioned by SANEF and conducted by Media Tenor South Africa and analyzed the period 1 January 2005 to November 2006.

Of almost half a million news reports in leading South African print and TV media, only 3296 reports were on the topic of corruption. These included the general portrayal of corruption, corruption in the corporate environment, and the coverage of corruption in politics.[1] The study thus

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[1] Corruption Reporting in Leading SA Media: A concise study conducted by Media Tenor South Africa, commissioned by SANEF. Powerpoint presentation to National Anti-Corruption Forum 15 February 2007.

found that the average share of monthly media coverage focusing on corruption in 2006 was 0,8% of all media reporting, i.e. there was very little news on corruption in the SA media, although two weekly publications devoted more coverage than the average 0.7% to reporting on corruption, namely the Mail and Guardian (2%) and City Press (1.5%). There was media spike in corruption coverage in October and November 2006 (still below 2% of all news) related to particular high profile corruption cases such as "Travelgate", a Senior Scorpions advocate accused of corruption and the NPA announcement of a possible re-indictment of Jacob Zuma. Almost a third, i.e. 32% of all coverage on corruption in the political arena during 2005 and 2006 referred to Jacob Zuma.

While the SANEF study found that the media during 2006 focused on top-level corruption within government (i.e. corruption of politicians/political parties) there was very little emphasis on corporate connections. The report did however find an increased focus on media reporting of corruption in the corporate world (up 37% in 2006 from 2005) with a focus on specific cases (such as Nkobi Holdings and JCI, Rand Gold and Exploration). Provincial government corruption received the most constant attention from the media, whereas the reporting on corruption in national government fluctuated the most. The study found there to be little indication of "positive" news about corruption eg. pro-active policies and actions against corruption.[2]

In response to the SANEF report, discussed by the National Anti-Corruption Forum, Minister Fraser-Moloketi said it showed that by focusing on high-profile corruption cases, the media contributed to a "negative psychosis" that South Africa was generally corrupt, giving examples such as the case of Jacob Zuma and Travelgate. She said in fact that in most cases it was the government that exposed corruption. At the forum it was said that the media should go beyond investigative journalism and play a more empowering and educational role and that positive developments in the combating of corruption should also be reported more vigorously.[3]

Methodology

This largely qualitative study is informed by two previous studies of media reports of corruption undertaken by Landman and Associates. For a number of reasons, including inevitable differences in the way in which the articles were captured and coded, strict comparability is not an option.

The methodology used in this report differs from the SANEF study in significant ways. Firstly the report focuses only on information gleaned from *print* media reports on corruption in South Africa covering a *one-year* period (1 January 2006 to 31 December 2006). Secondly, this study does not focus on high-profile corruption cases such as Jacob Zuma or Travelgate. Rather it looks at *"new" cases* of corruption that are reported on in the 2006 period. i.e. incidents that are reported on in the media for the first time in 2006 (even though the corrupt activity may have occurred previously). As such "old" cases such as the arms deal and Travelgate, are not captured as "new" cases, in this way ensuring that the diversity of actual specific instances of corruption that were reported on by the print media in 2006 are noted.

The aims of the study include:
- to electronically catalogue all print media reports of corruption over the 12 month period into a searchable database;

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[2] The Argus, 13 March 2007, "Graft lurks within big business – Sanef"
[3] Sapa - The Argus, 13 March 2007, "Perceptions of corruption way off mark, study shows"

- to identify "new" cases of corrupt activity in both the public and private sector that the media reported on over the 12-month period;
- to establish from media reports where the cases of corruption occurred, in terms of sector (e.g. public/private), level of government (e.g. national or local), province (e.g. Gauteng), department (e.g. Education);
- to look more closely at specific cases of corruption reported on by the media in the period under review and discuss the public interest angle; and
- to draw some tentative conclusion from the database as to the print media's reporting of corruption in South Africa.

The corruption articles were assembled by the SA Media Service based at the University of the Free State with 41 South African print media sources included, covering both English and Afrikaans, national and regional, daily and weekly publications.

In total 1807 media reports on corruption were collated over the period in question.

Each media report was logged onto an Excel worksheet into several columns (A – G). "New" cases of corruption (n-160) included additional information, captured in columns (H – Q).

Database architecture

A: Topic: E.g. 14, 15, 31 – These are coding numbers used by SA Media Service
B: Reference number: E.g. 80, 299, 499 – coding numbers used by SA Media Service
C: Date: E.g. 17 July 2006 (There were only 15 days during 2006 on which no media report on corruption is recorded)
D: Publication: E.g. Beeld or Sunday Times
E: Language: E.g. English or Afrikaans
F: Type of media report: E.g. Article, Cartoon, Editorial, Op/Ed
G: Title of media report: E.g. "Political will to fight corruption still lacking"
H: Case #: E.g 1 - 160 refers to specific "new" cases of corrupt activity. Media reports covering the same incident are coded as one case.
I: Case: E.g. New or old refers to a coding decision as to whether the media report is an "old" case (i.e. Travelgate or the arms deal) or a "new" one that appeared in the media for the first time in the period under review, even though the corrupt activities may have occurred pre-2006.
J: Sector: E.g. Public or private sector
K: Province: E.g. Gauteng
L: Level: E.g. Local, Provincial, National, International
M: Department: E.g. Health or housing or name of particular municipality, e.g. Manguang
N: Names: Example name of specific individual mentioned in the case, e.g. Portia Kgantsi
O: Type of Corruption (as recorded in the media report): E.g. alleged fraud, theft, corruption, tender irregularities, financial mismanagement etc.
P: Anti-Corruption Agent (as recorded in the media report): E.g. Criminal Justice System, Police, Auditor-General, Internal Disciplinary Hearing. Note in many instances a number of different agents may have been involved.

Q: Follow-up Action (as recorded in the media report): Charges, Case postponed, Conviction

Coding of media reports

The SA Media Service at the University of the Free State initially coded the media reports. A broad definition of "corruption" appears to have been adopted with media reports on corruption including instances where a person(s) have used their positions of power, influence or access to public resources for their own personal gain. These activities range from alleged general corruption, theft and fraud, to accepting bribes in exchange for favours, tender irregularities, financial mismanagement, nepotism, money laundering or conflicts of interest. While consideration was given to narrowing the coding of the "new" cases of corruption into particular types of corruption, the diversity of the concept of corruption is such that it was decided to leave the type of corruption as recorded verbatim in the particular media report.

The media reports (n-1807) were coded into various types of reports: Articles, Editorials, Op/Eds, Letters, Cartoons and Advertorials.

Articles: 1331 of the media reports were coded as articles on corruption.

Editorials and Op/Eds: 174 media reports were coded as Editorials and 124 as Op/Ed reports.

Letters: 83 of the media reports on corruption were letters. Of these 71 were written to the English print media, with 12 appearing in the Afrikaans print media.

Cartoons: There were 93 cartoons with a corruption theme appearing in the 2006 print media collection. 27 appeared in the Afrikaans press, 66 in the English media. 47 of the cartoons referred to former president, Jacob Zuma.

Advertorials: 2 Advertorials, by Correctional Services, documenting their efforts to fight corruption were included in the media reports.

"New" cases of corruption: 269 media reports (exclusively articles) reported on 160 "new" cases of corruption. Some cases of corruption were reported on in the media more than once and in a number of instances there were over three and up to 11 media reports covering the same case. The most reported cases of corruption will be discussed in some detail.

List of publications

13 Afrikaans and 28 English language publications were included by the CORE media service. The table below captures the names of these publications.

In brackets - the number of *total media reports* (n-1807) on corruption by each publication.

The red - the number of *"new" cases of corruption* (n-160) reported on by each publication.

Afrikaans (14)	English (27)
1. Afrikaner (23) 2	1. Business Day (150) 13
2. Beeld (209) 27	2. Cape Argus (57) 14
3. Bloemnuus (1)	3. Cape Times (49) 7
4. Burger (109) 7	4. Citizen (132) 20
5. Die Vrye Afrikaan (1)	5. City Press (72) 19
6. Finweek (8)	6. Daily Despatch (69) 15
7. Hervormer (2)	7. Daily News (40) 5
8. Insig (1)	8. Diamond Fields Advertiser (24) 3
9. Kerkbode (1)	9. Express (1)
10. Landbouweekblad (4) 1	10. Financial Mail (18)
11. Ons Stad (3) 1	11. Independent on Saturday (13) 3
12. Rapport (29) 1	12. Leadership SA (1)
13. Volksblad (57) 9	13. Mail and Guardian (69) 3
14. Vrystaat Sake Bulletin (1)	14. Natal Witness (100) 10
	15. Pretoria News (30) 5
Total Afrikaans Media Reports = 449	16. Saturday Independent (1)
	17. Saturday Star (16) 3
	18. Saturday Weekend Argus (8) 1
	19. Servamus (3)
	20. Sowetan (71) 14
	21. Star (191) 18
	22. Sunday Argus (12) 1
	23. Sunday Independent (39) 1
	24. Sunday Times (53) 9
	25. Sunday Tribune (38) 2
	26. Eastern Province Herald (93) 9
	27. Weekend Post (8)
	Total English Media Reports = 1358

Findings and analysis

Overall there were 1807 print media reports from various English and Afrikaans newspapers and magazines on "corruption" collected by the CORE media service. The Afrikaans media reports on corruption totalled 449 while 1358 reports on corruption appeared in the English media.

Print media with the most media reports on corruption

Publications having more than 50 media reports on corruption were, in descending order:

Beeld (n-209)
The Star (n-191)
Business Day (n-150)
Citizen (n-132)
Die Burger (n-109)
Natal Witness (n-100)
Eastern Province Herald (n-93)
City Press (n-72)
Sowetan (n-71)
Mail and Guardian (n-69)
Daily Despatch (n-69)
Cape Argus (n-57)
Volksblad (n-57)
Sunday Times (n-53)

The Afrikaans daily newspaper, Beeld, had the most media coverage of corruption (209 reports) followed closely by the English daily, The Star (191). Business Day and Citizen followed, with 150 and 132 reports respectively. Die Burger (109) and The Natal Witness (100) also had over 100 media reports of corruption over the twelve-month period.

How many of these media reports referred to "new" cases of corruption?

Print media with the most coverage of "new" corruption cases

Publications covering ten or more of the 160 "new" cases of corruption in 2006 were:

Beeld (n-27)
Citizen (n-20)
City Press (n-19)
The Star (n-18)
Daily Despatch (n-15)
Cape Argus (n-14)
Sowetan (n-14)
Business Day (n-13)
Natal Witness (n-10)

What does this tell us?

Beeld coverage includes the most "new" cases of corruption (27) followed by Citizen (20), City Press (19) and The Star (18). Other newspapers covering 10 or more "new" cases of corruption include Daily Despatch (15), Cape Argus and Sowetan (14), Business Day (13) and Natal Witness (10).

One explanation for the fact that a publication such as the *Mail and Guardian* does not feature amongst publications covering more than ten "new" corruption cases is the distinction between petty and grand corruption. The majority of "new" cases covered by the daily print media are petty, dealing with relatively simple forms of corruption such as bribery, as opposed to more complex cases of grand corruption that often involve an overlap of political and business interests.

Looking at the ratio of media reports on corruption in general as opposed to actual "new" cases of reported on, it appears that City Press, followed by the Cape Argus and Daily Despatch' media coverage of corruption is more "efficient" with one media report in 3,7; 4; and 4.6 respectively actually reporting on a "new" case of corruption. Less efficient media reporting of corruption appears to be undertaken by for example the Natal Witness (1:10), The Star (1:10.6) and Business Day (11.5). i.e. while certain publications cover corruption in general in their reporting, only very few of these media reports report on actual incidents.

Ratio of media reports to "new" cases of corruption

City Press	72:19 = 3.7
Cape Argus	57:14 = 4.0
Daily Despatch	69:15 = 4.6
Sowetan	71:14 = 5.0
Citizen	132:20 = 6.6
Beeld	209:27 = 7.7
Natal Witness	100:10 = 10
The Star	191:18 = 10.6
Business Day	150:13 = 11.5

It should be noted that in reporting on "new" cases of corruption, some publications may follow the story with a number of articles on the same case.

Analysis of "new" cases of corruption

During 2006, 160 "new" cases of corruption were covered by the 269 media reports. 60 of these media reports were in the Afrikaans press and 209 in the English press. The nature of these cases will be discussed in more detail by looking at them through a sectoral, level, provincial and departmental analysis. Summaries of noteworthy cases in boxes are included were relevant.[4]

Sectoral analysis:

The majority of "new" cases of corruption occurred in the public sector, 136, as opposed to 23 in

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[4] Whilst every effort has been taken to ensure that these case studies are accurate, they still rely on the media reports that these summaries are accurate, they still rely on print media reports that in some cases may be inaccurate or incomplete.

the private. 1 case covered the private and public sector. Total 160 cases.

There were 32 articles on the private sector cases, compared with 228 articles for the public sector cases. 9 articles covered the public/private sector case #106, involving alleged tender irregularities by the former CEO of the Post Office, Maande Manyatshe. This case, based on 9 media reports. os is analysed below by highlighting the way in which the media covered the event.

Case 106 – South African Post Office/MTN

Alleged tender irregularities

Maande Manyatshe, the MD of cellphone giant MTN accused of possible violation of tender rules, fraud and misconduct in his previous role as CEO of the South African Post Office (Sapo)

Action status: Internal investigations, Mail & Guardian investigation, no criminal charges by end of 2006

Nine articles – *Mail & Guardian, Beeld, The Star, Business Day, Cape Times*
Sector: Public /Private institution
Level: National
Province: National
Department: – South African Post Office
Former CEO Maande Manyatshe

Initial action taken: Post Office investigations instigated by current CEO Khutso Mampeule
Public awareness: *Mail & Guardian* investigation

This story's publication starts with the failed attempt by Maande Manyatshe then MD of MTN to stop the *Mail & Guardian* from publishing allegations against him of possible fraud and misconduct, related to his previous role as CEO of the South African Post Office (Sapo) and a tender awarded to Vision Design House in 2003. (*Business Day* report, 22 September 2006).

According to the *Mail & Guardian*, Post Office spokesperson, Twiggs Xiphu, the company handed the matter to the SA Police Services in February 2006.

The *Mail & Guardian* reported on 28th September that the current CEO of Sapo, Khutso Mampeule "has laid a criminal complaint against Manyatshe, two other former Post Office executives Francis Matabane and Geoff Mobote and the company that got the deal, Vision Design House." According to the report the commercial branch of the police services confirmed that they were "investigating charges of fraud and corruption related to the refurbishment of post offices." Manyatshe is accused of pushing through "a deal worth R100 million – potentially more than R2-billion – without a tender process". Manyatshe, Matabane and Mobote have denied wrongdoing.

VDH is suing the Post Office for R5 million it claimed it was still owed. *Business Day,* 14th November says the Post Office paid R99,5 million to VDH then cancelled the deal. Mampeule

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said that while 19 bidders were involved in the initial tender process, "'the tender process was suddenly aborted and shortly afterwards the extraordinary step was taken of appointing VDH which had not participated in the tender process.'"

The *Cape Times* reported on 3 October 2006 that Francis Matabane's current employer Red1 had instigated an internal investigation because as Chief Financial Officer Matabane would be responsible for a budget of more than R3.9billion and the "the issue of trust, accountability and transparency is (therefore) critical."

Mail & Guardian, 2nd November 2006 says that there is evidence that VDH did favours for Manyatshe and Matabane prior to being awarded the Post Office contract.

On 14th November 2006 *Business Report* (*The Star*) "learns" that Manyatshe was forced to resign as MD of MTN. Article header says: "Manyatshe was pushed out of MTN SA post". Manyatshe said that he reluctantly elected to relinquish his post in the interests of shareholders. *Business Report* notes an increase of 4.21% in the value of MTN stock as a result. Manyatshe is reported to be suing the Post Office in the interests of clearing his name.

Business Day, 20th November 2006 reports the suspension of Post Office CEO Khutso Mampeule pending the outcome of a disciplinary hearing against him. Mampeule said that his suspension is an attempt to divert attention from his own corruption clean-up activities. *Business Day* said: "The saga points to a growing crisis at the Post Office and Parliament's portfolio committee on communication has questioned Communications Minister Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri's handling of the matter."

The action line: Sapo cancels contract with VDH in 2005; VDH sues Sapo for outstanding claim; Sapo initiates police investigation in February 2006; *Mail& Guardian* "is informed" and approaches Manyatshe; Manyatshe brings interdict against *M & G*; interim interdict is granted and reported by *Business Day* (22 Sep 2006); **full *M & G* report is published on 28th September 2006**........by 23rd November 2006 the investigation initiated by Sapo is not resolved; VDH is still suing Sapo; Manyatshe has resigned from MTN; Manyatshe is suing Sapo; current CEO of Sapo Mampeule is suspended and facing disciplinary hearing.

Case 18 involves private sector South African companies in alleged corruption in the Iraqi Oil-for-food programme. See details on the case from the four media reports below.

Case 18 – National government/ private companies – Iraqi Oil-for-food investigation

Alleged illicit activities related to UN Oil-for-food programme in Iraq

SA President Mbeki appoints commission to investigate SA involvement after Kofi Annan probe implicates SA companies in widespread corruption in the programme

Action status: Presidential Commission of Inquiry, Public Protector

Four articles – *Sunday Times, Sunday Argus, Afrikaner*

Sector: Public/ Private
Province: National
Level: National
Department: Government
Cabinet and ANC heavyweights with relationships to oil dealer Sandile Majali of Umvume

Initial action taken: Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary General's Commission of Inquiry
Public awareness: Media report President Mbeki's appointment of subsequent commission of inquiry

Media reports concentrate on the so-called controversial relationship between Sandile Majali of Mvume Management and Cabinet ministers and ANC heavyweights saying they will come under scrutiny as a result of a commission appointed by President Mbeki to investigate alleged illicit activities of "certain SA companies and individuals relating to the UN Oil for Food Programme in Iraq". The appointment of the commission comes in the wake of the findings in October 2005 of Kofi Anna's Commission of Inquiry.

The UN report showed that Saddam Hussein's regime had traded crude oil allocations for political support and had collected kickbacks from firms that took part in Iraq's oil-for-food programme.

The UN report said: "It is clear that Majali was close enough to South Africa's ruling party to give the Iraqis comfort that they were dealing with an entity which could influence South African authorities. The ANC had joined a dangerous courtship dance with Saddam." (*Sunday Times,* 12th February 2006.)

Of the 2 200 companies involved in dealings with Iraq that the UN report lists, seven are South African. Among these are Imvume Management and British company Mocoh Services with which Tokyo Sexwale's company Mvelephanda was involved. Mvelephanda denied knowing about the kickbacks and welcomed the commission of inquiry. The UN report implicates businesses and politicians world-wide.

On 23rd February 2006 the *Afrikaner* reported that Minister of Community Development Zola Skweyiya was allegedly involved in corruption allegations targeted at Sandile Majali. Having found no evidence of wrong-doing on the part of Skweyiya in July 2005, the Public Protector, Lawrence Mushwana said that new information had come to light that required further investigation.

One of the few cases involving an NGO in the 2006 print media reports is that of the Ithuteng Trust managed by "Angel of Soweto", Jackie Maarohanye. There were five media reports covering this story involving celebrities such as Oprah Winfrey.

Case 147 – Trust – Ithuteng Trust, Jackie Maarohanye

Alleged fraud

Jackie Maarohanye is alleged to have fraudulently solicited money from among others,

Bill Clinton, Oprah Winfrey and Nelson Mandela

Action status: Carte Blanche **exposé, unrelated SAPS charges, investigations by donors**

Five articles – *Saturday Star, The Star, Citizen*
Sector: Private
Province: Gauteng
Level: Provincial
Institution: Ithuteng Trust
Jackie Maarohanye (Mamma Jackie) of the Ithuteng Trust school in Soweto

Initial action taken and public awareness: MNet's *Carte Blanche* actuality TV programme exposé

This story is based around the airing of a documentary in the USA about the Ithuteng Trust school and the work of Jackie Maarohanye who is called Mamma Jackie and been dubbed the Angel of Soweto for her work. The Video documentary called *Ithuteng – Never stop learning* is apparently used for fund-raising purposes. This documentary that has won awards and had been giving the backing of celebrities such as Ben Affleck and Bono is alleged to have been built on lies.

Carte Blanche found that Maarohanye allegedly gave children harrowing stories of rape or abuse, for example, to tell that were untrue. Some children who had been tutored to say they were orphans, in fact, had parents. *Carte Blanche* also found that some tertiary institutions never received promised bursary funding from Ithuteng and were suing Ithuteng for unpaid fees. Ithuteng claimed that it was the only school in Africa to achieve a 100% matric pass rate over the past seven years when this was not the case. *Carte Blanche* provided examples of children and parents who were required by Maarohanye to lie to solicit funding and sponsorship for Ithuteng.

The SA Police confirmed that there were several charges in two cases against Maarohanye including public violence, housebreaking, theft, kidnapping and assault. (*Saturday Star,* 25 November 2006). These are apparently not related to the documentary or exposé.

The Star reported on 29 November 2006 that all those who had donated money to Ithuteng had requested copies of the *Carte Blanche* programme and that Maarohanye had declined to comment. *Carte Blanche* urged the American broadcaster HBO to carefully consider going ahead with a scheduled broadcast of the Ithuteng documentary in the United States.

Level analysis:

This table looks at the print media coverage of corruption by level, namely whether the type of corruption cases related to international national, national (police) or the local level.

Level (Coding)	# Media Reports	# new cases
International	4	4 cases
National	77	33 cases
National (Police)	31	23 cases
Provincial	114	74 cases
Local	41	26 cases
		Total 160 cases

Cases of corruption were most likely to occur at the provincial level. 114 media reports covered 74 "new" cases of corruption at provincial level; 77 media reports covered 33 "new" cases at national level; 41 media reports covered 26 "new" cases at local level; There were 23 "new" cases of corruption of the SAPS nationally were covered by 31 media reports; and 4 cases of international corruption were reported on in four media reports.

Case 151, involving the SABC's Lesedi FM Radio, is an interesting case of corruption in the media at national level.

Case 151 – Public Broadcaster, Lesedi FM Radio

Fraud, money laundering and corruption

Popular Lesedi FM DJ Thuso Motaung and his wife radio presenter Mmamontha arrested and charged with six of their companies on 17 counts including with defrauding the SABC of R32 million

Action status: SABC internal investigation and hearings (2004), police investigation, court appearances, bail

Five articles – *The Star, Sowetan, Pretoria News*
Sector: Public
Province: National (Sesotho radio station not broadcasting to West Cape, Limpopo or KwaZulu-Natal. Offices in Free State.)
Level: National
Department: Public Broadcaster - SABC Lesedi FM Regional radio station
Presenters Thuso Motaung, his wife Mmamontha and their business partner Joshua Ramme

Initial action taken: Whistle-blower said to be another presenter at Lesedi FM (*Sowetan,* 18th December 2006). Internal investigation.
Public awareness: Media report arrests and charges

Popular Lesedi FM presenters Thuso Motaung and his wife Mmamontha were arrested on 7th December 2006 and charged with six of their companies on 17 counts including eight of fraud,

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one of money-laundering and eight of corruption. Their business partner Joshua Ramme was also implicated. The media report that the charges involve amounts up to R32 million or R34 million. The three appeared in the Johannesburg commercial crimes court.

The Star, 8th December 2006 said "The state alleges that in an intricate network of business transactions Motaung, Mmamontha and Ramme through their companies entered into a number of agreements with the SABC's Radio Airtime Sales to market their products while Motaung was on the air." The charge sheet also lists other fraudulent transactions where money due to the SABC was channelled into the accounts of the three.

The Star notes that Motaung used to deliver sermons on moral and ethical behaviour to his 2,3million listeners.

After a week in jail the Motaungs were granted bail. They have been suspended from their jobs pending the outcome of the court case.

"In terms of SABC personnel regulations an employee may neither directly nor indirectly have an interest in other business, nor do work part-time, nor hold a public office without prior written consent of the group chief executive." During internal hearing in 2004 and 2005 Motaung failed to declare interests in the companies involved. Subsequent internal investigations at the broadcaster took a year. According to the *Sowetan,* 18th December 2006 sources at the broadcaster say "this is just the tip of the ice-berg". "Another well-known presenter, now a state witness is said to be the whistle-blower."

Provincial analysis:

This table looks at the data from the perspective of provinces. Media reports of new cases were coded into where, i.e. which province the "new" case of corruption occurred. The number of media reports per province, as well as the number of "new" cases (both in terms of public and private sector), is noted in the table.

Province	# Media Reports	# "new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Eastern Cape	39	25 (23 public, 2 private)	#88
Free State	16	10 (10 public)	#5
Gauteng	46	25 (24 public, 1 private)	#112, #147
KwaZulu Natal	21	15 (14 public, 1 private)	# 142
Limpopo	23	13 (12 public, 1 private)	#54, #115, #136
Mpumalanga	10	10 (10 public)	
North West	10	7 (6 public, 1 private)	#58
Northern Cape	3	3 (3 public)	
Western Cape	34	21 (16 public, 5 private)	#80
National	65	33 (21 public, 11 private, 1 p/p)	#42, #106, #151

The majority of media reports covered "new" corruption cases at the national level. Gauteng (46), Eastern Cape (39) and Western Cape (34) lead with media reports covering "new" cases. 25 "new" cases of corruption were reported on in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng respectively, with the

Western Cape following with 21 "new" cases. Provinces with 10 and fewer "new" cases of corruption reported on by the print media during 2006 were Northern Cape (3), North West (7), Free State and Mpumalanga with 10 "new" cases each. This raises questions as to the extent and capacity of news coverage in these provinces to be able to report corruption, although some might argue there are fewer opportunities for corrupt practices to occur in these provinces.

In the following pages the media reporting of corruption (both in terms of publications and the number of media reports) in recording "new" cases of corruption is analysed with respect to each province. Noteworthy cases highlighted by the media in its reporting of corruption in 2006 are summarised.

Eastern Cape

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Eastern Cape	39	25 (23 public, 2 private)	#88

In the Eastern Cape there were 39 media reports covering 25 "new" cases of corruption (23 of which occurred in the public sector, and 2 in the private sector).

Ten publications reported on corruption in the Eastern Cape of which the regionally located Daily Despatch (n-14) and Eastern Province Herald (n-11) were most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 15 cases were coded as provincial, 6 as local, and 4 were cases of SAPS corruption.

A particularly note-worthy case (#88) that was reported on in 2006 in the Eastern Cape related to the provincial school nutrition program.

Case 88 – Provincial Government - Eastern Cape School Nutrition Programme

Alleged financial irregularities, theft and corruption

Eastern Cape Feeding Scheme flouted tender processes, lack of quality assurance, unaccounted for funds

Action status: Internal forensic audit including report by Auditor General, criminal charges to be laid

Five articles – *Business Day, Daily Dispatch, Citizen, Cape Times, E P Herald*
Sector: Public
Province: Eastern Province
Level: Provincial
Department: Education
Primary School Feeding Scheme/ School Nutrition Programme
Alleged guilty parties not named

Initial action taken: Investigation commissioned early in 2006 by Eastern Cape Premier,

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Nosimo Balindlela; Auditor General's report

Public awareness: media report on announcement by Premier Balindlela

Business Day, 29th August 2006 announced the commissioning of an independent investigation by Eastern Cape Premier to look into the school feeding scheme. About a million primary school children in the province depend on a school meal. Quoting the *Daily Dispatch* the article says there were clear indications that tender processes were flouted; only 65 of 104 small business food providers were quality assured and there was a "clear deviation from the objectives of feeding quality food to children."

On 13th October 2006 *Daily Dispatch* reports further irregularities highlighted by the Auditor General's investigation into the finances of the Education Department where R16 million earmarked for the feeding scheme is not accounted for. This is part of the R211,7 million spent on the School Nutrition Programme during the period April 2005 to March 2006. The department's chief financial officer, Tracy Cummings said that the money was used to pay meal servers who get R300 a month. There was no documentation because the districts failed to supply them.

On 20th October 2006 the *Citizen* reported that the Public Service Accountability Programme at Rhodes University had vowed to go to court to obtain a copy of the previously mentioned internal investigation report by the Premier which has not been publicly released.

On 21st and 22 December the *Cape Times* and *Eastern Province Herald* reports on the release of the "damning report on the Eastern Cape's bungled school nutrition programme". The report reveals corruption in the amount of R100 million. Charges include giving contracts to companies that did not exist, payments to suppliers not awarded contracts, overpayments and a large number of payment to companies that shared the same telephones and addresses. The management of the programme had been moved from the province's Health Department to the Education Department in 2005 in the hope that administrative incompetency and corruption that dogged the scheme would be improved.

The investigation recommended the immediate cancellation of all contracts for the programme and the suspension of officials involved. Premier Balindlela who was lauded for releasing the report said that a criminal case would be laid with the Scorpions.

Balindlela said she was very disappointed: "This was a president's project. That money was meant for the poorest children." (*Cape Times,* 21st December 2006).

Free State

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Free State	16	10 (10 public)	#5

In the Free State there were 16 media reports covering 10 "new" cases of corruption, all in the public sector.

Three publications reported on corruption in the Free State. The Volksblad (n-14) was most active in reporting on "new "cases of corruption in this province.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 5 cases were coded as provincial, 2 as local, and 3 were cases of SAPS corruption.

A particularly note-worthy case (#5) that was reported on in 2006 in the Free State related to alleged tender irregularities in the Mangaung Muncipality.

Case 5 – Mangaung Municipality, Free State

Alleged tender irregularities, corruption and fraud

Group of Mangaung municipal officials and their assistants on charges of fraud, corruption and tender irregularities

Action status: Criminal charges, court appearances, bail hearings as well as internal disciplinary hearings

Seven articles – Six in *Volksblad*, one in *Ons Stad*
Sector: Public – Mangaung Municipality
Province: Free State
Level: Local / Municipal
Group of Mangaung municipal officials and their assistants

Initial action taken: Scorpions investigation and arrests
Public awareness: Uncertain - possibly when media reports on court appearances

These articles report on the various follow-up court appearances, bail hearings and outstanding charges as well as disciplinary hearings involving a group of Mangaung municipal officials and their assistants who were arrested and charged in July 2005 by the Scorpions. Members of the group included: Pappi Mokoena (mayor), his wife Granny, his political advisor Motlalepula Thithi, municipal manager Mojalefa Matlole, Mzwandile Silwana, speaker Zongelzile Zumane and later assistants Laetitia Hoffman and Evodia Kok. The amount involved in the case of the fraud is quoted as R150million.

One of the charges involves suspended business manager Mzwandile Silwana's wife Brigitte who allegedly received an estimated R1,2million contract without tender. The tender process is required for contracts exceeding R120 000.

A report on May 4th indicates that Mojalefa Matlole and Mzwandile Silwana were found guilty in March of 500 and 72 charges of fraud and corruption and fraud respectively at a disciplinary hearing but were still drawing large salaries from the municipality.

The court case involving Mokoena, his wife, Silwana, Matlole and Thithi and others started in October 2006. In the same week a further five people were arrested with regard to the case.

Their case was remanded till February 2007 in the regional court. The Mangaung group's case was remanded till June 2007 in the Supreme Court. On 22nd November 2006 Motlalepula Thithi, political advisor to suspended ex-mayor Pappie Mokoena was found not guilty at the end of his disciplinary hearing.

Comment : These short articles fail to differentiate clearly between internal and Scorpion investigations, nor do they explain the differences between disciplinary and court hearings and how these may impact on each other. Some of the articles suggest that the rights of municipal officials to their salaries remain intact until they are found guilty and that there are processes governing payment of salaries. It is unclear, however, what these are. Charges brought against specific officials are also not clear.

Gauteng

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Gauteng	46	25 (24 public, 1 private)	#147

In Gauteng there were 46 media reports covering 25 "new" cases of corruption (24 of which occurred in the public sector, and 1 in the private sector).

Eleven publications reported on corruption in Gauteng of which the Star (n-10), Citizen (n-10) and Beeld (n-9) were the most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 14 cases were coded as provincial, 5 as local, 4 as cases of SAPS corruption, and 2 as national. Case #147 of Jackie Maarohanye (Mamma Jackie) of the Ithuteng Trust school in Soweto, has already been referred to.

KwaZulu Natal

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
KwaZulu Natal	21	15 (14 public, 1 private)	# 142

In KwaZulu Natal there were 21 media reports covering 15 "new" cases of corruption (14 of which occurred in the public sector, and 1 in the private sector).

Seven publications reported on corruption in KwaZulu Natal of which the regionally located Natal Witness (n-10) and Daily News (n-4) were most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 8 cases were coded as provincial, 4 as local, and 3 were cases of SAPS corruption.

A particularly note-worthy case (#142) that was reported on in 2006 in KwaZulu Natal related to allegations of corruption at the DUT campus in Durban.

Limpopo

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Limpopo	23	13 (12 public, 1 private)	#115, #136

In Limpopo there were 23 media reports covering 13 "new" cases of corruption (12 of which occurred in the public sector, and 1 in the private sector).

Six publications reported on corruption in Limpopo of which Beeld (n-5) and Sowetan (n-5) were the most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 7 cases were coded as provincial and 6 as local.

Two particularly note-worthy cases reported on in 2006 in Limpopo relate to alleged fraud and corruption by Ben Mehala, MD of Gateway International Airport and former MEC for Roads and Transport (Case # 115), and alleged tender irregularities regarding former Limpopo premier, Ngoako Ramatlhodi (Case #136).

Case 115 – Provincial Government - Limpopo Transport, Gateway Airport Authority Limited

Alleged fraud and corruption

Ben Mehale MD of Gateway International Airport and ex MEC for Roads and Transport in Limpopo blacklisted from public service and under investigation by current employer

Action status: Internal and independent forensic audits, Standing Committee of Public Accounts findings, charges recommended including that Mehale pay back the R25 million

Five articles – *Citizen, Sowetan, Beeld, City Press*
Sector: Public
Province: Limpopo
Level: Provincial
Department: Road and Transport
Ex Limpopo Provincial Transport chief – Ben Mehale

Initial action taken: Internal forensic audit commissioned by new Roads and Transport MEC, Stan Motimele "found its way to the media"
Public awareness: Media reports Mehale suspended by Gateway International Airport Limited, where he was MD, after forensic audit report (not clear whether this is the above report)

According to the media reports Ben Mehale was under investigation both at his previous employer, the Limpopo Provincial Roads Department and at his current employer, the Gateway Airport Authority Limited in Polokwane.

According to a report in *Sowetan,* 14th November 2006 Mehale was suspended from his post as

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MD at Gateway Airport "when irregularities came to light". In the mean time, the Standing Committee on Public Accounts (Scopa) found several irregularities related to the International Transport Convention convened by Mehale while he was MEC for Roads and Transport in Limpopo. These include no budget for the R25 million conference event and the squandering of the amount. Scopa heard how cheaper service providers were unjustly disqualified and monies from road maintenance and administration were diverted to the conference. The report recommended that Mehale be ordered to repay the R25 million and that he be banned from public service. Scopa also recommended that charges be laid against Mehale.

Fingers were pointed at the current MEC, Stan Motimele "under whose nose" this allegedly happened. Stan Motimele was removed from his post by Premier Sello Moloto in November according to *Beeld,* 22nd November 2006.

City Press, 19 November 2006 reported that the Gateway Airport Authority Limited was going to charge Mehale due to financial irregularities.

Case 136 – Provincial government, Limpopo former premier

Alleged tender irregularities

Scorpions raid residences of former premier of Limpopo, Ngoako Ramatlhodi accompanied by accusations that the raids are politically motivated

Action status: Ongoing investigation

Three articles – *Saturday Star, Sowetan and The Star*
Sector: Public
Province: Limpopo
Level: Provincial
Department: Premier/ Former premier
Ngoako Ramatlhodi, former premier of Limpopo

Initial action taken: Allegations made during Ramatlhodi's tenure as premier of Limpopo
Public awareness: Media reports Ramatlhodi's reaction to Scorpions raid on his residences

The Scorpions raided the former premier of Limpopo's residences in Tzaneen and Tshwane in what is believed to be an ongoing investigation into the former premier's allegedly corrupt activities during his tenure. The investigation apparently relates to a multi-million rand tender deal to distribute social security grants in Limpopo.

Ramatlhodi and his allies and sympathisers, among whom are trade union federation, Cosatu officials, say that Ramatlhodi has been victimised since "falling out" with Thabo Mbeki. "Allies" also pointed to Ramatlhodi's closeness to Jacob Zuma and the succession battle within the ANC as reasons for the Scorpion's actions (*Saturday Star,* 4th November 2006).

National Director of Prosecutions, Vusi Pikoli dismissed claims that the former premier was being investigated for political reasons saying that investigations had been frustrated by court

challenges against the raids of the residences of Ramatlhodi's associates.

Context

Two of the three reports dealing with this case concentrate heavily on Ramatlhodi and his sympathisers' reactions. *The Star,* 8th November 2006 reports that "'Cosatu repeats its long-standing call for the reintegration of the Scorpions into the SA Police Service and a speedy end to the elective prosecutions of choice which have been the sole contribution of the regrettable Scorpions experiment.'"

Mpumalanga

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Mpumalanga	10	10 (10 public)	

In Mpumalanga there were 10 media reports covering 10 "new" cases of corruption, all which occurred in the public sector.

Three publications reported on corruption in Mpumalanga of which Beeld (n-5) was most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 7 cases were coded as provincial and 3 as local.

North West

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
North West	10	7 (6 public, 1 private)	#58

In North West there were 10 media reports covering 7 "new" cases of corruption (6 of which occurred in the public sector, and 1 in the private sector).

Six publications reported on corruption in North West of which Beeld (n-4) was the most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 4 cases were coded as provincial, 1 as local, 1 case of SAPS corruption and 1 national.

A particularly note-worthy case (#58) that was reported on in 2006 in North West related to allegations of fraud, theft and corruption relating to the Tribal Authority.

Case 58 – Provincial government, North West – Tribal Authority

Alleged fraud, theft and corruption

Chief Nyalala Molefe Pilane faces 45 charges - one of corruption, two of fraud and the rest of theft

Action status: Police and National Prosecuting Authority's Asset Forfeiture Unit seize assets, arrest and charges, court appearance

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Four articles – *Business Day, Beeld, Star, Sowetan*
Sector: Public
Province: North West
Level: Provincial
Department: Tribal authority
Chief Nyalala Pilane of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela Tribal Authority

Initial action taken: (Unclear)
Public awareness: Media report Asset Forfeiture Unit seizes assets belong to Chief Pilane

In May 2006 the National Prosecuting Authority's Asset Forfeiture Unit seized assets belonging to Chief Nyalala Molefe Pilane of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela Tribal Authority. Police attached 13 properties, 14 vehicles, 27 bank accounts and placed companies under curatorship. Livestock and game were also attached. Some seized assets belonged to his co-accused Kobedi Pilane and Shimane Moshegoe. The Pilanesberg National Park is on tribal land and the tribe receives payment for land rights.

Pilane is facing 45 charges including one of corruption, two of fraud and the rest of theft. He allegedly falsified loan applications to the Land Bank by misrepresentation of royalties payable to the tribal authority inducing the bank to approve loans, to its prejudice.   He is also accused of misappropriation of tribal authority monies and illegally obtaining R50 000 from the Premier's office. The charges are said involve a total amount of over R40 million.

In a 12th September 2006 report the *Sowetan* says that Pilane faces allegations of fraudulently authorising three hunting permits and the transportation of eight Impala from the province's Lebatlane Game Reserve. The report continues: "The Concerned Bakgatla ba Kgafela Anti-Corruption Organisation are reported to have called for the suspension of Chief Pilane and his councillors. The organisation said they wanted an interim committee to run the affairs of the tribe."

Northern Cape

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Northern Cape	3	3 (3 public)	

In the Northern Cape there were 3 media reports covering 3 "new" cases of corruption, all which occurred in the public sector.

Only one publication, the Diamond Fields Advertiser, reported on corruption in the Northern Cape.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, all 3 cases were coded as occurring at provincial level.

Western Cape

Province	# Media Reports	"new" cases	Noteworthy cases
Western Cape	34	21 (16 public, 5 private)	#80

In the Western Cape there were 34 media reports covering 21 "new" cases of corruption (16 of which occurred in the public sector, and 5 in the private sector).

Six publications reported on corruption in the Western Cape of which the regionally located Cape Argus (n-17), Cape Times (n-8) and Burger (n-6) were most active.

In terms of the level at which corruption occurred, 10 cases were coded as provincial, 1 as local, 1 as international, 1 as national and 8 as cases of SAPS corruption.

A particularly note-worthy case (#80) that was reported on in 2006 in the Western Cape related to allegations corruption and conflict of interest at the Cape Peninsula Technikon.

Case 80 – Cape Peninsula University Technikon

Alleged corruption and conflict of interests

Response to Noseweek questioning the appointment of the Vice-chancellor and business interests of some members of the technikon council

Action status: Noseweek exposé, technikon staff call for investigation, forensic audit called for by council

Seven articles - *Die Burger, Cape Argus* (Cape Town press)
Sector: Public
Province: Western Cape
Level: Provincial
Department: Education – Cape Peninsula University Technikon
Vice-chancellor and council members

Initial action taken and public awareness: *Noseweek* magazine exposé

On 10th August 2006, in the wake of a *Noseweek* article three trade unions representing staff and academics called for an investigation into corruption and conflicts of interest at the Cape Peninsula University Technikon. At this point the Cape Town press take up the story largely quoting *Noseweek's story*. The *Noseweek* article had questioned both the appointment and qualifications of Vice-chancellor Vuyiso Lineo Tanga and charges related to business interests of some of the council members. Their article, it is reported, charges that some council members benefited from contracts that were not put to tender and misused university funds. Statutes governing universities prohibit council members from having direct financial interests in an institution. At a meeting on 14th August the Cape Peninsula University Technikon agreed to appoint an independent firm to investigate the alleged improprieties at the Technikon including the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor.

Departmental analysis:

When it comes to analysing the database in terms of which department "new" cases of corruption fall under, this is tricky for a number of reasons. Firstly, the coding in this column largely follows the wording in the media reports and thus more work is required to simplify the coding into more manageable categories for instance Health, Housing, Education, Policing, to give some examples. This is possible, but would require some more time to do this in an way that makes sense for analysing where, particularly in the public sector, corruption occurs.

For now, two areas prone to corrupt activity, namely housing and policing, are show-cased in the report by highlighting through cases, the types of corrupt activities that print media reports during 2006 covered. Further analysis is required.

Case snippets - Housing

KwaZulu-Natal – Former MEC and estate agent in fraudulent deals *Daily News,* 15th March 1006 (Case 28)	*High Court judgment -* Former Kwazulu Natal MEC for Housing Mdzu Khoza and estate agent Jayandaren Pillay were convicted by Judge Herbert Msimang on two charges of corruption totalling R800 000; these being related to commissions received from two fraudulent property deals. They were acquitted on remaining charges. They had originally been charged on 25 counts of fraud and corruption and were alleged to have defrauded the department of R72-million. Some of the alleged purchases under question were the sale of the Palm Beach Hotel, Four Seasons Hotel and Palmerston and West Point Lodge.
Limpopo – Houses not built *Citizen*, 16th March 2006 (Case 29)	*Announcement of civil and criminal charges -* Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, MEC for local government and housing announced that two builders who claimed compensation for houses not built were to face criminal and civil charges in court. This step follows on the Mahlangu report of enquiry into allegations of corruption and fraud in the department. The MEC also said that the department was embarking on a process of tightening up and strengthening its procedures.
KwaZulu-Natal – Employees steal R3,4 million worth of housing subsidies *Natal Witness,* 7th June 2006 (Case 61)	*Auditor General's preliminary forensic report -* Screening procedures in the KwaZulu-Natal Housing Department showed that of 314 instances audited 239 approved applicants were employees of the state and did not qualify for housing subsidies because they earned above the threshold of R42 000 annually. The investigation had been requested by the KZN Housing head of department Zandile Nyandu who indicated that the culprits would be referred to their respective departments for disciplinary processes to be instituted against them.
North West Province – 300 subsidised houses in Rustenburg given to	*Police investigation under way -* Spokesperson for the local government and housing department Mandla Mathebula announced that police were investigating the alleged fraud and

foreigners and non-qualifying applicants *Beeld,* 6th July 2006 (Case 66)	corruption involved in the allocation of 300 houses to foreigners and people who did not qualify for subsidised housing in the Rustenburg area.
Tshwane Metro – Several officials arrested and charged with alleged fraudulent sales of council property *Beeld,* 4th August 2006 (Case 76)	*Arrests and charges of fraud laid in regional court, on-going investigation* - Several Tshwane Metro council officials including Kwena Moleka, Joseph Boloi and Cornelius Peter were arrested and charged in the Mamelodi regional court with fraud in respect of the unlawful sale of council property. The accused and several others were caught in a sting operation by the police. The investigation is on-going.
Gauteng - Five officials in the Alexandra Renewal Project found guilty of corruption *Beeld,* 26th September 2006 (Case 107)	*Dismissals after disciplinary hearings -* Five officials from the Alexandra Renewal Project were dismissed after being found guilty of corruption in disciplinary hearings. Mongezi Mnyani of the provincial department of housing confirmed their dismissals. It was found that they had allocated houses that had been built for the poor to themselves.

Case Snippets – South African Police Services

Cape Town, Woodstock *Burger*, 31st January 2006 *Cape Argus*, 30th January 2006 (Case 7)	*Charges of theft* – Six/seven police reservists from Woodstock and two policemen from Faure's crime intelligence unit appeared in court on charges of theft. These officers are apparently remnants of "The Undertakers", a renegade reservist unit axed in 2002. *The Argus* report calls them an "underworld crime gang" with "links to drug lords".
Port Elizabeth, Humewood *EP Herald*, 30th January 2006 (Case 8)	*Alleged corruption, theft* – Former Humewood police station commissioner charged with "generally corruption relationship" with inmate of prison. The State alleged that the prisoner benefited from favours such as periodic release from prison in exchange for monies. Theft charges were in respect of cheques signed in payment of instalments for the commissioner's motor car.
Free State, Welkom *Volksblad*, 6th July 2006 (Case 67)	*Corruption and bribery* – Police reservist and chairman of community forum for North Free State was arrested and charged for allegedly cancelling a protection order in exchange for R500.
Free State, Welkom *Volksblad*, 15th August 2006 (Case 82)	*Armed robbery and corruption* – Three members of the Welkom flying squad were arrested when they were caught for allegedly forcing gold smugglers to hand over the gold or R10 000. The report says the smugglers handed over R4000 and the police took the gold as well.
Cape Town, Landsdowne *Cape Argus,* 11th September 2006 (Case 97)	*Corruption, bribery* – A police detective sergeant from Lansdowne Police Station was charged after a sting operation for receiving R3000 cash for withdrawing a charge. The police are investigating several similar incidents in which he was alleged to be involved.

	The report notes that this is the sixth arrest of police officers in recent months and quotes the provincial police spokesperson as saying it sends a strong message to the public that corruption will not be tolerated within the SAPS.
Durban, Phoenix *Independent on Saturday*, 7ᵗʰ October 2006 (Case 117)	***30 Motorists lay charges*** – Motorists lay charges against SAPS members who among other offences allegedly threatened to remove licence discs from cars, thus forcing owners to be re-tested for roadworthy, unless paid a sum of R800 each.
Johannesburg, Booysens *Citizen*, 12ᵗʰ October 2006 (Case 121)	***Corruption, bribery*** – Allegations of police extorting money from illegal immigrants resurfaced at the Booysens police station when officers attempted to elicit a bribe for the release of arrested illegal immigrant. The Booysens station was the subject of a television exposé in 2005 in this regard. Gauteng Community Safety MEC urged people who had "experienced abuse of power by those entrusted to protecting them" to report this.
Johannesburg *The Star,* 1ˢᵗ November 2006 (Case 132)	***Corruption, extortion, defeating the ends of justice and intimidation*** – Inspector on the SAPS anti-building-hijacking team was charged and received bail. He allegedly ran a building hijacking syndicate for three years; colluded with gangster landlords and hijacked dozens of buildings.

Case snippets – Provincial and Metro Police

Free State, Bloemfontein *Volksblad,* 1 February 2006 (Case11)	***Bribery allegations*** – Complete set of answers to the Driver's Licence examination in circulation. Provincial Traffic Department investigation to follow.
Limpopo, Mogalakwena Municipality *Sowetan,* 6ᵗʰ February 2006 *Sowetan,* 8ᵗʰ February 2006 (Case 16)	***Alleged fraudulent issuing of driver's licences*** – Seven traffic officers were suspended for alleged issuing of fraudulent driver's licences resulting in the closure of the municipal traffic department and a request to the province to have officers seconded to the Mogalakwena testing station. The ringleader was arrested, appeared in court and was charged with fraud and corruption.
KwaZulu-Natal, Port Shepstone *Beeld,* 6ᵗʰ May 2006 *Natal Witness*, 12ᵗʰ May 2006 (Case 45)	***Alleged bribery*** – Nearly half the traffic force in Port Shepstone was arrested for, amongst other allegations, allegedly demanding bribes for traffic offences from motorists on the N2 and/or quashing traffic fines. This action was taken after an eight month investigation; more arrests are likely.
Mpumalanga, Mbombela Municipality *Beeld*, 9 May 2006 (Case 47)	***Alleged bribery*** – A junior officer at the driver's licence testing station was arrested after being caught accepting a bribe of R1500 for a Code 10 licence (heavy vehicle). The police asked the public to report similar cases giving a telephone number.
Cape Town Metro, Green Point	***Motorists allege bribery*** – An investigation has been opened after charges were laid against Metro police for soliciting bribes in cases

Cape Times, 10th May 2006 (Case 48)	of drunken driving. Motorists alleged that the policemen didn't have alcohol testing kits and the threats of arrest or fines for the drunken driving were spurious.
Durban Metro *Independent on Saturday*, 29th July 2006 (Case 74)	*Allegations of robbery* – Metro Police ask the public for assistance in catching "robber cops" who stopped motorists, asked for their licences and robbed them of cash. Metro Police spokesman said motorists should ask officers for identification and badge numbers before any interaction.
Durban Metro *Independent on Saturday*, 12th August 2006 (Case 81)	*Conviction for extortion* – Metro officer arrested in 2000 was convicted of extortion. The case docket apparently went missing six times thus delaying the judgement. Police spokesperson said that 10 officers had been arrested and 14 suspended since 2000.
Johannesburg Metro *Citizen*, 31st August 2006 (Case 89)	*Corruption and assault* – Five Johannesburg Metro officers were axed and three others suspended after a departmental tribunal found them guilty of corruption and assault. The officers were arrested after they had assaulted taxi drivers who had fingered them after they solicited bribes from the taxi drivers.
Durban Metro *Daily News*, 29th September 2006 (Case 110)	*Alleged bribery* – Two Durban Metro policemen were caught allegedly accepting bribes on a CCTV camera they helped set up. They have been arrested and suspended from their jobs but not yet charged.
Mpumalanga, Mbombela Municipality *Citizen*, 30th September 2006 (Case 111)	*Alleged procedural, financial and other irregularities* - Chief traffic officer and public safety director suspended due to irregularities in a contract with Botmac for the supply and installation of speed and red-light cameras. The municipal manager was also implicated.

Reporting on corruption in the public interest

What causes a case of corruption to be covered by the media in more detail than in others?

Other than "old" cases such as the ongoing investigation into the arms deal, the most widely reported on case of corruption in the print media during 2006 was the arrest on charges of alleged bribery, corruption, defeating the ends of justice and extortion, of Advocate Portia Kgantsi, a senior prosecutor with the Scorpions.

This case (#112 in the database) was covered by a wide spectrum of the media in eleven newspaper articles.

Case 112 – Scorpions

Alleged bribery, corruption, defeating ends of justice and extortion

Advocate/ senior prosecutor for the Scorpions, Portia Kgantsi charged in magistrate's court

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Action status: Criminal charges, court appearances, bail hearings, no bail

Eleven articles – *Citizen, The Star, Sowetan, Beeld* - Johannesburg; *Sunday Times, City Press* – national - all Gauteng-based media
Sector: Public institution
Level: National
Province: Gauteng
Department: National Prosecuting Authority, Scorpions
Scorpions is the popular name for the high profile specialist police force of the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO), part of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA).

Senior Prosecutor Portia Kgantsi

Initial action taken: Informants (awaiting trial accused from whom she tried to extort money), sting operation
Public awareness: Media report on court hearing

The media reports track Scorpions senior advocate/prosecutor Portia Kgantsi's arrest in late September 2006 where she is unnamed through several bail hearings to a failed bail hearing and remand on 13th December 2006.

Portia Kgantsi was arrested on charges of bribery, corruption, extortion and defeating the ends of justice. The extortion charges relate to allegations that she offered to quash a case against two awaiting trial accused (identified in subsequent bail hearings as two Nigerians on charges for a 419 scam) in return for a payment of R350 000. During her bail application on 13th December, investigating officer Piet van der Merwe disclosed that the accused Nigerian nationals informed the police, then the Scorpions of her offer. She was caught in a subsequent sting operation by the Scorpions, during which she received a deposit of R40 000, among which there were marked bills, from the Nigerians.

In defeating the ends of justice Kgantsi was also charged with contravention of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act by which she is accused of allegedly approaching a policeman at the Scorpion's Gauteng offices wanting to secure 100kg of seized hashish with an estimated street value of R250 000.

Media reports include reports on her fears of being, at first, victimised then on her allegations that she was "verbally abused" and "manhandled" by fellow inmates in the Johannesburg Prison. Her lawyer also claimed that she was sick suffering from a chronic ulcer and headaches. Evidence was led at her bail hearings that, among a total of ten reasons for not releasing her on bail, she had a previous conviction for theft and had allegedly attempted to mislead the police by handing them an expired passport while she had an active one in her possession. Some reports describe her as a mother of three children ranging from 4 to 11 years now being looked after family members, and with a faltering marriage.

Kgantsi was refused bail on 13th December 2006 and her case remanded to 16 April 2007.

In late September 2007, Kgantsi was sentenced to ten years in prison, an event that was widely covered by media.

One explanation for the widespread media interest in this particular case of corruption relates to "who guards the guards". As pointed out by NPA spokesperson, Makhosini Nkosi in one of the articles: "'The DSO is at the forefront of the fight against corruption. Reports that a senior state prosecutor is implicated in acts of corruption obviously embarrasses the organisation and undermines our efforts in fighting crimes and the public confidence in the NPA.'" If the very agency that is cracking down on corruption, is itself perceived to be involved in corrupt activities, the public trust is severely shattered.

The current confusion in the NPA and SAPS, with the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, Vusi Pikoli by the president, a subsequent inquiry into Pikoli's fitness to hold office and an alleged investigation into the National Police Commissioner, Jackie Selebi, do not bode well for public trust being upheld in the very institutions that have been created to prevent abuses of power.

Conclusion

This study has not focused on the outcome of corruption cases in terms of successful convictions. One of the challenges is that media reports over the period in question often do not resolve the outcome of the corruption cases in a clear-cut way. Partly this is because the wheels of justice turn slowly, and often cases that come to light in one calendar year will only be resolved in months if not years. Only an ongoing study of this nature would be able to track the emergence and conclusion of particular cases comprehensively, although this would depend on a number of factors that may have more to do with media reporting of corruption cases, rather than the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in securing convictions.

Clearly the print media reports on cases of corruption for a variety of reasons, not the least being where reporting resources are available. Media reports of corruption cases in provinces such as the North West and the Northern Cape are miniscule, and it is hard to believe there is less corruption in such places – it simply has not come to light. The media play an important role in shining a spotlight into the workings of government. If this audit has done anything, it has stressed the proportional relationship of media reporting of corruption in general to actual "new" cases that the public becomes aware of by reading print media. In a democracy, cases of corruption are more likely to be exposed, and that is a good thing. However, an overload of information on generic corruption can naturally breed despondency and a sense that the problem is overwhelming. The capacity and resources of the media to uncover and track cases of corruption are stretched. As the SANEF report points out, corruption reporting makes up but a tiny fraction of daily news reports. The print media is challenged to focus its resources more on covering actual cases in more detail.