AN EXAMINATION OF THE FACTORS UNDERLYING DECISION-MAKING ABOUT SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF POLITICAL CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS

THESIS

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Abstract

What newspaper readers see of an event is determined by what photographs are selected and how they are presented. This thesis attempts to deconstruct the decision-making process around selection and presentation of photographs, with the aim of determining what factors are taken into account in that process.

It is based on the hypothesis that there must be a number of factors involved in decisions about news photographs, although these factors may not necessarily be consciously acknowledged in the decision-making process.

The study involves a comparison of how five case studies of incidents of political violence, which occurred between 1990 and 1994 in South Africa, were used in 17 newspapers. The focus on images of political violence is based on the assumption that politically and visually controversial images will give rise to situations in which gatekeepers will be called upon to question their decisions.

The research is based on qualitative research interviews with the decision-makers involved in the case studies. The analysis of the decision-making procedures is based on the theory of gatekeeping. The interviews are analysed in terms of Lewin's theory of forces, which suggests that, depending on the context, some factors will manifest themselves as positive forces working in favour of the photograph being selected or well presented, while others will take the form of negative forces.

The analysis sets out to determine what factors were taken into account in the decision-making process, what determined their relative degrees of importance and how those relative degrees of importance determined the final outcome.

Following an introduction to the practical case study research, dealing with general issues such as picture policy in newspapers and decision-making procedures, each case study is dealt with in turn. After an outline of the context in which the event occurred, the kinds of pictures that were

available to the newspapers are described. Then the decisions taken about which to choose and how to use them are analysed in terms of dominant themes.

These are themes such as newsworthiness, gruesomeness of content and concern about what other media were using. The analysis examines the way the news context and the decision-making context determine the relative importance of the various factors present.

Finally the study looks at the conclusions that can be drawn from the five case studies. The conclusion supports the initial hypothesis in finding that these decisions can be shown to have their basis in a fairly limited set of factors. The different results, from study to study and from newspaper to newspaper within a study, are determined by the changing news context and the decision-making context.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

"But why did you choose *this* particular photograph?"

The editor fixed me with a beady glare, clearly contemplating the peculiar stupidity of media researchers. He answered in the slow, precise tones of those trying to explain the mysteries of the journalistic craft to the uninitiated.

"It was the best picture we had."

This thesis sets out to unravel, in some small measure, the 'why' behind 'the best picture'.

It is dedicated to the friendly and patient,
if rather puzzled, news people who generously
gave up their time to answer my questions.

And it is dedicated to all those picture people who think
their art underrated in the news world.

Photographs are important.

Thanks go to my supervisor, Prof Guy Berger, for overseeing the literary process; to Prof Rich Beckman, for providing some much needed direction; to Linda Waldman for her help with the illustrations; to Patricia O'Dowd for her help with the coding and the illustrations; to Montgomery Cooper for proofreading and for general love and patience, and to the CSD for financial support.

Introduction

When readers pick up a newspaper and look at a photograph, it is as if they are looking at a window through which they can see part of an event as it happened. It is a magical window in that it lets one see through space and back through time.

But, for all its apparent magic, the photograph is as trapped in time and space as any other object. Between being taken at the event in question, and being viewed on the newspaper page by the reader, the photograph's own history is unfolding. It is a largely unchronicled history, for of all the elements that make up a newspaper, the photograph is one of the least researched.

But it is a history that this study would argue is important, for it is during this time between creation and viewing, that crucial decisions are made about which picture will be selected to represent an event and how that picture will be presented.

A photograph captures only one fraction of a second of something that may have taken anything from minutes to days to occur. And it captures only one part of what happened in that fraction of a second, and only one angle of view on that part. Yet, as research cited in this study shows, more people will look at that picture in a newspaper than will read the accompanying story. It can come to stand as representative of the event it records.

And it is during that forgotten history between taking and viewing that crucial decisions will be made about which moment of many moments and many angles captured on film will be chosen to represent the event. Then decisions must be made about how to present that moment - whether to cut some of it out, to show it in colour or black-and-white, on what page and what size. And finally it must be placed with text that will elaborate its meaning, giving readers a context in which to understand what they see.

All these decisions will have an impact on the way the reader will come to understand the content of the picture and the greater event that it represents.

But how are these decisions made? Argus picture editor Jim McLagan offered the following explanation: "There are no right and wrongs and there is no written down policy at all.... There are no definitive answers, it's just gut feeling" (interview June 1995).

But on what then is gut feeling based?

Weekend Star editor David Allen said that news is essentially a matter of personal perception. "You can have six editors often disagreeing on the same topic, six different views of what the news is. Not really what news is, we all know what news is, but the actual newsworthiness of the news and how it should be played and how it should be projected" (interview May 1995).

Allen's observation highlights one of the fundamental contradictions of the news business. Those that work in the business are supposed to know "what news is", to have a basic, unspoken understanding of what makes an event news rather than just another of those millions of things that happen each day in the world. There is an assumption that the category of news has an independent existence, one that can be recognised by professionals.

Yet, at the same time, those professionals may disagree on what is news; how important that news is; how to present that news.

Preliminary interviews undertaken in the process of defining the territory to be covered by this study have made it clear that, although the initial reaction of journalists tended to be that any decision was based on an instinctive understanding of what they saw as an objective criteria of newsworthiness, this same reasoning was used to justify widely different usage of the same raw materials in photographic terms.

Thus, where one newspaper ran a photograph large that another decided not to use, both justified it on the basis of newsworthiness and responsibility versus taste. This indicated that a deeper inquiry into the factors that went into these decisions, and of how these factors determined what was considered to be "newsworthy" and "tasteful", might be valuable.

Studies have been made of various news values that are supposedly taken into account in deciding what is newsworthy. But they are studies that have focused on news stories and on broadcast news. A few have considered news values in relation to award-winning photographs, but very few have looked at the news photograph.

The initial impetus for this study came from the lack of research in how photographs are used in South African newspapers, contrasted with the number of hard news pictures available for study due to the political upheavals of the last decade.

American researcher Sue O'Brien, in a study of a burning body photographed in Soweto (1993), noted that in the United States, there are a fairly limited number of studies of different editors' responses to difficult photographic choices and most have focused on contorted images leading to accusations of bad taste. "There have been few recent opportunities for systematic study of photos that, like Soweto, offer strong news values" (1993, 73). There is no shortage of such images in South Africa.

This study is based on the hypothesis that there must be a number of factors involved in decisions about which news photographs are selected and how they are presented in a newspaper. And it is a consideration of these factors that feed into decisions made on so-called "gut feeling".

These factors are not necessarily consciously acknowledged by the decision-makers in the whirl of everyday activity. But this study postulates that these factors are held in common across individuals and across news organisations and that their function is to aid decision-makers in assessing material in order to streamline its progress from source to newspaper output.

They should prove to be present as patterns in the everyday decisions taken by these people. Taken for granted as common sense procedures, they serve to structure the way news is created.

They do not necessarily exist as objective and independent entities. The preliminary interviews made it clear that news decisions as to whether an image would be used, depended on the specific context of the event, of the news at the time.

Thus, while editors were happy to use "newsworthiness" as an general criterion in explaining why they had chosen an image, they nevertheless saw the newsworthiness of any particular incident as being strongly context-related.

The interrelationship between general indicators of what was newsworthy and specific factors related to the particular news context becomes of interest. And with each news context one can postulate that the same factors will carry different weightings.

To uncover these factors, this study turned to the method of the case study. This allows one to start with the final result and work one's way back to unravel the various factors that played a part in the decisions leading to that result.

From an examination of five case studies, one begins to see how general factors related to newsworthiness interact with the specific news context. And to see which factors re-occur from case study to case study.

The forgotten history of the news photograph can be traced, showing how important decisions about which picture to select and how to present it are made. This journey begins with a chapter on the theoretical background to these issues. The chapter paints a backdrop to news photography to help establish the importance of the issues that form the focus of this study. It then examines the theory of selection procedures, gatekeeping theory, that serves as the basis of the analysis of the case studies.

The journey continues with a chapter on methodology, explaining how this study was constructed around five case studies of political violence, based on qualitative research interviews with the decision-makers involved.

The next chapter serves as an introduction to the practical case study research, dealing with general issues such as picture policy in newspapers and decision-making procedures. The following five chapters deal with each of the case studies in turn.

The journey ends with the conclusion of the study. McLagan's "gut feeling" can be shown to have its basis in a fairly limited set of factors, whose relative importance varies from event to event depending on both the news context and the decision-making context. Any decision is the result of a balancing of these factors which express themselves as positive or negative forces of varying strengths.

Chapter One

Theoretical Background

Introduction

This chapter is intended to serve two purposes. The first is to paint a background to news photography that will help to establish the importance of the issues that form the focus of this study. Essentially, it examines why an understanding of how photographs are selected and presented is important. The other is to establish the theory of selection procedures, termed gatekeeping theory, that will serve as the basis of the analysis of the case studies in later chapters. This is then extended to look at the practical processes by which the appearance of an event can be altered through selection and presentation in a newspaper.

This chapter first explains the importance of news photographs within a newspaper - as the point of entry into a page. Then it considers what it is about news photographs that gives them this important role in the newspaper. These are the characteristics of immediacy, of visual impact, of apparent objectivity. It looks at how these characteristics back up photojournalists' belief that their images can reveal "truth".

It then goes on to suggest that meaning in photographs is not as unproblematic as its advocates would believe (as discussed later). The contention is that photographs, rather than being simply windows onto an event, are filtered interpretations of the event.

Interpretation occurs on a number of levels. On one level, photographs do not translate directly from the moment of taking them to the printed page. They undergo a process of selection and those chosen are then presented in a certain way to the viewer. On another, verbal contextualisation is required to explain the events surrounding the instant captured on film, otherwise the instant is virtually meaningless. On yet another level, photographs are interpreted through cultural codes held by the viewer, with the result that their meaning is never constant.

It is the first level that underpins the fundamental contention of this thesis - that we need a greater understanding of the processes by which photographs are selected and presented, because these processes affect the meanings presented by photographs in newspapers.

The chapter then turns to ways of interpreting these processes, notably to gatekeeping theory as proposed by Kurt Lewin and modified by Pamela Shoemaker (1991). It examines the gatekeeping model and particularly Lewin's concept of forces acting upon news units at gates at which decisions are made.

Finally, it moves beyond the theoretical model to examine some of the practical ways in which particularly the presentation of a photograph can be altered, and the implications these can have for meaning.

The role of photographs in a newspaper

On any given page of a newspaper, the photograph is likely to be the first thing the reader will look at. Mario Garcia's study of how colour affects newspaper reading, found that photographs are the dominant point of entry into nearly every page in a newspaper (1991). He found that 75% of the photographs in a newspaper were "processed", that is, the reader looked at them long enough for information to be acquired.

Earlier research backs this up. Photographs are the most read form in the newspaper (Swanson 1955), with over three times as many people reading the average one-column picture as the average news story and that readership increasing as picture size increases (Sanders, qtd. in Geraci 1984, 409)[1].

But photographs not only attract readers. Evidence shows that they can influence the way the reader interprets the accompanying text. Lain and Harwood noted that "mugshots", head-and-shoulder portraits, can influence readers' attitudes towards individuals who are the subject of

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[1] See also Woodburn, qtd. in Tsang, 1984, 578, and Kalish and Edom, qtd. in Geraci, 1984, 409.

accompanying news stories (1992). An earlier study by Van Tubergen and Mahsman came to a similar conclusion (1974).

Photographs attract readers, are more likely to be processed by readers than news stories, and can influence readers' opinions. Why should photographs have this kind of impact?

Photographs as a unique form of communication

Many among both producers and viewers of photographs believe that photographs can provide a type of knowledge otherwise only available through first-hand experience. Cameras provide the closest equivalent to a peep hole into the event for the viewer.

The importance of visual evidence is ingrained in our culture. Present in terms such as "seeing it with our own eyes" and "seeing is believing," it is integral to the concept of eye-witness evidence. The photograph is seen as the logical extension of this concept.

On a theoretical level, this close link with reality lies in the way the photograph signifies, that there is little apparent difference between signified and signifier. In "The Photographic Message", Roland Barthes notes that the photograph transmits the scene itself, necessarily in a reduced form but without any apparent transformation. In the process of reduction, there is no need to set up a code between object and image, no need "to divide up this reality into units and constitute these units as signs, substantially different from the object they communicate" (1982, 196).

Barthes calls the photograph the "perfect analogon" of reality and sees this as defining the special status of the photographic image: "it is a message without a code" (1982, 196). He suggests that all other apparently analogous reproductions of reality, such as painting and cinema, carry a second meaning which lies in the style of the reproduction. The style refers to a certain "culture" of the society producing and receiving the message.

He says that "of all the structures of information, the photograph appears to be the only one that is exclusively constituted and occupied by a 'denoted' message, a message which totally exhausts its mode of existence" (1982, 197).

The situation is in fact much more complex than this analysis suggests, as Barthes goes on to show. It is the fact that the photographic message in the press is connoted on various levels that forms the basis for this study. But this apparent conjunction of reality and representation is important in that it gives the photographic process a high degree of credibility..

From the point of view of the newspaper reader, this conjunction is expressed through two practicalities of the photographic process: the fact that the photographer must be present in person to record the event, and the mechanical, and so objective, nature of that recording.

To record the image, the photographer has to be eyewitness to the event. There is no reporting from behind the front lines for photographers, no putting the story together from the reports of others. They had to be there when it happened.[2]

Furthermore, the instrument and product of recording is independent of the photographer, in a way that the story penned by the reporter cannot be. A photograph is not just an imitation or an interpretation of its subject; it is also, as John Berger put it, "a trace, something directly stencilled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask" (1980, 50). The action of the light from the event upon the film in the camera leaves a mark that can be processed to form a photograph. Once the camera shutter has been opened, this process occurs independently of the photographer.

But the power of the photograph extends beyond this apparent objectivity. It has unique characteristics that give it advantages over both text and over moving images.

While not necessarily "worth a thousand words", photographs do escape some of the limitations of text. An image has a power to encapsulate a situation within a single instant that

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[2] Of course, darkroom manipulation has always meant that this is not strictly true, and with the advent of digital photography, it becomes even easier to manipulate images. However, in the experience of the author, within the ethics of the news room community, such images are seldom used and even more rarely condoned, and so need not concern us here. A variety of studies have been done in this area.

words cannot. This concept is aptly expressed by Solveig Freudenthal, a writer on anthropological film-making:

> No literary description however apt, and no verbal formulation however exact can ever connect the thousands of threads present in the most minuscule event as well as the camera can. As writers, we are locked in two dimensions: we are unable to say more than one thing at a time. The camera permits us to break our dependency on linearity. It permits us to experience the multiple dimensions of social reality, its all-at-onceness, as words simply cannot do. (1988, 125)

However descriptive press reports may be, the visual impact of the photograph lends an immediate vividness to the act, a vividness that is not always be welcomed by all readers.

John Berger suggests that "many people would argue that such photographs remind us shockingly of the reality, the lived reality, behind the abstraction of political theory, casualty statistics or news bulletins" (1980, 38). Such photographs serve as "an eye we cannot shut."

Whether pictures are more brutal because of their intense reality, or because news stories traditionally do not describe such details, they would seem to have a powerful impact not easily matched by news stories.

The same can of course be said for television. Indeed, television can be seen to be even more effective in that, incorporating movement and sound, it is even closer to our lived experience. However, it lacks the still photograph's ability to encapsulate the essence of the situation in a form that can be retained and re-examined; and arguably in a form that, in the most powerful images, combines hard information with symbolic content.

An example is the image of the limp body of 13-year-old Hector Peterson, killed by police fire, being carried in the arms of a fellow student, which has come to symbolise the response of the South African police to the 1976 Soweto riots. Taken by Sam Nzima, photographer for *The World*, the image has been on countless posters, pamphlets and T-shirts since as a symbol of

the struggle. Its impact is enhanced by the resemblance of the body of Peterson in the arms of another student to Pieta imagery - the body of Christ on the lap of his mother Mary.

Harold Evans argues that "it is easier for us, most of the time, to recall an event or a person by summoning up a single image... And the single image can be rich in meaning because it is a trigger image of all the emotions aroused by the subject" (1978, 5). He says the power of the news photograph is in "the capacity of the single image to lodge itself permanently in the memory, etched in deeply there by horrified study of the print and its reproduction across the world a thousand times" (1978, 6).

A modern image likely to be ingrained in memory is Kevin Carter's photograph of a starving child in Sudan being watched by a vulture. When the New York Times ran the photograph, it became "an icon of Africa's anguish. Hundreds of people wrote and called the Times asking what has happened to the child...; and papers around the world reproduced the photo." (Macleod 1994, 54).

It is the power of the photograph to arrest attention and stay in memory that photographers rely upon. Many international war photographers and South African press photographers stated intention is to bring home the "truth"; to present the horrible consequences of war/political violence to those in power and to the public (*Life at War* 1977, 9; Carter 1993).

Margaret Bourke-White, an early American photojournalist who did extensive coverage of World War II, was an influential proponent of the power of the photograph:

> Sometimes I come away from what I am photographing sick at heart, with the faces of people in pain etched as sharply in my mind as on my negatives. But I go back because I feel it is my place to make such pictures. Utter truth is essential, and that is what stirs me when I look through the camera (qtd. in Andersen 1989, 97).

The death of well-known Star photographer Ken Oosterbroek brought on a rash of articles on his role in the pursuit of truth. "[Oosterbroek was] one of those who pursued the truth with no

other weapon than his camera..., who helped shed light where the government had ensured that there was only darkness before", said the New Nation newspaper (Ozynski 1994).

An Eastern Province Herald editorial commented: "These are not times when the public should rely for news only on official communiques which tend to be one-sided and second- or third-hand accounts of events. We need to know the truth, and nothing illustrates it better than the sort of photographs Oosterbroek and his colleagues were trying to take" ("The front line" 1994).

Meaning in photographs - an uncertain truth

However, the truth is not always as easy to uncover and to convey to others as it may appear to be. Andersen, in an assessment of the role of photography in coverage of the conflict in El Salvador, equates the belief in the photograph's ability to convey accurate, truthful information about the physical world with the positivism and quest for scientific progress that marked the late nineteenth century :

> The camera was heralded as the tool that could deliver scientific data without subjective interference, ...the lens of the camera being considered more accurate that the lens of the human eye. These assumptions provided the ideological underpinnings for the use of the camera for news and documentary photography (1989, 97).

These assumptions are problematic when applied to news photography, because photographs are not simply windows onto an event. They undergo a variety of forms of interpretation. As Barthes notes, despite the appearance of press photographs as exclusively denoted, they must in fact also be connoted, that is there must be additional implied meanings (1982, 198).

A photograph is not, indeed can not, simply be perceived by viewers. There are no 'scientific' denotations separate from culture. A photograph is 'read' by viewers, connected more or less consciously to a traditional stock of signs through which they understand the world. As Barthes suggests, the code of connotation is, in all likelihood, historical/cultural. Its signs are gestures, attitudes, expressions, colours, or effects endowed with certain meanings by virtue of

the practise of a certain society. Thus, the reading of photographs is always historical. It depends on the readers' 'knowledge' just as though it were a matter of a real language, intelligible only if one has learnt the signs. Within an image pose and objects will suggest meanings. The very appearance of the image itself, the type of lighting, the mood, will have cultural implications.

Stuart Hall describes the codes of connotation within photographs as forms of social knowledge, which order a society's apprehension of the world in terms of dominant meaning patterns (1981). He suggests that a photograph signifies within the lexicon of expressive features which are part of the cultural code shared by the readers. These features may be open to a variety of interpretations.

And the decisions made about how to present a photograph may provide indicators towards a particular interpretation. As Barthes notes, the photograph is a man-made object, like any form of news. It is constructed and selected, through a variety of procedures, from the pointing of the camera in a specific direction to the choice of the text accompanying it in the newspaper. The specific picture selected, the details left in or cropped out, the prominence given to the picture, all provide clues to the reader to a context of meaning within which to understand the photograph.

The most obvious clue is likely to be the written context. Words are needed to give meaning to the moment in time captured in the photograph. Part of the photograph's power is that it is a frozen slice of time, rendering forever discernible, the events of an instant. But this attribute which makes it so visually arresting, undermines its capacity to communicate effectively about its content. As Susan Sontag says: [T]ruths that can be rendered in a dissociated moment, however significant or decisive, have a very narrow relation to the needs of understanding" (1979, 112).

"[Photographs] offer appearances, with all the gravity and credibility we normally lend to appearances, prised away from their meaning" (Berger 1980, 51). This is because the photograph does not have the ability to give any in-depth explanation of the event it presents. Meaning is the result of understanding why things are as they are, what caused them to be like

that, and causation, which take place in time, must be explained in time. "Only that which narrates can make us understand" (Sontag qtd. in Berger 1980, 51).

Captions, and other accompanying text, privilege and expand one of the many potential meanings contained in an image.

The process by which a photograph is selected and presented, involves placing it in a context that will be understood by readers. In the selection and then in the way the image is produced, certain meanings are emphasised over others; cultural codes common to news editor and reader are preferred and an explanatory context is created.

To the extent that readers will always bring their own personal understanding of the world, and the understanding of their social group, to bear in the interpretation of an image, no one reading can be guaranteed. Nevertheless, the process of selection and presentation can, indeed is designed to, give readers directions as to what kind of interpretation to bring to bear. It is this process of creation of meaning around images that this study sets out to examine.

We can find a structure for understanding this process by looking to theories about gatekeeping.

Gatekeeping theory - how news is created

Every day, news producers select from the millions of items available in the world to produce the few hundred messages to send out through the news medium. Those messages are not only selected from huge numbers of potential facts, but they are transformed to fit the mould of the news item. This process of selection and transformation is an essential characteristic of the news process and is performed by what have come to be called "gatekeepers".

A recent study of gatekeeping that will be used as the foundation for this study is the work of Pamela Shoemaker (1991). She has pulled together many current strands in research and theory in gatekeeping to offer an expanded model of gatekeeping.

She suggests the way in which we define our lives and the world around us is largely a product of the gatekeeping process.

> Although each selection event in the gatekeeping process is itself ultimately trivial, the fact that millions of selection decisions are made every day makes the gatekeeping process highly significant. Add to that the fact that each outcome of gatekeeping is transmitted to millions of people daily and the result is a conception of gatekeeping as a crucial part of the process through which political and economic elites may control culture and the rate at which culture changes (1991, 4).

On her model, the process starts with a variety of potential messages travelling through multiple channels to a communication organisation. The organisation may have multiple staff members operating in boundary role input positions, each with the power to control which potential messages actually enter the organisation and how those messages are shaped.

Within the organisation, these boundary role gatekeepers may channel selected messages to one or more internal gatekeepers, who may exert their own selection and shaping processes. The surviving, shaped messages are then transmitted to boundary role gatekeepers for final shaping, selection and transmission directly to the audience.

For the purpose of identifying the various factors that come into play in this selection process Kurt Lewin's theory of forces is useful.

Lewin's theory of forces

Lewin believed that the forces that shape people's behaviours could be identified and studied [3] He envisaged a set of channels through which units move. At each stage a unit may be accepted or rejected. The decisions made at each gate are affected by the forces acting on the messages from both sides of the gate.

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[3] His work can be found in Lewin, K. (1951) *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper.

The entrance to the channel and to each section is a "gate" and is controlled by one or more "gatekeepers". He realised that there are different forces acting on the selection of a unit in different parts of the overall channel. These forces can be positive or negative. He suggested that these forces tend to change polarity as an item passes through a gate.

Shoemaker gives the example of a news story on location (1991, 23). If it is difficult for journalists to reach, this will constitute a negative force that will work against the story making it through the first gate. However, if the story is procured anyway, this force then becomes a positive one. The time and money spent getting the story makes it more likely to get through subsequent gates.

Part of the acceptance process may entail a change in the unit. Thus a news item may only be used once it had been edited.

Shoemaker extends the concept of forces acting on each side of the gate, introducing four more points in this regard (1991, 23). First, she points out that forces do not necessarily change polarity upon passing through a gate. Thus, newsworthiness would be a positive force remaining unchanged as the item progressed through gates. The polarity of the force may change but there is no guarantee of it.

Second, forces may vary in strength and some may conflict with others. Strong forces should, be definition, have more effect on the movement of items through gates than weak ones. To this point one can add the notion that forces exist in relation to gates. At different gates, different forces can be expected to be in action. And the relative importance of forces is likely to differ depending on the gate they are interacting with.

Her third point is that forces acting on a unit in front of a gate may be influenced by what has already passed through the gate. Thus, if three stories about an event have passed through a gate, this may weaken the strength of the force acting on the fourth story still in front of the gate.

Finally, she suggests that forces should influence not only whether items get selected but how they get presented. Items with positive forces are more likely to be shaped in an attractive or attention-getting fashion, get more coverage, be timed to attract the largest audiences, and be repeated.

Thus, at any point of decision, or gate, conflicting forces will be influencing the progress of a news unit through the news channels. An understanding of what forces are at work in a given situation, would help understanding of how the final product came about.

How forces interact with gatekeepers

However, gates and forces are not autonomous entities with an independent existence. Which gates and forces exist, and how they interact, will depend both on the news organisation in which they exist and on individual gatekeepers who work with them.

Shoemaker's study moves away from forces to concentrate on various other ways of understanding the actions of gatekeepers. She suggests that five levels of analysis can be applied to the study of gatekeeping: the individual communication worker, the routines or practises of communication work, the organisational level, the social and institutional level, and the social system level (1991, 33).

These can, however, all be fed back into the interaction of the force and the decision-maker.

The extent to which individual communicators are responsible for gatekeeping selections will vary from organisation to organisation. Nevertheless, there generally remains a certain degree of decision-making autonomy in the journalistic profession. One may expect forces emanating from this level to have to do with personal likes, dislikes and biases.

The next level is that of the communications routines. Routines are "patterned, routinised, repeated practices for forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (Shoemaker 1991, 48). Even where individuals appear to be the gatekeeper, they may be merely carrying out a routine set of procedures.

Routines may dictate the overall pattern of news while individuals pick which pieces will make up that pattern today. Routines are necessary for they provide a way of coping with a virtually impossible task - reducing millions of messages to today's news.

An important element in news routines is the concept of news values, certain criteria of relevance which guide the choice as to what is newsworthy. These values are important, because it is in these that many of forces acting on news units will have their origins.

The role of news values in the gatekeeping process has been elaborated by Galtung and Ruge (1965). They specified eight general news values and a further four of importance to the western media. The presence of these would determine the chance of an event passing through the various media gates.[4]

Subsequent studies have come up with slightly different sets of values. All these studies have been based around news stories. However, Singletary and Lamb (1984), assessing the National Press Photographer's of America monthly awards over three years, sought to compare and contrast the news values prominent in these photographs with those traditionally associated with news stories.[5]

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[4] The 12 values are:

1. Frequency - events within a 24 hour cycle are favoured by daily papers
2. Threshold - events of great magnitude or recently increased magnitude
3. Unambiguity - events whose meaning is not in doubt
4. Meaningfulness - events in some way related to the home culture
5. Consonance - events that fulfill expectations
6. Unexpectedness - within the confines of 4 and 5, unexpectedness is favoured
7. Continuity - once accepted, an event is more likely to be accepted again
8. Composition - a selection of items in contrast to each other
9. Reference to elite persons
10. Reference to elite nations
11. Personalisation - individuals are seen as easier to identify with
12. Negativity - bad news generally combines more of the above values than good

[5] It is probable that values showcased in competitions will not be identical to those preferred in the news context. Nevertheless, one could expect a certain amount of overlap. They found the winning photographs to be overwhelmingly negative in tone. Most were characterised by emotional tension underpinned by action. Over 80% were of accidents, disasters, crime and violence.

In comparing news photographs with what they called "a traditional set of six news values", they found timeliness and proximity to be important and conflict very common. Prominence of the individuals photographed, long term significance of the event and human interest were less important. These are the sort of factors one might expect to see playing a part in the case studies.

Another type of definition of news that might be helpful in considering photography is that of Nisbett and Ross (1980, 43-62). They assert that human beings are more likely to store and remember "vivid" rather than pallid information, thus making vivid events and issues more likely to enter a channel. They give the three factors of vivid information as being emotionally interesting, concrete and image-provoking and proximate in a sensory, temporal or spatial way. This is then another way in which photographs might be assessed.

We can hypothesise that gatekeepers working with photographers will draw on yet another set of professional values, based on aesthetic criteria of what makes a "good" photograph. One can expect to see elements such as composition, focus, tone and colour coming into play (Hoy 1993, 79,177). The traditional values of the news story are likely to be balanced against these other visual criteria.

Where routines include communication practises that are common across many communication organisation, organizational levels may be peculiar to that organisation. This level includes the effect of groups' decision-making strategies on gatekeeping choices.

"Although individuals and routine practices generally determine what gets past the gate and how it is presented, organisations hire the gatekeepers and make the rules." (Shoemaker 1991, 53). Individuals develop a collective consciousness that results in an organisational interpretation being placed on new information. Nevertheless, this is not uniform as individuals may interpret or perceive policy in very different ways. Centrally located gatekeepers, such as the editor, may have more power to develop organisational policies that may influence message selection.

Communication organisations exist alongside other social institutions, many of which affect the gatekeeping process. Shoemaker (1991, 61) lists several, of which three seem most relevant to this study. One is sources. Sources control channels of their own for the dissemination of information and may either facilitate or constrain that movement, thus affecting the introduction of an item into the news channel.

The next is audiences. Shoemaker states that scholars disagree about whether audiences can affect gatekeeping decisions. Some feel that gatekeepers' perceptions of what readers want will guide their decisions. Audiences would include not only individual readers, but other receiving groups such as advertisers and interest groups. The third is markets. In profit-making organizations, gatekeeping is part of the overall process of maximizing income and minimizing expenditure.

We can hypothesise that these will, each in their own way, affect photographic selection. Sources can in the photographic context be interpreted as the interaction of photographer and subject. It is more difficult for photographers to get the "story" than it is for reporters - not only do they have to be at the event in question but they have to be in a position to record it successfully. Gatekeeping decisions will be affected by what the photographer was able to get.

We can expect gatekeeper perceptions of audience responses to be fairly important in dealing with photographs, particularly those of violence. Gatekeepers will probably be very aware of the need not to offend readers unnecessarily.

This is linked to market decisions. We can anticipate conflicting forces from the desire to present the news as dramatically as possible and the concern not to offend readers and advertisers.

Finally, at the social systems level, culture both influences the kind of items that are allowed past a gate and is influenced by them. The value placed on news items may vary across cultures. While some news items may be objectively available, they may not be culturally available. Shoemaker gives the example of the recent coverage of rape and child abuse. Its

recent appearance in the media is not an indication that it is a new phenomenon, but that it is one that was previously not discussed (1991, 68).

Gatekeeping can also be affected by the ideology of the social system in which the gatekeepers exist. Thus Shoemaker suggests that in the United States ideology includes a belief in the capitalist economic system, the Protestant ethic and individualism and liberal democracy (1991, 69). This is mirrored in the themes identified by Gans (1979) in his study of what constitutes news.

Gatekeeping studies have generally been applied to news stories and to broadcasting. While the same principle should hold true for news photographs, the selection procedure for photographs contains some elements unique to the medium.

Selection procedures for photographs

Before a news photograph can even be conceived, there needs to be an understanding of what is a news event. As Sontag says, "though an event has come to mean something worth photographing, it is still ideology (in the broadest sense) that determines what constitutes an event. There can be no evidence, photographic or otherwise, of an event until the event itself has been named and characterised" (1979, 19).

Just as viewers will not see meanings within an image for which they have no ideological space, photographers will not lift their camera to record things that do not fit into their conception of what is newsworthy. And the understanding of what is newsworthy is determined by the society and culture of the photographer and his newsaper.

Nor is the taking of a photograph a neutral procedure. Press photographers attempt to remove themselves from the recording process, but both their presence at the incident and their handling of their equipment affect the resulting photograph.

Taking photographs is itself an act of participation, in that it involves at least tacitly encouraging whatever is going on to keep on happening. As Sontag states:

> To take a picture is to have an interest in things as they are, in the status quo remaining unchanged (at least for as long as it takes to get a "good" picture), to be in complicity with whatever makes a subject interesting, worth photographing - including, when that is the interest, another person's pain or misfortune (1979, 20).

On a more explicit level, lies the dilemma of affecting events through one's presence. The presence of a photographer may make subjects self-conscious and uneasy, or, conversely, it may invigorate a crowd, who, particularly if protesting about an issue, believe that media exposure will advance the advocacy of their cause.

The apparently mechanical origins of the photograph conceal a variety of choices to be made. Technical considerations such as what type of film to use and what lens to attach, can affect how the image will appear. A zoom lens may make physically separate elements appear in close proximity, a wide angle may distort facial features.

Decisions about what part of an event to record are also of importance. Photographs isolate a moment in space as well as in time. A photographer may pick out one small element within an overall scene, the one moment two statesmen smile at each other in an otherwise bitter confrontation, the one yawning politician in an otherwise active and interested group. In choosing what angle to record an event from, the photographer influences what elements are juxtaposed with the main subject, which may influence the symbolic meaning of the image.

The difficulties of the recording process also play a part. Unlike reporters, who can gather facts in retrospect, photographs can only record that which is physically in front of them at any one moment. Thus editors covering a news event are likely to have only very limited aspects of it available to them in pictures - often only the aftermath of the incident.

Although the photographer may be the only person to have witnessed the event recorded, the context in which his image is set is likely to be wholly determined by other people - the sub-editors who write the caption and the headline, the reporter who writes the accompanying news report, the designers who lay out the page.

The power of the photograph as eye-witness recording is being diluted as meanings are spun around it by others who were not there. In terms of Barthes' analysis, secondary signifieds are attached to the image by those who rely on second hand information for an understanding of the event.

Selection is ideally about which is the most "powerful" image (that is itself a loaded term which this study will attempt to unpack to reveal what factors make up a "powerful" picture). However, it is frequently about which image best illustrates the text, which image fits the space. In the case of violence, editors may be torn between an image which they believe readers will tolerate and a more graphic image which they believe readers should see whether they wish to or not, (as will become clear from the interviews cited later in this work).

On a limited range of stories, fairly firm policies guide editors (O'Brien 1993, 71). Identities of sex-crime victims and most juveniles are protected; bodies are seldom shown; victims are not identified until families have been notified. "But there is no consensus on the question of degree: How much blood or pain is too much? Is the moment of death less objectionable than its aftermath?" (1993, 71) O'Brien suggests that such questions are, generally, simply subjected to a utilitarian balancing: does an image's social or news value outweigh its violation of prevailing standards of compassion and taste?

In South Africa, no codes of ethics espoused by newspapers or by the Press Council make any specific mention of photography. Many have some form of subjective guide, such as the "marmalade dropper" test mentioned by the Cape Times night editor. The marmalade dropper "is somebody who sitting with their toast at the breakfast table, reading this story with such a degree of interest that the marmalade drops off their toast and falls flop on the table" (Holtzhausen interview June 1995).

There is no one clear route to the selection of a photograph. A variety of factors come into play in any situation and to understand the selection choice, one needs an understanding of those factors.

Presentation procedures

Furthermore, a photograph is not simply, once selected, used in its original state. The process of fitting it into the page involves a number of procedures, any or all of which can also be used to alter the nature of the image.

One of these is cropping. Angus McDougall defines the art of cropping as "to trim a picture down to its essentials" (qtd. in Hoy 1993, 214). At best, cropping is a powerful and creative tool to enhance an image. At worst, it is a way of forcing the image to fit a predetermined space in the page layout. It can also be a tool to alter the impact, and meaning, of images. This is particularly common in pictures of injury and death, where decisions must be made about how much blood and injury the public should see. A balance is being defined between the reality of the event, and what the public ought to, or can stand to, see.

Another important decision is image size. Wayne Wanta's study of agenda setting through size of photograph showed that editors have the power to raise their readers' awareness on certain issues over a short period of time by simply increasing the size of photographs. He suggests that editors who use solely the dominant art concept of layout, (where one huge photograph dominates the front page), may unwittingly be giving cues to their readers which are misleading in terms of the importance of events in reality (1988, 111).

Garcia found that bigger photographs attract more attention, with nearly all photographs of three columns or wider being processed, and that as picture size increases, so does caption processing. [6]

Another decision is whether a picture is to be black-and-white or colour. Black-and-white images were the traditional form of newspaper photographs, even after colour film was

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[6] This points to two interesting trends in the role of editors in using images (Garcia 1991). One is that the impact of photographs and of their meanings can be influenced by the size at which they are used. The other is that this influence may be unintentional. Garcia suggests that editors may be working to conventions of news practice, in this case notions about what makes a page appealing to a reader, without being aware of what implications they may have.

invented. Indeed, the grainy black-and-white image, in photography or film, came to symbolise a kind of documentary veracity.

However, with the advent of colour printing technology, newspapers have increasingly turned to colour, partly in competition with television. Photographers, increasingly, shoot only colour, which can be reproduced as black-and-white in the newspaper if need be.

Garcia found little difference between the reader's processing of black-and-white and colour, although captions accompanying colour pictures were more likely to be processed than those accompanying black-and-white (1991).

Whether a picture runs in black-and-white or colour may be a technical decision, based on whether the page on which it will appear is available for colour. However, it can also be a decision of impact, particularly in cases involving blood or fire. Such an event may be 'toned down' for readers by choosing black-and-white.

And finally, as Barthes points out, the press photograph is part of a complex of concurrent messages with the photograph as centre and the surrounds constituted by the copy, the headline, the caption, the layout and, in a more abstract way, by the very name of the newspaper (as signifier of the ethos of that paper) (1982, 205).

The totality of the information is carried by two different structures, co-operative, but necessarily separate from each other, the text and the image. It is impossible that the words "duplicate" the image; in the movement from image to caption second signifieds are inevitably developed. The accompanying text most often simply amplifies a set of connotations already given in the image. It expands upon certain readings possible within the image, at the expense of others (1982, 204-6).

The influence of captions upon images is a complex one. Two studies by Kerrick on the interaction between pictures and captions suggested that a caption will tend to cause a significant general modification of judgments regarding the picture it accompanies (1955,

1959). He also found that, while by and large captions which suggest meanings incongruent with the content of the picture will be rejected, this is by no means always true.

However, not all research supports these conclusions. Fedler, Counts and Hightower's study found that changing the caption information failed to affect the responses of readers to controversial photographs. They found that "readers responded to the photographs themselves, and that the photographs meaning and impact were not significantly changed by the words used to describe them" (1982, 637).

Just as the selection process involves the interaction of a variety of sometimes rather nebulous factors, so does the presentation process. Once one photograph is settled upon, there are a further set of factors to be taken into account in understanding how the final appearance of the photograph is determined - in colour, size, positioning, and accompanying text.

Conclusion

Photographs are in appearance the simplest of things - no more than a perfect copy of a moment of reality. And the reader who looks first to the photograph in their newspaper in all likelihood, sees it as no more than that.

Yet this simplicity hides a complex process through which the image is created and is then selected, modified, and presented to the viewer. At each gate in this process, decisions are made that alter the picture or pictures in some way. Certain potential meanings within the photograph are accentuated to the detriment of others.

An empirical study of how this process occurs and what factors are taken into account in making these decisions will be the subject of the following chapters.

Chapter Two

Research Methodology

Introduction

The study involves a comparison of how five case studies of incidents of political violence, which occurred between 1990 and 1994 in South Africa, were used in 17 newspapers. The individuals who made decisions about which photographs to select and how to present them, were interviewed with the intention of discovering why they made those decisions.

The interviews were then analysed to determine what factors were taken into account in the decision-making process and how their relative degrees of importance determined the final outcome. Based on that, generalisations have been made about what kinds of factors were taken into account in dealing with photographs of this nature.

The methodology for the study was based on the qualitative research interview, within the field of phenomenology, as defined by Steiner Kvale (1983). The results were analysed in terms of the theories of gatekeeping and forces as propounded by Kurt Lewin and modified by Pamela Shoemaker (1991).

Phenomenology and the qualitative research interview

The methodology for this study is founded in phenomenology, a methodological approach concerned with the world of conscious experience, and in the social sciences, particularly with the social construction of reality by conscious beings (Jansen 1989, 48).

The phenomenological method involves an attempt to analyse the lived world, based on an understanding that "facts" are constituted through human consciousness of the world, rather than simply existing as objective structures in an external world (Kvale 1983). It suggests that what we experience as "reality" is constituted by common-sense knowledge and taken-for-granted interpretations about our daily lives that we share with other people (Jansen 1989).

Phenomenology approaches this social construction of reality by investigating those patterns of taken-for-granted meaning or typifications which structure reality for us. The purpose of phenomenological investigation is to reveal these patterns of meaning and demonstrate their significance in social life. It does not seek to test predetermined categories but seeks truth in the subjects whose construction of reality forms the object for investigation.

Jansen notes that one finds few typical phenomenological studies in mass communication research. "Perhaps the best examples occur in the field of the construction of news, the constraints exercised on "news" and the consequences of news construction for the reader's view of reality" (1989, 55).

It is in the area of construction of news that phenomenology will be applied in this study. The study aims to examine patterns of meaning that are used in the construction of the "reality" presented by the news. These patterns can be uncovered by examining the everyday procedures of news professionals as expressed by themselves.

The specific method for this study is based around the qualitative research interview as defined by Kvale. He describes it as "an interview whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to the interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (1983, 174).

Thus, in the descriptions of interviewees of how they made certain decisions, this study will be attempting to discover the underlying patterns that serve to structure the way they deal with news creation in photography.

Structure of project

It was decided to select a number of case studies centred around the theme of political violence, which would then form the basis for structured interviews with gatekeepers in news organisations.[1]

The decision to undertake a qualitative study based on case studies was determined by findings from the preliminary interviews. There it emerged that while editors were happy to talk about incidents from their own paper, they were reluctant to venture opinions on hypothetical examples. Their reasoning was that news decisions on whether an image would be used, depended on the specific context of the event and of the news at the time.

Thus, while they were happy to use "newsworthiness" as a general catch-all criterion in explaining why they had chosen an image, they, nevertheless, saw the newsworthiness of any particular incident as being strongly context-related.

In order to analyse this interrelationship between this generalised notion of what was newsworthy and the specificity of the particular news context, as well as to unpack the catch-all of "newsworthiness", it was felt that analysing specific examples and tracing the decisions that went into the end result would be more fruitful than analysing hypothetical examples. It was felt that historical case studies would allow consideration of the way the context, as defined by the players, affected their perceptions of the newsworthiness of the event. Personal interviews would be more fruitful in uncovering this kind of material than written questionnaires, because the interviewer would be able to discuss and follow up specific decisions with the interviewee.

Selection of case studies

The case studies were drawn from the four years from the end of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1990 to the first democratic elections in 1994. Encompassing some of the most violent times in recent South African history, these years

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[1] The proposed study was influenced by the survey done by O'Brien (1993) of how editors seek to reconcile their ethical duties as journalists with the sensitivities of their audience. She looked at how the editors of 57 American newspapers used South African photographer Greg Marinovich's pictures of a man being burnt to death in Soweto.

were a "chaotic interregnum euphemistically known as 'a period of transition to a new, democratic South Africa'" (Reed 1994).

These were to be particularly eventful years for South Africa's conflict photographers.[2] The lifting of the State of Emergency meant that pictures of 'unrest' could once again be published.[3] And there was no shortage of such material. The violence had strong political elements, seeming to centre around political destabilisation, but it also had economic and criminal elements interwoven into it.

South Africans from all political perspectives were conscious of 'the violence' as a major presence in South African society. Thus, in 1993, the planning committee of the Kempton Park negotiations passed a resolution in which the political parties committed themselves to "... work relentlessly to end *the violence*, promote law and order and bring about a climate of peace" (my italics, qtd. in Shaw 1994).[4]

My case studies are drawn from incidents of this very broadly defined, politically motivated violence. The decision to focus on images of political violence is based on the assumption that politically and visually controversial images will give rise to situations in which gatekeepers will be called upon to verbalise their decisions. Much decision-making in media occurs very quickly under deadline pressures, based on news instinct acquired over years of practise. But extreme images often result in debate in the newsroom and/or consultation with more senior editors. The

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[2] Conflict photographer Kevin Carter, then working for the Weekly Mail, told a journalist that during this period he "worked 48-hour stretches without sleep at times. Going out at four in the morning, working in the zones [townships] all day, returning to the paper in the evening and helping with the pages till after midnight, then back into the zones at four again" (Marais 1994, 51).

[3] Emergency regulations in force through the late 1980s forbade the taking or publishing of any photograph, drawing or other depiction of unrest or security actions or their results. Media regulations were formally ended on 3 February 1990 (Jackson 1993, 136, 268).

[4] Shaw suggests that the violence may have been a symptom of the transition of political power, beginning with the breakdown of the apartheid state, continuing over four years of uncertainty as to the future of the country and petering out as new institutions were forged (1994, 200). It is too soon to tell whether this assessment is accurate.

decision-making process is thus brought out into the light, consciously considered by the participants. This makes it easier for the researcher who is trying to analyse the factors taken into account in such processes.

A remark from David Allen, editor of the Weekend Star, during an interview about the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB)[5] case study, was to back up this feeling. He said: "there was a lot of argument over this [photograph], photographers and the subs and the news editor. We thrashed it around a bit. That wasn't normal practice. Normally I would say that's the picture I want for page three, that's the picture for page one. In ninety percent of the cases that's fine. On a thing like this... it involved quite a lot of argument and debate." He said the debate was around "whether to run it, where to run it, how to run it, how much prominence to give it, weighing it up against the other contenders."

The case studies combine the challenges of covering politically and racially sensitive events with visual concerns of potentially offensive material and ethical concerns over coverage of violence. Lester (1991, 156) lists 16 areas of sensitivity "that should raise a flag on all desks - though not an automatic signal to kill [not publish]". These categories include shots of corpses and/or of gore, and shots that are potentially racially inflammatory.

The photographs selected were also chosen as examples of highly "newsworthy" images. This has a direct link to the issue of violence - a feature which studies rate as highly newsworthy.[6]

Hall (1981, 234), in his study of the determination of news photographs, suggests that the most salient news value is violence. He suggests that violence fulfills the formal news values of representing conflict, gripping reader interest, being filled with action and having serious

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[5] Trans: Afrikaner Resistance Movement

[6] Swanson found in his study of readership of 130 US dailies that 70% of readers of both sexes read photographs of fire, disaster and war, this being the highest percentage interest shown in any of his subject categories (1955, 418).
Although related to media awards rather than news production, Singletary and Lamb's (1984) study of news values in photos given awards by the National Press Photographers Association in the USA found that 81% of winning photos were either of accidents, disaster, crime or violence.

consequences. But at a deeper level, it is 'unusual' because it signifies the world of politics as it ought not to be. It shows conflict in the system at its most extreme point, the failure of the legitimacy of the social order as maintained by rule of law (1981, 237).

Within this category of political violence, newsworthiness was judged by the wide extent to which the photographs were used, both geographically - in the areas in which they originated and elsewhere in the country, and temporally - they were still being used several days after the event had occurred and the first images had appeared.

This wide use indicates that newspapers found these images highly newsworthy. One of the reasons for their newsworthiness was that they were of political violence. But why, within that framework, they were considered publishable and to what extent they embody other news values, will become apparent as this study uncovers the decision-makers' rationales for their choices.

Still related to the concern with violence, photographs were further selected that were potentially visually offensive - that is, containing blood, bodies and/or graphic depictions of murder. This relates back to Lester's point about areas of sensitivity for editors.

Geographically, the case studies dealt with photographs taken in South Africa and used in national and regional South African newspapers (daily and weekly). Papers were selected by circulation size, to eliminate the purely local papers that do not carry coverage of political violence outside their circulation area.

The research area covers the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape and Gauteng. KwaZulu-Natal and the North West are excluded because their remoteness from the centre of study, the limited number of newspapers that they would add to the study if they were included and to reduce numbers of newspapers surveyed.[7]

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[7] Natal might have produced interesting tensions in decision-making in relation to pictures of ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) violence and it would certainly be an area to which this kind of study could be applied.

It was intended that each case study could be compared over a range of newspapers, so as to establish what factors appeared to be held in common among gatekeepers. Thus the pictures of the incident in question had to have been freely available to a large number of the newspapers in the survey. The available coverage of the incident also had to involve one picture or a variety of images which were similar in content.[8] This is to make the comparison of the factors involved in selecting and presenting these pictures easier.

Finally the pictures were selected on the basis that each deals with an incident of a slightly different nature. Thus the Oosterbroek and AWB killings are of whites, the other three case studies are of blacks; the Hani and Oosterbroek killings involve well known figures where the others involve private citizens; the Inhlazane Station and Boipatong funeral killings involve ANC and Inkatha political groupings, where the AWB killings involve the AWB and Bophuthatswana troops and the Oostebroek killing involves the National Peacekeeping Force and private citizens.

Five case studies

The five case studies selected were:

Inhlanzane Station Killing

In September 1990 two photographers shot a sequence of a murder in which ANC supporters viciously assaulted and then burnt to death an alleged Inkatha spy. The killing was part of a upsurge of violence on the Reef associated with the mysterious "third force" that nearly derailed the political negotiation process.

Boipatong Funeral Killings

In June 1992 two photographers came upon an alleged Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) member being hacked to death with a panga in front of a crowd of ANC supporters at the funeral of the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

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[8] Another possible case study, the Shell House shooting in 1994, was rejected as having generated too many disparate images.

Hani Assassination

In April 1993 top ANC leader Chris Hani was shot dead in his driveway by a right-wing fanatic. It was feared the assassination might halt the negotiation process and possibly lead to widespread violence. Photographers arrived on the scene after the killing.

AWB Killings in Bop

In March 1994, amid violence in Bophuthatswana following the collapse of the government, three white right-wing extremists were surrounded by black troops. They pleaded for their lives but were eventually shot at point blank range. A large press corps was present and recorded the whole event.

Oosterbroek Shooting

In April 1994, Ken Oosterbroek, a well known photojournalist, was killed in crossfire between government troops and township residents while on the job. Colleagues present photographed the event.

Research procedure

The first stage of research involved a literature review (covered in chapter 1). Then a search for controversial pictures was done using the University of the Orange Free State media catalogue, which catalogues all media reports about the media. Articles by the media and readers' letters provided pointers to controversial photographs, that were tracked down in the newspapers concerned.

This was followed up by interviews with five photographers and five editors from five newspapers in Gauteng. These were unstructured interviews designed to determine what editors and photographers saw as issues of importance in this area.

Thereafter came the main body of the research which involved a content analysis to determine what pictures the newspapers had used and personal interviews with the decision-makers involved. The transcripts were then analysed and thematised before being written up.

Content analysis

Prior to the qualitative research interviews, it was necessary to determine which photographs each newspaper had used and how they had used them. This was done through a simple content analysis (see Appendix A.)

The factors taken into consideration were whether the picture was in colour or black-and-white, how large it was, where it was placed and what it was of. Of a total of 98 photographs analysed, 73 were coded by another coder (all those from Johannesburg). The result was an inter-coder reliability figure of 0.95. The remainder were coded by myself only.[9]

A problem encountered in doing the content analysis was that of different editions. Some of the major newspapers, such as The Star, do not keep bound volumes of their back issues. The analysis was done in the major libraries in each centre. Few kept every edition, especially for the larger papers that may produce up to four editions a day. Some kept only one edition. Where I could access more than one edition, I found that the picture use in my case studies was generally stable - it was not changed from edition to edition.

Thus, the analysis has dealt with only one edition of each paper, generally the City Late or its equivalent. Only in a few cases have differences between editions been considered, where it seemed to throw light on the decision-making process.

In total, 17 newspapers were analysed. During the content analysis each page was photocopied. These pages were taken along to the interviews to remind the interviewees of what their paper had produced.

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[9] The content analysis initially included categories dealing with both specifics such as location, size, colour, and broader issues such as emotional impact. However, in the process of coding some 73 photographs in Johannesburg with a fellow coder, I found that the latter categories were too subjective. On consideration, they also turned out to not be particularly relevant to the study.

Finding interview subjects

Interview subjects were located by telephoning the newspapers and asking who had been involved in decisions around the case studies. Once the relevant people had been located, a personal interview with them was set up at the newspaper.

I attempted to interview all the people involved in the decision-making process. A number of people had changed position within the newspaper, which was not a problem. However, some had left and could not be traced. They were then left out.

Thus, in a few cases, I could not find anyone involved in one particular case study. In most cases there were between one and three people present who had been involved in the process and they were interviewed. Generally, missing some of the decision-makers was not a problem, as others involved in the process could be traced. However, Stan James, chief sub-editor of City Press and David Sandison, Sunday Times picture editor, both of whom had left the country, were important figures in their respective newspapers and would have enhanced the data available to me.

Photographers were to prove particularly elusive and not all the relevant photographers could be interviewed. In some cases I have access to interviews with them from other sources, and I have drawn on these where necessary.

The only newspapers not available for interviewing were the Pretoria News, where the relevant staff members had left or were unavailable; The Citizen, where the editor refused to talk to me[10]; and South, which had closed down. In all, I interviewed people at 14 newspapers. The wealth of material available from these newspapers meant that missing newspapers and missing individuals did not affect the overall quality of the research data.

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[10] The Citizen's editor, Johnny Johnson, does not give interviews of any kind. The newspaper is unique in he makes *all* the decisions every day. Even the chief photographer brings all the images he shot to Johnson, who selects which to use and how to use it. (Chief photographer Wessel Oosthuizen, interview Oct 1994.)

Interview procedure

Kvale (1983, 179) notes that the research interview is characterised through "a methodical consciousness of question forms, a consciousness of the dynamics of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and a critical consciousness towards what is being said, and interpreted."

The interview procedure of this study has followed Kvale's method (1983.) He states that the interview is "carried through following an interview-guide, which rather than containing exact questions focuses on certain themes" (1983, 175). I had a list of interview questions which each interviewee was asked (see Appendix B.) However, the questions were open-ended. Additional questions were asked to elucidate certain themes. The interviews were taped.

Although having a fair understanding of photographic and editing procedure through my own training and practise as a photojournalist and my reading for this study, I introduced myself simply as a researcher so that my subjects would not take knowledge on my part for granted. I also tried to dismiss my preconceptions of how newsrooms are run and simply listen to what I was being told.

The interviewees were surprisingly generous with their time and generally quite happy to discuss the issues of interest to me. Any specific problems with interviews have been noted where they occur in the case studies.

The interviews were transcribed by myself and two other transcribers. In all cases, the instruction was to transcribe the interview as literally as possible. However, in writing up, the study quotes have been tidied up to eliminate confusing grammar and thereby rendered into readable, written form.

Areas of methodological concern

Literature on the quantitative research interview methodology acknowledges various areas of concern (Kvale 1983, 174-78). One of the tensions inherent in this method is that the interviewer

needs to be knowledgable of the topic under discussion in order to be sensitive to, and be able to probe, the interviewee's descriptions of their own experience.

Yet the qualitative interview also aims to gather presuppositionless descriptions of the interviewee's experience. Rather than the interviewer coming with ready-made categories, he must be sensitive to what is said - and what is not - and critical of his own presuppositions. This tension requires a "deliberate conscious naivete" on the part of the interviewer.

Another tension is the role of inter-personal dynamics between interviewer and interviewee. They react in relation to each other and reciprocally influence each other. However, this need not be seen as a source of error but as a strong point. The process of interaction allows the interviewer to ensure that the interviewee has understood the question and that he understands what the interviewee means by his answer. It is through this process that an understanding of the subject's experience is reached.

Interview interpretation

The process of interpretation in qualitative research is again a bone of contention (Kvale 1983). Extensive and complex material lends itself to selection and interpretation to suit the preconceptions or prejudices of the interpreter. It can be difficult to detect bias or superficiality in interpretation. And such material, even if interpreted rigorously, is open to a variety of potentially perfectly legitimate interpretations.

For this type of study validity can be defined as "the extent to which a method investigates the content it is intended to investigate" (Kvale 1983, 191). Reliability lies in formulating, as explicitly as possible, the evidence and arguments which have been applied in the interpretation, in order that the interpretation be testable by others (Kvale 1983, 192).

Giorgi, a pre-eminent writer on the use of qualitative research in psychology, has postulated as the key criterion of qualitative research "whether a reader, adopting the same viewpoint as articulated by the researcher, can also see what the researcher saw, whether or not he agrees with it" (qtd. in Kvale 1983, 192). This is seen as the basis for structuring this study - that the methodology, as laid out in this chapter, be sufficiently clear and cogent that the reader can

understand how the conclusions were reached. That another method might reach different conclusions from the same data is possible.

The interviews were read over to examine the general meaning. Each was then reread carefully, marking different factors that seemed to affect the selection or presentation of the images. It was then determined which factors seemed to be common across the various newspapers in each case study. The material was then written up and analysed in terms of these factors, looking at how they interacted to lead to the final result.

In all this, Kvale's (1983, 181) three levels of interpretation were followed. The first is on the level of the self-understanding of the interviewee. The interviewer attempts to condense and formulate what the interviewee himself understands as the meaning of what he describes. The second is on the broad common sense level of understanding. The interviewer may attempt to get at the spirit of what is said, extending its meaning by reading between the lines and by drawing in broader contexts than the interviewee does. On the third level, the interviewer may draw on more theoretical interpretations.

In the interpretation I have drawn on gatekeeping theory, and particularly on Lewin's concept of forces, as modified by Shoemaker (1991), as a way of explaining how the different factors involved in decision-making interact with each other. These theories have been laid out in chapter 1.

Results

This study does not set out to catalogue all the factors involved in every decision about photographic use. The factors uncovered are specific to the particular incidents and more broadly to the type of incident - pictures of political violence during South Africa's transition to democracy.

Nevertheless, the methodology is intended to be sufficiently rigorous to allow identification of common factors across newspapers dealing with the same incident and to allow for an examination of which factors are common across the case studies. It is not intended that these

conclusions should be able to be automatically applied to other areas or incidents of photographic selection.

However the methodology of the study should be generalisable to any such study of photographic decision-making. Both the structuring of the case study analysis and the factors that it uncovered, and the way they interact, should provide guides to potential categories of analysis for further studies.

Conclusion

As outlined in this chapter, to uncover the factors that decision-makers take into account when they decide what photographs to select and how to present them, and to examine how those factors interact in the reaching of a conclusion, this study has turned to the qualitative research interview, within the framework of phenomenology.

The qualitative research interview allows one to come to understand how news photographs are selected and presented, by investigating those patterns of taken-for-granted meaning which structure reality within the newsroom. These patterns are uncovered by examining the everyday procedures of news professionals as expressed by themselves.

The chapter has also made the thesis methodology clear and defined and argued for its sampling procedures.

Chapter Three

Introduction to the Case Studies

Introduction

The following five chapters will deal with each of the case studies in turn. They will examine how the newspapers covered the five incidents visually and why they made those decisions. The intention is to uncover the various factors taken into account in deciding which pictures to select and how to present them, and to look at how those factors interact in determining the final conclusion.

This chapter serves as an introduction to the case studies. It will first provide a summary of the newspapers surveyed and their general characteristics. It will then look at some of the general issues that arose in the interviews that are relevant to the issue of selection and presentation, but that are not specific to any one of the case studies. These include the way selection procedures occur, the kind of picture policies the newspapers have, the influence of competition, the response of readers and what editors perceive to be the value of using pictures.

Newspapers surveyed

This study covered a total of 17 newspapers.[1] As of the middle of 1994, four of the newspapers were national, the Sunday Times, Rapport, City Press and The Weekly Mail. All were based in Johannesburg. Three of these were Sunday newspapers. The Sunday Times, an English-language paper, was South Africa's biggest newspaper with a circulation of around half a million. The others were the Afrikaans Rapport and the English City Press. The Weekly Mail (since renamed the Mail and Guardian), which came out on Fridays, was a weekly English-language tabloid.

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[1] A more detailed summary of reader composition and of circulation figures may be found in Appendix C.

Another six newspapers circulated in the Gauteng area.[2] Five were based in Johannesburg. The Citizen and Sowetan were English-language, morning daily tabloids. Beeld was an Afrikaans morning daily.

The Star was an English-language all day daily. The Weekend Star (formally the Saturday Star) was the Star's weekend edition, published on Saturday. The Sunday Star closed in early 1994. It was an English-language Sunday newspaper. Before 1992, it was a more up-market broadsheet.

The Pretoria News was an English-language morning daily based in Pretoria and New Nation was an English-language weekly tabloid, coming out on Fridays. They published as the Sunday Nation for a year from about June 1993.

In Cape Town there were four newspaper, three dailies and one weekly. Die Burger was an Afrikaans morning daily. The Cape Times was an English-language morning daily. The Argus was an English-language afternoon daily.

The Argus produced a weekend version, the Weekend Argus, that published on both Saturday and Sunday. South was an English-language weekly tabloid, produced on Fridays, that closed down in January 1995.

In the Eastern Cape there were three newspapers. The Eastern Province Herald, an English-language morning daily and the Weekend Post, an English-language weekly produced on Saturday afternoon, were published in Port Elizabeth. The Daily Dispatch, an English-language morning daily, was published in East London.

As of the beginning of 1994, these newspapers either belonged to one of three press groups or were independent. Independent newspapers included The Weekly Mail, South, the Daily

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[2] Business Day, a daily business newspaper, was also available but as it seldom used photographs other than portraits it was excluded from this study.

Dispatch and New Nation. Argus Printing and Publishing[3] owned The Star, The Argus and the Sowetan.[4] Times Media Limited (TML) owned the Sunday Times, the Cape Times, the Eastern Province Herald and the Weekend Post. Nasionale Pers owned The Citizen, Beeld, City Press and half of Rapport. The other half was owned by Perskor. The Pretoria News was jointly owned by Argus and TML.

While division of papers into political groupings is very difficult, these figures do show that newspapers fell into three groups. Two newspapers, Beeld and Rapport, fell into the Afrikaans group, which had virtually no black or Indian readers and a vast predominance of white readers. In addition, by far the majority of readers were Afrikaans speakers.

By far the largest group was the mixed readership category, with readers from all racial and language groups. Thirteen of the 17 newspapers had a mixed-race readership, generally in the vicinity of 60% black (or in Cape Town, coloured) and 40% white.

In these first two categories, most of the photographers and all the editors I interviewed were white. This seemed to reflect the historically white ownership and readership of these newspapers. However, those interviewed in the mixed readership category were all aware of the mixed profiles of their newspapers.

This mix presented some editors with problems. The Star picture editor Robin Comley said: "We've got a very diverse market, we cover the Northern Suburbs to deepest Soweto, so we have a very broad range of people with very divergent interests. So we are very often in a dilemma - something that's very pertinent to a lot of Soweto readers won't be of interest to the Northern Suburbs people. It's something we have to balance and we try to vary it in order to please most people."

Sunday Times assistant editor Dennis Hands said that their readership "goes across the entire spectrum. It goes from labourers to top decision-makers in society. And that's one of the

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[3] In 1994 Argus was sold to Independent Newspapers and was renamed as such.

[4] In 1992 they sold the controlling interest in the Sowetan to a black business enterprise.

problems in actually putting together the paper. You have to bear in mind that you have this vast readership, people who would never actually meet on one side of the spectrum to the other, and to actually give them within that newspaper a mix that will please as many people as possible."

The third group was the black press, where the vast majority of readers were black and spoke an African language as their mother tongue. This group included the Sowetan, City Press and New Nation. Here, almost all of those interviewed were black. This was, again, probably a reflection of the historical division of black and white interests, with blacks traditionally employed when the focus was seen as exclusively "black interest".

Some editors felt that this racial division remained within the press today. Sowetan picture editor Robert Mgwaza said: "I always say to people, especially foreigners, the problem with this country is that we have two different kinds of media, a white media and a black media. Sometimes I take a copy of The Star and of the Sowetan and there are two separate worlds in most cases."

He gave the examples of seal clubbing or white lions making the front page of The Star. "We cannot come to people who have been plagued by poverty and violence and killings and say 'here is a sad story about the penguins in oil'. People won't go to a shebeen and talk about the dramatic rescue of the penguins, but in The Star it is hard news. We have a black interest and a white interest."

Comley, The Star picture editor, commented of the killing of the AWB members in Bophuthatswana that: "I know at the time there seemed to be an inordinate amount of shock attached to the death of three white people... I think it comes back to the old mind-set that we tend to find ourselves in, there seems to be a slight division between blacks and whites, on this newspaper in terms of reportage and how horrific this deed was."

The killing of the AWB members was the only case study in which these possible racial divisions come to the surface in the decision-making process, but, as will be shown, there were other differences in approach that can be traced back to these racial divisions.

The decision-making process

In most of the newspapers surveyed decisions were made in a similar way, although each newspaper had its own peculiarities. Photographers generally printed up the best of their work, sometimes making the selection with the help of a picture editor. However, they might well have been out of the office, so that someone else made those first decisions. Beyond this stage photographers generally had no say in how the images were used.

Only four newspapers surveyed had a dedicated picture editor - The Star, Die Burger, The Argus and Sunday Times. Most either had no-one in that role or had their chief photographer making those decisions.

After the photographer's selection had been made, the photographs would then probably be presented at the editorial meeting. This meeting was likely to be attended by somebody from the photographic section, the other section heads, the chief sub-editor, the news editor and perhaps the editor.

Here, decisions would be made about which pictures to use and on what pages. Generally, everyone had some input, with the final say resting mostly with the chief sub-editor, perhaps in conjunction with the news editor or the night editor.

Generally, decisions about the front page, and on larger newspapers the first few pages, were made at the conference. Inside pages were considered less important and decisions were more likely to be made by whoever lays out that page. It became clear in the Hani and Oosterbroek case studies, that lack of co-ordination between people laying out different pages, could lead to pictures being either missed out altogether, or repeated unnecessarily.

In cases of dispute or with controversial pictures the final say rested with the editor. The degree of direct control by the editor varied greatly, from Ric Wilson of the Eastern Province Herald who liked to lay out dramatic front page pictures himself, to Aggrey Klaaste of the Sowetan who, according to his picture editor Mgwaza, generally acted as no more than an observer.

Some newspapers, such as Sunday Times and Beeld, had one person in charge of layout, generally an assistant editor.

The Star, which, with four editions a day, produced the most of any of the newspapers surveyed, had the problem of too many decision-makers. Comley, the picture editor, said "The problem we have on The Star is that I really should be here from six in the morning to eleven at night to maintain control of [picture use], and I'm not, I won't ever be. So we do have a problem. We have four different editions and one editor for two editions and another for another edition, so you're going to get very divergent decisions. And everyone's concept of what makes a good picture is different."

Drawing upon the gatekeeping models outlined in chapter 1, one can modify the Shoemaker model for decision-making procedures, taking into account both the fact that this study looks at photographs rather than the more usual news stories or broadcast material, and that these are South African newspapers.

In the passage of a photographic image from the frame taken by the photographer to the picture on the newspaper page the first two gates lie with the photographer. The first is the moment of picture taking - the decision to press the shutter to capture an instant. Any single frame may be the result of a single conscious decision or part of a motor-drive sequence. Either way, the initiative rests with the photographer. This moment encapsulates decisions about what film to load and what equipment to use.

It could be argued that the first gate lies with the editors instructing the photographer about the assignment. But the purposes of defining the parameters of this project (and because this preliminary gate only occurs when a photographer is given a specific assignment, not when, as with the Inhlanzane Station case study, he stumbles on the event), this interpretation will focus on the image and its passage through the news channels. The existence of the image effectively starts when the shutter is pressed.

The second gate is identifiable with the photographer's decision about which frames to print and present to the editorial staff.

Up until this point, the decisions have been individual ones - the photographer exercising his personal judgement based on his professional understanding of what is newsworthy and what is visually worthy.

Thus, the photographer acts as the boundary role gatekeeper, introducing the photograph into the news organisation. At this point, there may or may not be an intermediate gatekeeper with a greater or lesser degree of knowledge about pictures and influence as a gatekeeper - the picture editor.

The next gate is likely to be a collective one, in the form of the daily news conference. A collective decision will be made with the editor having the final say. At this point which page the photograph will go on will probably be decided, as will whether it is to run in colour.

The final gate is likely to be a sub-editor, the chief sub in the case of the front page, a more junior person elsewhere. This person becomes the boundary role gatekeeper between the organisation and the audience. They will have the final say about size, placement and cropping and will combine the image with the words that go with it, caption, story and headline.

There does however remain one more mechanical gate - the actual printing process. Errors or accidents in printing may result in a product that was not the intention of any of the gatekeepers involved. Colour and print quality will also affect the appearance of the image in a manner largely beyond the control of all concerned.[5]

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[5] Although not a focus of this study, a certain amount of dissatisfaction among picture people about the use of their work by what were regarded as less visually literate editorial staff was apparent.

One disenchanted picture editor described the managing editor who had been making the final picture decisions as "visually retarded. He has absolutely no concept of what makes a good picture, of how to crop it."

Sunday Times photographer Chris Collingridge said "There is no communication between the photographer and Denis Hands [who does layout], and our picture editor has no say at the end of the day about which pictures are used... It's like a management thing, they just don't believe in pictures. And there's this sort of attitude about photographers maybe being a bit simple."

Policy on pictures

None of the newspapers surveyed had any kind of written policy on picture usage. Daily Dispatch editor Gavin Stewart said "I suppose we have a policy but it's not written down anywhere and I think that's true of most newspapers. The policies are carried around in the head of our staff." Night editor Fred Fitzgerald said: "There is a sort of understanding about what picture we would use."

These unwritten policies tended to be the result of the opinions of the editor and/or the senior editorial staff. The editor always had the final say. It became clear that staff did not always agree with the unwritten policies of their newspapers but they had to abide by them.

Pieter Spaarwater, picture editor of Die Burger, said of the newspaper's approach to blood: "We are very squeamish about that sort of thing. I don't always agree with it, but that is policy."

The Star picture editor Robin Comley disagreed with the policy, traditional to the newspaper and supported strongly by the current editor, Peter Sullivan, not to use bodies on the front page. He felt children should not have to see such pictures. She thought it was an elitist approach, that the children in the townships were faced with the reality the pictures show every day. Sullivan said showing violent pictures trivialises death, whereas she felt it trivialises it not to publish. It was saying that death is not important enough to publish.

The less strict the hierarchy, the more input junior staff members had in policy. Thus Laura Yeatman, The Weekly Mail chief sub-editor, summed up her newspaper's approach as: "There was no policy as such, more of a big fight."

Those interviewed mentioned between them a variety of factors that go to make up these amorphous 'policies'. There was generally a concern not to use pictures that are very graphic. It was described variously as not using anything too gruesome or distasteful, not wanting to use images purely for sensation and/or not wanting to offend readers.

Several people offered the nature of their newspaper as a reason for not using too graphic pictures - that it was a morning paper, Sunday paper, or family paper. An interviewee at the Cape Times, a morning daily, said their policy was simply not to use "marmalade droppers". According to night editor Evelyn Holtzhausen, that was "somebody who is sitting with their toast at the breakfast table, reading this story with such a degree of interest that the marmalade drops off their toast and falls flop on the table." He also did not want readers to become voyeurs of bloody scenes.

In the case studies, what made a picture too gruesome, or distasteful, was much less clear but blood and bodies were mentioned several times, as well as anything too sexually explicit. A number of papers said they would not use pictures of common types of death, such as road accidents. The picture had to be of something dramatic in order to be considered.

Concern was also mentioned about not dehumanising or degrading people, whether alive or dead, not hurting people unnecessarily, both those in the picture and those who know them, and not shocking children.

These general guidelines included not only selection but placement as well. Several newspapers said that they would, if at all possible, not use bodies on the front page. Nevertheless several papers said that they would be prepared to risk offending readers if they felt the pictures could put an important message across.

Mike Mzileni, City Press chief photographer, said: "There are times when you want to stress a point, to tell the public: this has gone too far, it has got to stop... There are times when you have to run gory pictures, but it's not something that you run each time you get a gory picture."

Some newspapers identified changes in policy over the years. Fitzgerald from the Daily Dispatch said: "Three, four, five years ago we would seldom show a body on page one. These days we do it more often." Stewart, the editor, said: "I suppose we have been liberated to some extent by television. In the old days, newspapers were much more squeamish than they are now about publishing pictures especially of the victims of accidents and other forms of

violence... It seems the public have become hardened by what they see on television. It would be a bit silly of us to decline to use a picture in our paper that has been seen on television the night before."

On the Sowetan there was a conscious shift in policy around 1992. Picture editor Robert Mgwaza said the senior editorial staff had decided they were overplaying violence visually. "[We] actually sat down and thought 'are we not actually fanning the violence if we keep on using pictures of violence, are we driving any message across or are we just saying to people to just go on fighting?' To a certain extent we had to suppress some of the pictures, mainly gory pictures." He said they now only use a gory picture if it can "drive a message home".

On Rapport, policy was influenced by the fact that in 1988 reader complaints brought them in front of the Media Council for publishing a picture of a body of a terrorist ripped apart when his bomb had exploded prematurely. News editor Herman Jansen said: " We had a bit of problems some years ago when we used some mutilated bodies and the Media Council rapped us across the knuckles. There is no way we would cross a certain line for sensationalist purposes. We'll never do that again."

The Argus picture editor Jim McLagan summed up most newspapers' modus operandi: "There are no right and wrongs and there is no written down policy at all.... There are no definitive answers, it's just gut feeling."

The influence of the reader

Whether newspapers got much reaction to pictures, particularly gruesome ones, varied considerably. About two-thirds of the newspapers said they seldom or never got any reaction to pictures, and if they did, it was about "sexy" pictures. The other third said they often got a strong reaction. There were no obviously apparent reasons why some newspapers got a reaction to pictures and others did not.

David Hazelhurst, editor of the Sunday Star, commented about the picture of Chris Hani that "you got less of an outcry than if I'd got a crossword clue wrong." Charles Mogale, City Press news editor, said he generally only gets responses to pictures of pin-ups.

As already mentioned under the summary of the newspapers surveys, it became clear that those newspapers with a very mixed readership in terms of race and class had some difficulty in catering to their target audiences. The diversity of the audience meant that something very pertinent to some readers would be of little interest to others.

The question of whether gruesome pictures increased sales evoked mixed answers. Several newspapers were convinced that they did. Charles Mogale, former City Press news editor, said: " I think a shocking picture sells the paper. People say, 'wow, that is an awful thing' but then they buy it." Denis Hands said he was convinced graphic pictures sell more newspapers.

But The Star picture editor Comley said the paper does not increase its print run for a gruesome picture in the expectation of selling more. And former Weekend Star editor David Allen said: "We've come through a period in the history of South African journalism where we have had to dwell to an extraordinary extent on violence and the effects of violence and our circulations have declined. So if that argument held, our circulations should be through the roof... The abduction of mother and children in their combi, the shoot-out which follows, doesn't sell newspapers. In fact it can switch people off."

As others pointed out, big pictures were normally linked to major news stories, so it is difficult to tell what the main impulse for buying is.

Competition

Most of the newspapers surveyed existed in a highly competitive environment. Only the Daily Dispatch in East London was without competition altogether. There was a constant pressure to find a new or a different picture to illustrate a story. Cape Times night editor Evelyn Holtzhausen said " the reason that newspapers are called newspapers is because they carry the *news*, it must be new. Otherwise the readers going to say 'I've seen that before.'"

And of course all were influenced by the existence of television. The immediacy of the medium, and the fact that an event like the AWB killing in the morning will be live on the television news that night, means there is a constant need to find new pictures.

Allen, former editor of the Saturday Star, said: "We realise our newspaper has to sit on the streets for anything up to 14 hours on a Saturday. It's not in our interests to repeat what has been on television the night before. We've got to try to appear as fresh and as new as possible as much for people who want to buy in the afternoon as for those who come in the morning."

Nevertheless some editors saw advantages in television. Wilson of the Eastern Province Herald said: "What appears on television... whets [a viewer's] appetite. If something is big on television, then I think we should use it big, because people are already aware of what it is, you don't have to introduce them to it."

Several editors argued that news pictures, particularly of dramatic events, had definite advantages over television. Chris Karstens of Rapport said of the killing of the AWB men that appeared on television: "On television it's a fleeting moment... it takes about 5 seconds, 10 seconds and it's gone. But when you've got still pictures and you've got to watch it and look at it, it's a different matter."

Value of pictures

Most editors were very aware of the fact that the first thing readers looked at on a newspaper page were the pictures, and that they served as a way to draw readers into the page.

Hazelhurst quoted research saying the picture is the point of entry into any news page for 90% of people. "So a picture is the biggest drawing card in a newspaper. It doesn't matter what picture, that's where your eye goes. It's a physical thing."

Evelyn Holtzhausen said: "[A picture] serves to draw the reader's eye onto the page, and more importantly, it serves to keep the reader's eye on the page, which serves several purposes. They read your stories, and more importantly, they read your adverts which means that your advertisers are happy and they are paying priority fees."

They were also aware that readers are more likely to look at a picture than a news story. Rapport news editor Herman Jansen said: "Pictures are just over 50% of the paper. Readers

would rather look at a very strong picture than read the story. Value wise it carries more than 50% of the weight in the paper."

The point was also made that pictures convey information rapidly. Sowetan photographer Len Kumalo said: "Newspapers are made for people in a hurry, people going to work. They want to get what they want immediately, especially in these days of television. One picture can tell the whole story. After seeing the picture, people would like to read about it."

City Press news editor Len Golani claimed "the majority of the people in the country are lazy to read, they don't want to read. They want the ready made images to drive the point home. They just want to get it quickly and be done with it."

Another point that emerged was that photographs can convey information in a way that text cannot. This confirmed the point made in chapter 1 that photographs have a power to encapsulate a situation within a single instant that words do not.

Hands said: "A really good picture can just over arch anything that you have produced in terms of words and descriptions and so on."

On the Sowetan they described it as "picture power". Mgwaza said: "You may say 40 people died, the reporter may describe it in whatever way, maybe to work on people's emotions, to say what he saw, what is there. But once there are no pictures I still feel it still lacks somewhat. But if you put a picture, people start saying - look at that."

And finally pictures were seen as important in attracting readers in an increasingly visual age. Godfrey Haines, chief sub-editor on the Cape Times, believed the onset of television had made newspapers more visually focused. "Before when we listened to the radio, we could read, but now certainly we try to grab the readers' attention with pictures...that's of vital importance. We've got to try and be as visual as possible."

Sunday Star editor David Hazelhurst said: "Those papers that seem to be not only surviving but prospering are those that are taking cognizance of the visual impact they have to have on the very visually orientated and educated readership."

So four factors seem to emerge as of importance. One is the need to draw the reader into the page. The pictures serve as a hook to get the reader to look at the news stories. The second is to convey information quickly to readers who are probably reading the newspaper in a hurry. The third is that pictures can convey the dramatic nature of an event in a way that words cannot. And the fourth, emerging against the background of considerable competition that television affords newspapers, is the need to attract an increasingly visually orientated readership.

Introduction to the case studies

These broad picture policies and the general issues of possible reader reaction, competition, and the need to attract the reader will all re-emerge in various forms in the case studies that follow. Apart from these, each case study revealed a unique combination of other factors all feeding into the decision-making process.

In analysing the material derived from the interviews each case study will follow the same basic format. Following an introduction, a brief overview of the political context in which the incident occurred is given. It is followed by a look at which newspapers used what images. Thereafter it will look at the kinds of decisions that went into selection and presentation of the photographs at the various newspapers, tracing factors held in common across newsrooms but looking at how they were dealt with in each case.

This part will consider first the decisions taken by the photographers on the scene. Then it will look at the decisions made back at the newsroom. To facilitate dealing with the large amount of material, the material will be categorised under themes that emerge in the selection process of that particular case study.

Evidence is presented first on the level of the self-understanding of the interviewee, presenting what he or she said about the incident. At the end of each theme, common factors are

considered, generalising the conventional wisdom that the editors draw on and showing the assumptions on which they are based. A more theoretical level is drawn upon in the conclusion to give a third level of interpretation.

The final chapter pulls together the various factors that have been evident in the case studies and looks at how they have been shown to interact in the decision-making process.

Chapter Four

The Inhlanzane Station Necklacing

Introduction

In this case study decision-makers faced the problem of what to do with an unusual and dramatic series of pictures of a gruesome killing. As the photographs depicted an event not in itself particularly newsworthy, editors had to decide whether such a dramatic and novel depiction of violent action outweighed the likelihood of the gory subject-matter offending readers.

In terms of selection, the scales were tipped in favour of publishing by a feeling that newspapers had a duty to show readers the horrid reality of such killings. But in terms of presentation, the gory subject-matter led to them being placed deep in the newspaper.

Context

On 15 September 1990 a man, accused of being an IFP supporter, was led from Inhlanzane station in Soweto by five ANC supporters. He was stoned, bludgeoned, stabbed, doused with petrol and set alight. Sowetan photographer Mbuzeni Zulu and freelancer Greg Marinovich were to capture the entire event on film. Marinovich sold his photographs to Associated Press (AP), who distributed them across the world.[1]

The incident was to occur against the political background of new tough measures proposed by the government to quell the spiralling violence on the Reef. Dubbed the "iron fist", these included increased police presence, the cordoning off of certain hostels, road blocks and house-to-house searches.

The new measures came against a background of growing suspicion that there was a "third force" at work manipulating the violence. The government had admitted that such a thing might exist and

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[1] Among other awards, he was to win the 1991 Pulitzer Prize for spot photography for the picture of the man on fire.

it was suspected of consisting of white extremists and disgruntled members of the security forces.

Incidents such as this one, between rival political groupings, were becoming increasingly common. Although at one level grounded in political rivalry, this conflict that came to be labelled "black-on-black" violence, was fed by a number of sources. Tribal affiliation, based around cultural symbols, played a part. Poor socio-economic conditions fed into the violence, as did conflict over control of limited resources. It has been suggested that "racial, ethnic and class antagonisms held in check under classic apartheid [had] resurfaced in the climate of liberalisation and deracialisation" (Morris and Hindson 1992, 155).

Pictures used in the press

The Inhlanzane killing occurred on a Saturday morning. Pictures of it were to be used in five of the newspapers in this study, all of them in Gauteng (figs. 1-4). In the eastern and western Cape, editors, if they were with the paper five years ago, tended not to remember why they did not use the pictures. However, several pointed out that their newspapers only acquired Associated Press wire service in the early 1990s. The same went for the New Nation in Johannesburg.

Of the Gauteng papers three of the four Sunday newspapers covered the incident. These were Rapport, Sunday Star and City Press.[2] Two of the four dailies covered it, Sowetan and Beeld. Sowetan used the photographs from their own photographer, all the others those of Marinovich from AP.

The Sunday Times did not use the photographs. It ran a story and a sequence of pictures from Phola Park of a taxi-driver being stabbed to death by a crowd wielding assagais, taken by a Sunday Times photographer. Dennis Hands, Sunday Times assistant editor and in charge of design, confirmed that the series had been exclusive to the Sunday Times. This would suggest that exclusivity is a powerful positive force in the selection of photographs.

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[2] Some newspapers publish both a daily and a weekend version - such as The Star in this case. As in the case studies it is always one or the other that is under consideration - that is the story will be running in either the daily or the weekly version - throughout the thesis they are counted as one newspaper.

A total of 18 pictures were published, five in colour. Four of the five papers published a sequence of images, between three and six, with Beeld publishing only one. The sequence of pictures available to the newspapers included the man being led away from the station by his killers, being stabbed, being beaten and on fire. Four of five papers used a burning picture, all used stabbing pictures, three used beatings and two used the walking picture.

Decision-making procedures

In keeping with the model of gatekeeping procedure as outlined in chapter 3, we can expect the first gatekeeping decisions to have been made by the two photographers. The very first gate lies in the decision to take the pictures at all. Both photographers stumbled on the incident by accident. They were told by the killers to stop shooting but ignored the instruction and recorded the entire event.[3]

As will become apparent later, the fact that the photographers were able to capture a killing in progress, and that they had the courage to keep photographing throughout, becomes a positive force in favour of the pictures. The very difficulty of news photography, of capturing an event as it happens, becomes a strong force in favour of using the product.

The next decision point is which photographs the photographer presents to his editors. Sowetan photographer Mbuzeni Zulu said that he gave his managing editor a contact sheet of all he had shot. He did not make any choices, explaining that he had had enough of seeing the pictures. As far as the other newspapers were concerned, that choice was beyond their control with the AP pictures. They received about six photographs over the wires.[4]

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[3] Marinovich attempted to stop the killing. He said: "I argued with them. I asked them how they knew he was a spy. They said they just knew it.... I said what they were doing was crazy, the killing had to stop. They said they heard what I was saying, they understood, but they just carried on." Later he said that several times people in the crowd tried to stop him taking photographs. "I told them I would stop when they stopped killing him." (Qtd. in Stander 1991, 12)

[4] What Marinovich himself choose is not known. He was not available to be interviewed. What information is given here comes from published interviews.

The next set of decisions then lay with the editorial staff. This decision was normally made at some form of editorial meeting.

Of the five papers who used the photographs, only Jannie van der Merwe, typographical editor[5] of Beeld did not recall the circumstances surrounding the choices clearly. Beeld ran one black-and-white photograph on page 4, with a caption, but no story. It showed the victim standing apparently dazed, next to a man who seemed to have just stuck a knife in his chest.

Asked why Beeld used only that photograph, he replied: "It can be that we had so much violence really in that week. I don't think we missed it quite honestly." He went on to say that space might have been a problem.

Conflicting forces - gruesomeness and drama

Interviewees from the other four newspapers were in agreement on two characteristics of the photographs. The one was that they were gruesome. The other that they were unusual and, in a news sense, exciting.

The pictures were described as "terrible", "gory", "dreadful", "grotesque" and "gruesome". But AP photographer Marinovich said of the pictures: "I saw the shots and realised they were amazing pictures," even though he was also aware that he was watching a murder (Stander 1991, 12).

Robert Mgwaza, Sowetan chief photographer, explained that they had never captured necklacing like this before. "I'll tell you when I first saw these pictures I became very excited. Because we have never captured necklace like here. Mostly we find the body lying there, the flames already out..." Photographer Zulu agreed that they were "quite unusual" and that you seldom got such pictures, rather finding the aftermath. Mgwaza emphasised that the pictures showed the perpetrators in action, and they showed the action in series. "Because of the way the scene was captured, we had to publish" he said.

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[5] Van der Merwe was in charge of the layout of the front page. Beeld placed considerable importance on layout and on the use of large photographs.

The main element behind this assessment of this series of pictures as unusual and exciting seemed to be the fact that they captured the action as it was happening. Coverage of township violence generally involved photographing bodies. Conflict photographer Kevin Carter described what he called "the longstanding tradition of [myself and other photographers, like Marinovich,] going on "dawn patrols" - early morning rides through township trouble spots - for the simple reason that if there had been killings in the night the bodies have not yet been moved by police" (Carter 1992, 33).

The gruesome nature of the photographs' content would traditionally form a strong negative force, as shown, for example, in the general reluctance of many newspapers to use bodies on the front page (as discussed in chapter 3). Yet, in this case, that very gruesomeness was a positive force. To capture violent death as it is happening, and particularly in a series, showing that happening stage by stage, is given high value in a news situation. Conflict and action are each newsworthy *and* potentially, visually interesting. Together they become a strong positive force.

In this case they were enhanced by another positive force - novelty. As Mgwaza said, the Sowetan had never managed to capture necklacing so graphically before. In the news business, with its purpose as publishing what is new, novelty is important.

The impact of pictures over words

In deciding how many pictures to use, where to place them and how big to make them, it must be remembered that pictures are competing not only with each other but with all the news copy that had to be fitted in.

Thus another force in favour of these images was that some people felt they could tell the story in a way that words could not. Karstens said: "You can write the story of violence without using any one of these pictures, and no one is going to read that story half way through. But when they see the pictures, they say: "Oh my God, is this what they are talking about when they are talking about violence?""

The Star deputy editor David Hazelhurst described the photograph of the burning victim as one of "three or four pictures that I remember that really highlighted the real horror of township

warfare". He commented that he did not remember AP ever putting out so many pictures on a single subject, saying "they obviously also realised this was a phenomenal series".

This backs up the point made in chapter 1 and again in chapter 3, that photographs are seen as having a degree of impact beyond that of words. They can bring home the reality of a situation in a way that a verbal description cannot.

The deciding factor - social conscience

Yet the fact that these photographs showed novel coverage of violence in action in a way that words could not do does not seem to have been enough on its own to overcome the negative force of the gruesome content. As will become apparent when this case study is compared with the others, this one did not have the additional impetus of being of a highly newsworthy event.

It was one killing of many in a time of spiralling violence, as highlighted by the comment from Van der Merwe of Beeld: "...we had so much violence really in that week, I don't think we missed [the pictures]..." And it involved private individuals, unknown to readers, who the newspapers did not even have names for. The newsworthiness lay in the pictures themselves, the fact the photographers had managed to take them. The event they depicted was not in itself considered intrinsically newsworthy.

Another force seems to have been at work, that tipped the balance in favour of publishing. That was a desire to make readers aware of facts and/or events that the editors felt they should know about, even if the readers themselves might rather have been left in ignorance. Although the general concept was common to all four newspapers, how it was conceived differed in each, according to the perceived readership.

The Sowetan ran a sequence of three black-and-white photographs taking up the whole of page 4, with an accompanying story (fig. 1). The headline read: Horror of mob justice.

The first photograph showed one man pulling the victim while another is about to stab him. The second showed the victim on fire and three men apparently stoning and beating him. The third showed him on fire, attempting to crawl away.

The accompanying story focused not on the event but on explaining why the newspaper published the pictures. It read:

> The indescribable insanity that has gripped the black townships is conveyed graphically in these photographs.
> Among the people who attacked the man were young boys who should have been at school. They were hardly aware of enormity [sic] of taking a life in the fashion that they did.
> We bring these pictures to make the black community sharply aware that even when we suspect that there might be a third force playing its own hand in the current violence, the people in the townships are still responsible for a large part of it.
> If a Third Force does exist, it is taking advantage of what is already happening. They are taking advantage of inter-organisational rivalry that has led to such quick and cruel "justice." ("Horror of mob justice" 1990, 4.)

The following day the Sowetan ran an editorial which said:

> Yesterday the Sowetan published horrifying pictures intended to shock the black community back to sanity.
> Many readers were revolted by them, some even suggesting that their children should not be exposed to such violence.
> The irony is that children are exposed to this violence every day - the boy who set the Inhlanzane Station victim alight was around 11 years old, according to our photographer.
> Instead of fighting the media for exposing this horror, the community should be calling a halt to the violence in our streets and our homes. (Editorial 1990.)

Both the content of these two articles, and the fact that the Sowetan ran them at all - especially the one accompanying the photographs, suggests that the newspaper sees itself in a didactic relationship with its readers. Events such as these are published for the 'good' of a community of which the newspapers, its readers and both killers and victim are all a part.

The headline, "Horror of mob justice", acts to direct the reader towards a certain kind of understanding of the pictures. The accompanying text re-emphasises that interpretation. It is calling on the readers to condemn the action depicted in the photographs and to take responsibility for stopping such events in their communities. Of all the pictures in the five case studies, this is probably the most overt example of words being used not just to describe the event depicted but to direct the readers' interpretations in a certain direction.

The images are intended to motivate readers to a course of action through shocking them. They are intended to "shock them back to sanity", make them realise they are "still responsible" for a large part of the violence and spur them on to call a halt to the violence.

Mgwaza justified using the pictures on two levels. As already discussed, one was on the level of the unusual content of the photographs. But the final justification for use was that the fact the photographs showed the action in series allowed the editors to show something to their readers - to show "this man went through a lot of pain before his life came to an end".

Throughout the interview Mgwaza emphasised that pictures of violence were not published unless they could "drive a message home". He said later that "when we use [violent photographs], we use them with a purpose..." Zulu said their managing editor said they "had to expose such things".

City Press ran the photographs as a front page lead under the headline: Clampdown (fig. 2). They ran a six column colour photograph above the fold of the victim doubled over and alight, with one man apparently setting him alight while another runs past. They also ran two black-and-white photographs, one of the victim being stabbed in the head with a knife, the other of him being slapped around by three others. The three captions followed the course of the man's killing. The accompanying news story was about the government's new security measures for the trouble areas.

Len Golani, City Press news editor, said that as a newspaper man he began to wonder if people were really aware of the violence that was going on, whether it was not being "relegated to some sort of statistics, to everyday events." He went on to say that "it is our duty as newspaper people to drive the message home, by displaying such grotesque images, to say to the people this is what

is going on in the country, it is happening right on your doorstep." Later he explained that a newspaper cannot "just run away from what is happening around us". It cannot pretend everything is all right when "actually the country is on fire". He saw that as the basic reasoning behind publishing these photographs.

Golani stated later in reference to a question about ethics in decision-making that he believed in advocacy journalism. "You need to advocate to your constituency if they are involved in a tussle... You need to say to them: stop it. You need to be their minds, their eyes, everything."

Again there is the impression of an overtly didactic approach to readers, a need to instruct them.

The other two newspapers seemed to take a similar stand in that the photographs were used to illustrate an unpalatable reality to their readers, but their different readership meant a different message.

Rapport saw these photographs as being a vivid illustration to a readership who knew nothing of township violence. They ran a set of five black-and-white photographs, taking up half a page across and the whole page down, on page 11 (fig. 3). The headline read: Lewe is niks werd nie...[6] The accompanying copy is a cross between an extended caption and a news story.

The first photograph is of the victim being walked away from the station by four others. The next is of him being beaten up by three others. The third is of a man stabbing a knife into the victim's head. The fourth is of the victim on the ground, being apparently beaten and dragged. The last is of the crouching body being burnt.

Chris Karstens, assistant editor at Rapport, said that, having seen the AP pictures, he and his colleagues decided to do a story designed to try and show what is happening in South Africa and "how horrific people can be". He explained that Rapport readers have no concept of township life, that what is happening there "is beyond their comprehension". So the story was meant to say

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[6] Trans: Life is worth nothing...

"there is another sort of life in South Africa, and this is what is happening, a couple of kilometres from you".

He saw the pictures, which were run on page 11, as linking up with the front page lead story, which said "enough is enough" of violence. He explained that most of their readers do not usually come face to face with violence. "Everyone is talking about violence, and we must show them, this is what we are talking about, this is violence. And this must stop. This is the kind of message we are trying to get across."

The Sunday Star tried to put across a more abstract message. They ran a four photograph colour sequence on page 9, under the headline: Another day, another death (fig. 4). The sub-head is: Executed for giving the wrong answer. The dominant photograph is the last in the sequence, a large picture of the man doubled over and on fire. The other three photographs follow the sequence of the killing. The first is of the man being walked forcibly away from the station by four others. The second shows him lying on the ground while one man stabs him in the head. The third is of him being dragged along the ground. The four captions trace the progress of the killing. The news story below describes the event in detail.

Deputy editor David Hazelhurst explained that they were trying to get across a feeling. "We were saying this is just another and another death and this is the society we have become. Here is something you can see but there are hundreds of other deaths going on all the time. We hoped to get through that sort of flavour. It's a danger in writing headlines like that that they might not get understood."

With the latter two newspapers the headline is used to highlight an abstract concept that is projected back onto the images. Both "Another day, another death" and "Lewe is niks werd nie..." do not deal with the specificity of the action shown in the photographs but amplify one aspect of the possible meaning of the pictures.

The kind of message that the editors were attempting to put across was strongly affected by their perceived readership. Hazelhurst said that the Sunday Star at that time was aimed at the white, affluent Northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The rather sophisticated and abstract nature of his

intended message reflects the nature of his audience. Rapport's readers were seen as Afrikaans speakers, predominantly white with a few coloureds, and spread throughout the country, both rural and urban. Both newspapers had readers to whom the violence of the townships was a completely alien concept.

City Press readers were seen as predominantly young to middle-aged urban blacks, while Sowetan was seen as having an even younger readership, mostly under 35, and again urban. For both most of their readers were on the Reef and would have been aware on a day-to-day basis of the escalating violence around them.

There was a clear split between the black papers who were aware of these pictures as showing atrocities happening among their readers, in their community, and the white papers who were illustrating events happening in the same country but in a totally different world from that of most of their readers.

The common thread seemed to be that to publish photographs as gruesome as these, a reason greater than simply showing what is happening in the world was needed. The force that tipped the balance was the feeling of a duty to point out a nasty reality to readers.

Concern about reader reaction

Nevertheless the decision to publish was not taken lightly. Sowetan, City Press and Sunday Star all reported debate over whether to use the pictures. Golani of City Press spelt out some of their concerns. He said they saw themselves as a "family newspaper". "We did bear in mind that people take the paper to their breakfast tables on a Sunday morning. We did think about children coming across such images." But he explained that in the end they decided to "publish and be damned." They felt they could not pretend that everything was peaceful when in fact the country was "on fire".

Mgwaza of Sowetan expressed similar concerns, also placing the Sowetan as a family newspaper and being concerned about children seeing the images. He said that with "these pictures, maybe the mother or father hides the paper when they get home, when actually we are trying to make sure that up-and-coming youngsters read newspapers".

Karstens of Rapport was sensitive to possible negative reader reaction. He said that in publishing pictures like these they were in danger of getting readers accusing them of being insensitive. "You don't publish too graphic pictures of people dying." But, he went on to explain, "we listen to our readers, but there are sometimes instances where you've got to decide, we're going to use this story: run it." He also said that they tread a very fine line in making these decisions and that they often have to be made in a matter of a couple of minutes.

Thus concern about reader reaction forms a negative force, linking back to the gruesome nature of the pictures. Of particular concern was children seeing the photographs. In this instance the gruesome aspect seems to be that they are, as Karstens implied, "graphic pictures of people dying". (This was in contrast to some of the other case studies where pictures were considered gruesome because they showed corpses.)

Sowetan rejected two photographs as too gruesome. One was of the victim with the panga disappearing deep into his head. "That one we just pushed aside," said Mgwaza. The other was when the victim was alight. Mgwaza said: "There's one when he turns to look at the camera, it's like a closeup. The face, the sadness in the face, it's like he's asking for mercy from the photographer." Reluctance to show faces in cases of agony or death is a factor that will appear in the other case studies.

Choices at the Sowetan were constrained not only by the above factors but by various practical concerns. Zulu mentioned that his managing editor selected photographs on Sunday but then City Press came out with similar pictures from AP. So the Sowetan had to change to use different pictures. The force of competition was important - the need to show something, if not new, at least a little different.

Their choice was further constrained as the photographer had had only black-and-white film, so they could not use colour even if they had wanted to.[7]

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[7] Decisions by other newspapers as to which images to use in colour and which in black-and-white is an area which deserves further study.

But clearly a strong factor in decision-making is concern for the reader. This occurs at two levels. The one is the desire not to offend readers by showing them gruesome material. Possible offence seems to become an even stronger consideration because these are Sunday papers, likely to be read over breakfast and to be looked at by the readers' children. This level links to economic concerns - offending readers is bad for business.

But on another level there is a feeling that readers need to be shown this material. Newspapers have a duty to inform their readers of events, even if readers would rather not know. This flies in the face of economic concerns and seems to relate rather to a more abstract concept of the social duty of a newspaper.

Although in this case the latter force wins out, so that it is decided to use these pictures, these forces reappear at the next gate, where it is decided how to present the pictures.

The placement debate

A debate that occurred in several newspapers was whether the photographs were front page material or not. Three papers considered them for the front page and decided against it. Only City Press ran them on the front page. Golani said he felt that readers needed to see what was happening in their country, on their doorstep. So for him the positive force of the duty to show readers completely overcame the negative force of their gruesome content.

However, in the other cases, the negative force of the gruesome nature of the images, which linked to the concern about offending readers, while not preventing the pictures from being used, resulted in their receiving less favourable placement.

Mgwaza of Sowetan explained that they had several concerns. Their problem was not space. He said: "I remember the editor said we could clear everything on page 1". Their concerns all centred around how readers were going to react. They was concerned about parents hiding the newspaper from their children when, as stated above, the Sowetan had a commitment to "make sure that up-and-coming youngsters read newspapers".

He connected this with the Sowetan's commitment to nation-building. He said that the newspaper tried to emphasise positive things, and education, especially as its readership is young. He said "we shouldn't be giving a picture of a doomed nation that just kills, where people are attacking each other".

Another concern was youths copying the murder. He said he was sure youths liked to see achievements by other youths, so that they can copy them. But he said that they must not see other youths killing, because they would obviously copy as well. "But if from time to time they see this they are shocked. So in this spirit we put these pictures inside."

Hazelhurst of the Sunday Star said he and his editor, John Hildyard, considered the photographs for the front page but thinks they must have decided that they were too gruesome. He said that in retrospect maybe he should have put them on the front page.

He explained that he was not convinced about the argument about newspaper coverage potentially inciting violence. "I think everything in life has the potential to incite violence," he said. He argued that you do not need photographs to incite people and if you are going to write about an incident, you can illustrate it. To not report what is happening for fear of violence is self-censorship."

Karstens of Rapport explained the placement of the photographs on page 11 as part of Rapport's policy of being sensitive to its readers. He saw placing the images as deep in the paper as meaning that readers need not confront them somewhere on the first five pages.

But there was also a small black-and-white photograph on the front page on the fold of the victim's head with a knife about to pierce the skin. Above is the headline: Skok-foto's[8], and below: - Blaai na bl. 11[9]. This was to link the pictures to the lead story on the front page, about the need for violence to end. "This is the slant of the story, then you tell your readers, go to page 11 and see what violence is looking like, graphic pictures."

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[8] Trans: Shock photos.

[9] Trans: Turn to page 11.

There was a feeling that front page pictures are more shocking to readers that those inside and that very gruesome images can be toned down by placing them inside. In all cases the decision was based on reader sensibilities rather than on other considerations such as space. Mostly the concern with the reader was simply in terms of offending them by the gruesome nature of the photographs, but the Sowetan also expressed the concept of a duty to the community as a whole not to incite violence.

Thus placement becomes not just a question of how to fit it all in, but a tool which can be used to augment or subdue the impact of a photograph.

It becomes apparent that the weighting of forces changed at different gates. Thus at the earlier gate, where it was decided whether to use the photographs, duty to show readers won out over concern over offending them. But at the next gate, where it is decided how to present the pictures, the situation altered and concern over offending readers becomes more important.

Conclusion

It became apparent that there were no easy choices in regard to these images. Lined up against them was the gruesome nature of their content, with the attendant concern of not offending readers and not being available to children. In addition they suffered in the absence of a newsworthy peg. This was only one of many nameless incidents of violence. Thus they failed to fit in on three of Shoemaker's levels of decision-making - they went against the policies of the various organisations not to show bodies or violence, they would potentially offend one of the social institutions with which newspapers deal, that is their audience, and they did not fit in with certain of the values traditionally associated with news, those of well-known participants and uncommon events.

But in favour of these photographs was their highly unusual nature - of a grisly murder in progress, stage by stage, their graphic action-filled conflict coverage, and the related feeling that such things could never be conveyed with the same impact in words. So they did fulfil certain other news values - such as drama, novelty, violent action, political conflict. And they fulfilled that criteria specific to photographs - of being a "good" image. They showed all the above mentioned values in visually dramatic form.

But the balance was only tipped in their favour by the feeling that the newspapers had a duty to show these unpleasant truths to readers. This notion seems to have been working at two levels of decision-making. It is partly a organisational policy decision. Four of the newspapers felt that it was part of their role to reveal unpleasant truths to readers. In relation to the two black newspapers it would also seem to be partly a cultural decision. They appear to have taken a much more overtly didactic approach to their readers than the historically white newspapers did.

Nevertheless, the forces arrayed against the photographs remained in play and although not strong enough to prevent their publications, were sufficient to keep the images off the front page, resulting in them getting less favourable treatment.

HORROR OF MOB JUSTICE

SOWETAN photographer Mbuzeni Zulu and other photographers on Saturday captured the full horror of the present wave of violence in the black townships.

A man accused of being an Inkatha spy was attacked by a group of youths on the Motapo side of the Inkwenzane Station. He was stabbed, hacked, stoned and dragged to the veld where he was doused with petrol and set alight.

The indescribable insanity that has gripped the black townships is conveyed graphically in these photographs.

Among the people who attacked the man were young boys who should have been at school. They were hardly aware of enormity of taking a life in the fashion that they did.

We bring these pictures to make the black community sharply aware that even when we suspect that there might be a third force playing its own hand in the current violence, the people in the townships are still responsible for a large part of it.

If the third force does exist, it is taking advantage of what is already happening. They are taking advantage of inter-organisational rivalry that has led to such quick and cruel "justice".

● See comment on page 6

A shouting youth pulls the man alleged to be a spy while another stabs him.

The man is already burning, but his attackers continue to hack, slash and stone him.

The roasting flesh makes a last attempt to get away...

Fig. 1. Sowetan, Monday September 17 1990, page 4.

City Press

THE PEOPLE'S PAPER Tel: Jhb (011) 402-1532 Durban (031) 301-4536 PRICE TVOFS R1.20 (R1.05 + 14c GST) Natal/Cape R1.30 (R1.15c + 15c GST) Elsewhere, Back Page September 16, 1990 ★★★

CLAMPDOWN!

Curfews, 'copters razor wire, searches

Death sentence ... seconds later the man is doused with petrol and turned into a human torch -- another victim of yesterday's violence in Soweto.

The accused ... Soweto residents attack a man accused of being an Inkatha spy.

A man takes his last walk ... after dragging the bleeding man along the ground he is led away and repeatedly stoned, stabbed and beaten.

Mandela warns of civil war: Page 2
Train horror victims speak out: Page 3
Our beloved country weeps: Page 12

Urgent meeting to end violence

Romeo mugger trades tongue for R20

Fig. 2. City Press, Sunday September 16, 1990, page 1.

Fig. 3. Rapport, Sunday September 16, 1990, page 11.

Fig. 4. Sunday Star, Sunday September 16, 1990, page 9.

Chapter Five

The Boipatong Killing

Introduction

This case study yielded less data than some of the others because the incident was considered to be less newsworthy than the others selected and so tended to be less memorable. Then, being some years ago, fewer of the staff involved could still be traced for interviewing. And finally, it was not used by that many newspapers. Nevertheless, it yields some interesting information, and some informative comparisons, especially with the Inhlanzane Station necklacing case study.

Once again, decision-makers were faced with an unusual and dramatic series of pictures of a gruesome killing. And again, the event was not in itself intrinsically newsworthy. However now the concern was not so much the fear of offending readers as the fear of boring them, due to the large volume of violence coverage then available. And the concern was less a duty to reveal to readers the horrid reality of such killings than to remind them that such things had become an ongoing event.

With the exception of one newspaper, where the pictures were used their impact was toned down by selection or cropping.

Context

On the night of June 17 1992, a group of armed men crept out of a migrant workers' hostel near the township of Boipatong, south of Johannesburg and hacked, stabbed and shot 38 people to death in their homes. Among those dead were a nine-month-old baby, a child of four and 24 women, one of them pregnant (Sparks 1994, 140).

After the massacre residents refused to give statements to the police because they were convinced the authorities were involved. Some claimed police had escorted the attackers to and from the township, others that they had seen white men directing the attackers.

The police investigation into the incident was to be riddled with flaws. Residents expressed their anger at rallies and soon afterward the ANC withdrew from negotiations with the government, listing 14 demands to be met if they were to return. These included an end of government support of the ANC's enemies, the securing of migrant workers' hostels, which were seen as IFP fortresses, and a halt to the carrying of "cultural weapons" by IFP supporters (Sparks 1994, 146).

It was in this heightened political atmosphere that the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre, as it came to be called, took place on Monday 29 June 1992.

While outside the stadium where the funeral was happening, press photographers Joao Silva of The Star and Guy Adams of The Weekly Mail came across an alleged IFP member being beaten, shot and then burnt to death by an ANC-supporting crowd.

In The Weekly Mail report Adams was quoted as saying: "It was around midday, while the service was going on inside the stadium, and we heard gunshots. I ran, following the noise of the shots. In a yard, a man was being kicked and beaten with sticks by a group of 'comrades'." He started taking pictures. "They were so focused on the killing than no-one took any notice of us." ("The mood has reached breaking point" 1992, 11).

The man was beaten unconscious, left to regain consciousness and then told he was going to die. He was hacked with pangas and then shot several times. Finally, a minibus, filled with armed ANC supporters, drove over the severely mutilated corpse.

Adams continued: "When [the killers] called for a tyre and some petrol, they realised Joao [Silva] and myself were taking pictures." The two photographers were then chased away from the scene at gunpoint. Silva said that he returned later with several other journalists, who took pictures of the charred corpse.

Pictures used in the press

Six of the 17 papers ran pictures of the Boipatong killing, four dailies, one weekly and one Sunday newspaper (figs. 5-8). Five of these were in Gauteng. Except for The Weekly Mail, which ran a sequence of six images (fig. 8), all used only one picture. Of these, three were the same

picture of the charred corpse, and two were the same picture of the victim being hacked with a panga (fig. 6).

Conflicting forces - novelty versus ordinariness

Like the Inhlanzane Station example, the event was not considered to be in itself intrinsically newsworthy. Those involved were anonymous, private individuals. It was one killing of many. Its newsworthiness lay in the fact it had been captured on film. The Star photographer Silva said: "Overall, one more death doesn't matter. On a journalistic level, it was a non-story. On a photographic level, it was a very powerful story."[1]

The Weekly Mail co-editor Irwin Manoim commented of Adams' pictures: "A photographer has to be courageous to take pictures like that." He said later: "The Boipatong killing happened right in front of a photographer's eyes. There was a shockingness about the event generally lacking in other coverage, where photographers generally arrive on the scene *post facto*." This formed a positive force in the form of novel, action-packed imagery.

So much the same criteria were in evidence as for the Inhlanzane necklacing. The power of the images lay in the rare instance of capturing a brutal murder in action, stage by stage, in sequence. Yet, where before most of the newspapers who published had used a sequence, now all but one used only one image.

The crucial factor in this case seems to be that, to a far greater extent than with the Inhlanzane necklacing two years previously, violence and pictures of it was overwhelmingly common. Silva said that every day he was coming back with photographs of bodies.

The Sowetan, in the face of a glut of body pictures in the previous week, decided not to use these images. Chief photographer Robert Mgwaza said: "It was after we used a very touching picture of a one-year-old baby who was also hacked to death after the [Boipatong massacre]. And I remember the violence kept on from there and we kept on using violent pictures. And by the stage of the funeral it was already just too much. We felt it was just too much. It was going on

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[1] Silva said the photographs were used by Newsweek and other overseas publications.

and actually photographers were camping there to capture all the drama. And every time there would be dead bodies, dead bodies... And by the time it was the funeral we thought people are a little tired now so we just ran an ordinary picture of the funeral."

He explained that he felt readers got bored by too much coverage of one topic. "I always believe if there is a good picture today, fine. But if we come tomorrow with the same thing, the readers will get bored. They want to see something different." The fear of boring the reader was to be an important negative factor in this case study.

Evelyn Holtzhausen, Cape Times night editor, could not remember if he had seen the photographs. But he said that at the time they were flooded with pictures and stories of violence and horror and that it began to get numbing. "The characters change, the angles change, but it's the same pictures over and over and over again. You start looking for something else because you're eventually going to bore your readers to death."

He said it had taken him a long time to realise that the primary purpose of newspapers was not to inform readers but to sell newspapers. "You can't constantly do things that are going to switch your readers off. So a lot of pictures [of violence] were not used."

In this instance the positive force of novelty has been replaced by a negative force, that of ordinariness. Even the fact that the pictures were of the action rather than of the aftermath was not sufficient to overcome the negative force of the sheer number of images of violence that had proceeded them. The concern now was less that readers would be offended but that they might be bored. Underlying this idea was the pressure of economic realities - having to sell the newspaper.

Toning down the visual impact

Nevertheless, where newspapers did publish the pictures, they were generally felt to be gruesome and the newspapers mostly played down their impact, by cropping or by selection.

At The Star they ran a two column colour picture on the front page of a man with panga lifted above his head about to hack the victim (figs. 5, 6). The picture had been cropped to exclude the

man's bare back on which the wounds could be seen. Next to it was a short story on the incident headlined: Newsmen witness brutal death. This headline reconfirms the point made earlier that the newsworthiness of this incident lay in the fact that it was observed by newsmen, rather than in any characteristics intrinsic to the event itself.

Silva had put together a sequence of photographs with the help of fellow photographer Ken Oosterbroek, who was running the photographic department at that time. Oosterbroek felt that The Star should run more than one picture, but the editors felt they were too gory. They felt too much violence was being used and that the pictures of the funeral were more important.

This is a point also echoed by the Sowetan. In the competition for choice and for space, these photographs suffered the additional disadvantage of occurring in the shadow of an event that was in itself highly newsworthy - the funeral of the massacre victims.

The decision on the pictures went to the editor, Richard Steyn. The picture that eventually appeared was to cause a lot of discussion. Silva reported that the editors did not want to use it "too big or too visual".

On July 28 the Star's Ombudsman, James McClurg, wrote of the photograph: "Because of its horrifying nature, there was some prior debate at The Star on whether and how the picture should be published. Eventually it was decided to carry it, but not before a part of the picture, showing a huge wound in the victim's back, had been cropped out."

The Star's current picture editor, Robin Comley, who was at the time a journalist, called the sensitivities that led to the cropping of picture "absurd", saying it made the picture "pretty meaningless". She said that she "certainly wouldn't have dreamed of cropping out the crucial section of that picture".[2]

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[2] Pretoria News ran a small black-and-white picture on page 2 of the victim being hacked by a panga. It was the same picture The Star ran except that the wounds were not cropped out. As explained in chapter 2, the Pretoria News staff were not available for interviewing.

Cropping in this case became a tool to reduce the gruesome nature of the image by excising the offending portion.

The Star was the only newspaper to have access to Silva's pictures on Monday. Staff from Beeld had seen the photograph in The Star and requested copies of the pictures. The next day they ran a two column black-and-white photo of the charred corpse on page 2. It is covered by some kind of sheet with an arm, shoulder and the mouth and part of the nose visible. Behind lie two tyres. They ran it as a stand-alone item with caption, without a news story.

Typographical editor Jannie van der Merwe felt that the terrible nature of the event justified the coverage. But he felt that it was so horrible that he chose to use one of the less gruesome photographs available - one where you do not see "too much of the body". Here, selection of image, rather than cropping, becomes a tool to lessen impact.

The Eastern Province Herald was the only newspaper outside Gauteng to cover the incident. They ran the picture of the corpse on Tuesday, on page 2, as part of a five picture series in black-and-white on the Boipatong day of mourning. Current editor Ric Wilson, although he was not with the newspaper at the time, did comment that it was a fairly modest picture and one had to look hard to see what was happening.

He said that it had taken photographs to make readers, especially whites isolated from the township violence, fully appreciate the true horror of necklacing. He said that quite a lot of newspapers carried gruesome pictures of necklacing in the late 1980s. "But you can't do that too often because... you really are going to make people sick and they'll stop buying your newspaper," he said. "You can do it once or twice for impact. Then you must, I think, scale it down, but not forget about it. So here you have a case where the picture is used that reminds people that this barbaric form of execution or murder is still taking place."

It would appear that, in contrast to the Inhlanzane burning, which served as a wake-up call to readers about the violence, these pictures have become simply a reminder that this violence was still going on.

The exception to the rule

However, The Weekly Mail were to make a big splash of Adams' photographs on Friday. On the cover, they ran a large black-and-white of the back of the accused's head with four men leaning towards him, apparently questioning him (fig. 7).

On page 11 they ran a news story and six photographs over two pages (fig. 8). The headline read: "The mood had reached breaking point. The real target of Boipatong's rage are the whites. But the first victim is black..." The six photographs are sepia-toned black-and-white. The first is the same as on the cover; the second the man being dragged on the ground; the third the man being hacked with a panga; the fourth the man being kicked; the fifth a minibus driving over the body and the sixth the charred corpse. The caption is a single running sentence, continued from photograph to photograph following the course of the killing.

Co-editor Irwin Manoim laid out the page. His rational for using them was: "A man was being murdered, it was a shocking thing that shouldn't be covered up. You have to decide: do you suppress such images or do you publish? We decided to carry them."

He said most of the pictures were too shocking for the front page. "The front picture serves as a warning for what is happening inside. [The photograph of crowd questioning the accused] is also the only one that would work for the front page - it has to be a picture that can be understood from 15 feet."

Manoim pointed out that one of the keys points of The Weekly Mail when it started in 1985 was its coverage of conflict in the townships and that it was the only paper that did. "Nobody else was interested and then once the emergency was in force, it was illegal. The Mail went to considerable lengths to get round the regulations," he said.

But he said that over the years a kind of numbness had developed among readers and violent images had ceased to be shocking. The value of such pictures had been to shock, now they became gratuitous. The Weekly Mail became increasingly reluctant to carry pictures of violence, unless they were saying something else. He believed that the Boipatong pictures were.

This was because they provided eye-witness coverage of the killing, rather than of the aftermath. "These pictures explained the level of confusion, paranoia and suspicion that led to an innocent man who was in the wrong place at the wrong time, being murdered."

Laura Yeatman, the chief sub-editor, explained that the pictures "were sequential, you couldn't have just run one. The story was in the pictures."

About the issues of other papers having published first, she said: "When you get something worth running, it doesn't really matter what was in the other papers, especially if you can do it better than them."

She said Boipatong was a major story, part of the whole IFP-ANC violence. "I don't think any one could look at these pictures and not be moved by them. They are violent, but not crudely... without showing blood and guts spilled all over the place. Not too in your face, but so shocking. They say everything about the callousness of people." They reflected "the appalling nature of the killing, it was not a quick death and the corpse left lying under rubble."

She felt that the story was not just about some man who was killed. It was about the mood of the times, the political dynamic. "It could have been: look at how the blacks are killing each other. But it was put in context of them all as victims, put in a broader political context."

As with the Sunday Star coverage of the Inhlanzane burning, the headline was used to convey an abstract angle to these images, to give them a meaning beyond just the obvious one of documenting a murder. By saying "The real target of Boipatong's rage are the whites...", it introduces an element into the readers' understanding of the event that is not in any way evident in the content of the photographs. It places a particular political interpretation on the events in question.

In a different context, one of these images took on a completely different meaning. Given the normal brief life of a news photograph, it was somewhat surprising to find the photograph of the charred corpse appeared in the Sunday paper, Rapport, seven days after the incident occurred. They ran a small black-and-white on page 6. It was, however, being used as a feature photograph

to illustrate an article on how a necklacing is conducted. News editor Herman Jansen's reaction was: "Look, it's a terrible picture but necklacing is terrible."

Although the same image, the change in context changed the focus of its meaning, from being a record of a news event, to being an illustration of these types of events. Its value no longer lay in its timeliness but in its universality. It served as an example for necklacing in general.

Constraints of circumstance

The fact that both photographers were staff photographers, and only one of a newspaper that belonged to a group, meant that those outside the Argus group did not get to see the photographs. However, The Argus also did not use the photographs and Jim McLagan, the picture editor, could not remember if the newspaper had received the pictures.

He explained that The Argus was reliant on The Star giving them material. "So what would generally happen is that they would choose their best stuff and to meet their obligations, send us from what is left over," he said. "It has been a major problem." He continued: "A lot of the time it's not that we had not run a picture because we did not want to run it. We didn't know of its existence until two or three days later when we saw The Star, and saw we didn't get the best stuff out of that."

McLagan suggested that part of the reason for that was that, at the time, photographers were working with transparencies, so there was only one original. This, combined with deadline pressures at The Star, meant The Argus did not always get to see the photographs.

The boundaries of the selection process were set by what material entered the selection channels in the first place. The final result on the newspaper page was as much the product of objective factors such as what was available to select from, as it was of subjective decisions about what to select and how to present it.

Conclusion

Again there were no easy choices in regard to these photographs. Newspapers did not agree on their importance as images - witness the difference in treatment between The Weekly Mail and the other newspapers. However, like the Inhlanzane necklacing, lined up against them were the gruesome nature of their content, as well as the absence of a newsworthy peg. In their favour was their unusual nature - of a grisly murder in progress, stage by stage, of graphic action-filled conflict coverage.

But this time the balance was not to be tipped in their favour by the feeling that the newspapers had a duty to show these unpleasant truths to readers. Instead, there was a general feeling that readers had seen quite enough and these pictures were not sufficiently unusual to merit high profile treatment. The concern was more with boring readers than with offending them. But both factors fed into a concern about readers potentially not buying the newspaper because of their dislike of its contents.

As with the previous study, they failed to fit in on three of Shoemaker's levels of decision-making - those of organisational policy not to show bodies, of concern not to alienate audiences and of crucial news values. But again they did fulfil certain other news values - drama, novelty, violent action, political conflict. And they were"good" images.

Although, in some cases, the unusual and graphic nature of the photographs was enough to get them accepted, in most the negative forces ensured that in terms of number, placement and colour they did not receive attention-getting treatment.

The Star

70c PWV (80c OUTSIDE THE PWV) — TUESDAY JUNE 30 1992 — FINAL

Landing on your feet

▶ PAGE 9

PEOPLE

The boykie with blue blood

▶ PAGE 10

Tonight

From Terminator to tooth fairy . . .

▶ PAGE 3

Praying respects . . . people pack into the Boipatong Stadium yesterday for an all-day mass funeral for 27 of the victims of the June 17 massacre. PICTURE: Ivan Dobrotvorsk

● Thousands gather to mourn ● Codesa hopes dashed

FW lambasted at funeral

By Shaun Johnson, Bronwyn Wilkinson and Brian Sokutu

President F W de Klerk's moderate voice under the most concerted attack of his presidency as spokesmen at the Boipatong mass funeral charged the Government with direct complicity in violence and dashed any hopes of a quick resumption of Codesa negotiations.

Yesterday's ceremonial service for 27 of the victims of the June 17 massacre began to ease as thousands of mourners gathered at Boipatong's rambunctious stadium at the Vaal Triangle, but the mood became increasingly strident throughout the lengthy proceedings.

The ANC's inner circle in attendance of its members all 30 000 people in and around the stadium, but moderates were there, no notable figures could be discerned.

During the service, top-level leaders from a wide range of extra-parliamentary organisations assembled some of the angriest attacks on the Government in its nearly seven years of uninterrupted power here.

The attacks, spiralling at significant risk for de Klerk, was directly implicated in the ongoing conflict, were made in front of senior politicians, religious leaders and diplomatic leaders who had been invited to attend the service, among the representatives from Britain, Australia, Tuesday's Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu and other senior diplomats, and Transvaal ANC leader Major-General Ralph Mgoduka. They heard that their security no longer existed in a specific manifestation of the ...

More reports — Pages 3, 4, 10 and 11

Outlaw negotiating forum

ANC spokesman Gertrude Shope announced that during Codesa 1, Mr de Klerk had said to ANC leaders Nelson Mandela that he was to power to stop the violence. This proved to be "utter crude nonsense, or disinformation". Mr Shope also said, he quoted Mr de Klerk as having said: "I have no power over these policemen."

Mr de Klerk was not fit to be president, and should go, Mr Shope also said. He also called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and announced no action by police were guilty of murder. He accused the Government of simultaneously embracing negotiations and covert action, the terrified murder.

"For now," said Mr Shope, "Codesa can be for-gotten. It was only brought [illegible]. The ANC will no longer tolerate the politics of murder, let alone partners of [illegible], he said, adding that until the democratic movement is in control of the ANC remaining in Codesa was "virtually nil".

Mr Shope's address that the ANC had not given up on negotiations, but that negotiations were part of a process and could not be seen as an end in themselves.

General Secretary Alfred Nzo [illegible] the international community should not try to pressure the ANC and its allies into renewing negotiations until key demands had been met. He also fired a broadside at Nigeria's leaders, who held high level talks with the Government of the weekend, saying: "This is a message to the Nigerian government — we are hands off, you are violating us."

Dr Ambrogio Manzini, Western governments with influence [illegible] political [illegible] and urged them to "use the [illegible] to bring the [illegible]

● To Page 3 ●

Newsmen witness brutal death

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Two horrified news photographers saw a man being dragged out of a Boipatong house and beaten unconscious before being shot and necklaced during yesterday's mass funeral for victims of the June 17 massacre.

Star photographer Joao Silva and Weekly Mail cameraperson Greg Marinovich were chased from the scene at gunpoint after witnessing the murder.

They described how a crowd pulled a man said to be an Inkatha Freedom Party member from a house.

"They started to beat him senseless with sticks and then threw rocks at his head.

"As the crowd got the man into the street, a machine carrying a lot more people arrived with AK-47s drove up," Silva said. "They shot him dead and put a tyre around his body."

Silva and Marinovich said that as the group was about to burn the body, they were chased away at gunpoint.

Unknown attacker ... [illegible] the body of a man who had been beaten and shot in Boipatong yesterday. The victim was then necklaced. PICTURE: Joao Silva

Boycott, stayaway call in Vaal

Political Staff

An attempt reached [illegible] point on the east of [illegible] have emergency [illegible] victims of the Boipatong massacre. Courts national organising secretary Zwelakhe Sisulu announced an immediate and indefinite stayaway and consumer boycott in the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Sisulu said a meeting today of other organisations would announce "the position of all [illegible] members" on nearby townships.

Suggesting that an ultimatum of sorts was being considered, he added: "We will have to decide whether the [illegible] will meet [illegible] or stay there."

The dramatic announcement came after about six hours of speeches, prayers and songs at the service for the more than 40 victims of the June 17 massacre.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night told The Star the ANC endorsed the protest — but stressed it did not apply to schoolchildren.

Cameroon calls off tour

YAOUNDE — Cameroon has cancelled its soccer tour of South Africa, organisers said yesterday.

President Paul Biya's office sent a message to the organising agency that the July tour, due to herald South Africa's return to international soccer, had been postponed indefinitely.

SA Football Association Secretary-General Solomon "Stan" Mureva said in Johannesburg last night he was stunned at the news, but that he could see [illegible] to had contacted the Cameroon Football Federation.

Other Safa officials expressed their disappointment at the cancellation.

The cancellation follows last week's call by the ANC for a resumption of the sports boycott in view of the Boipatong massacre and continued violence in South Africa.

A trip by 30 Cameroon businessmen, due to leave yesterday for South Africa with soccer star Roger Milla, was also called off.

Mr Biya's office gave no reason for the postponement, but an official at the Embassy Ministry told the organisers of the business tour that their visas were hardly issued, coming as were after the organisation of African Unity summit.

The OAU, currently meeting in Dakar, is due to debate a resolution blaming township killings on elements of the South African security forces and demanding Pretoria be held to end the violence.

The Cameroon squad was due to leave for South Africa on July 5. — Reuter

Ferreira hangs in against Boris

LONDON — Wayne Ferreira hung on gamely in a tense 14-point tie-break and lived to fight another day against Boris Becker late yesterday.

Bad light stopped play with both players level-pegging at two-sets-all.

Ferreira took the first set 6-3, dropped the second and third 3-6, 4-6 but then snatched the fourth 7-6 by winning the tie-break 8-6.

The match will be continued today. — Sapa-AFP

● See Back Page

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Drunks on the track

Hospital strikers fired

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NEWSLINE

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tu to march in Pretoria

rate cut to 3-year low

payment for DET staff

members stage demos

kets at a glance

Fig. 5. The Star, Tuesday June 30, 1992, page 1.

ers at the Boipatong mass funeral charged the Government with direct complicity in violence and dashed any hopes of a quick resumption of Codesa negotiations.

Yesterday's memorial service

The Star's team made an estimate of in excess of 30 000 people in and around the stadium, but conditions were such that no reliable figures could be obtained.

During the service, top-level leaders from a wide range of extra-parliamentary, political, religious, business and diplomatic leaders who had been invited to attend the service. Among the dignitaries were former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and other senior international clerics, and

Codesa negotiating forum.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told mourners that during Codesa 2, Mr de Klerk had said to ANC president Nelson Mandela that he had no power to stop the violence. This

Newsmen witness brutal death

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

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Star photographer Joao Silva and Weekly Mail counterpart Guy Adams were chased from the scene at gunpoint after witnessing the murder.

They described how a crowd pulled a man said to be an Inkatha Freedom Party member from a house.

"They started to beat him senseless with sticks and then threw rocks at his head.

"As the crowd got the man into the street, a minibus carrying a lot more people, some armed with AK-47s, drove up," Silva said. "They shot him dead and put a tyre around his body."

Silva and Adams said that as the group was about to burn the body, they were chased away at gunpoint.

Unknown attacker . . . hacks the body of a man who had been beaten and shot in Boipatong yesterday. The victim was then necklaced. Picture: Joao Silva

Boycott, stayaway call in Vaal

Political Staff

As emotions reached boiling point at the end of yesterday's memorial service for victims of the Boipatong massacre, Cosatu national organising secretary Zwelinzima Vavi announced an immediate and indefinite stayaway and consumer boycott in the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Vavi said a meeting today of civic associations would announce "the mother of all (protest) marches" on nearby Vereeniging.

Suggesting that an occupation of sorts was being considered, he added: "We still have to decide whether (the marchers) will leave Vereeniging or stay there."

The dramatic announcement came after about six hours of speeches, prayers and songs at the service for the more than 40 victims of the June 17 massacre.

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SA Football Association Secretary-General Solomom "Stix" Morewa said in Johannesburg last night he was stunned at the news, but that he could not comment until he had contacted the Cameroon Football Federation.

Other Safa officials expressed their disappointment in no uncertain terms.

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A trip by 50 Cameroon businessmen, due to leave yesterday for South Africa with soccer star Roger Milla, was also called off.

Mr Biya's office gave no reason for the postponement, but an official at the Industry Ministry told the organisers of the business tour that their visit was badly timed, coming so soon after the Organisation of African Unity summit.

The OAU, currently meeting in Dakar, is due to debate a resolution blaming township killings on elements of the South African security forces and denouncing Pretoria for failing to end the violence.

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● See Back Page

TELSTAR Savuka tickets up for grabs — Page 7

Fig. 6. The Star, Tuesday June 30, 1992, page 1 closeup.

PUBLISHED WITH The Guardian Weekly

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Southern Africa: R2,50, excl tax ★ Zimbabwe: Z$5,00, incl tax

Vol 8, No 27. July 3 to 9, 1992

ISRAEL

Exit Shamir

The hard man of Israel departs in a stunning poll defeat. Peace hopes suddenly look brighter

PAGE 10

FRANCE

Braving the guns

While others simply talked, President Mitterand braved the guns of Yugoslavia PAGE 1

ALGERIA

Bloody defeat

The murder of Algeria's president marks a bloody end to a failed policy

PAGE 1

BRITAIN

Iron Ladyship

Baroness Thatcher reveals that she does not yet understand that a Lady does not quarrel

PAGE 3

SHOWDOWN

The stakes rise and it's FW against the world ...

THE final showdown between the government of FW de Klerk and his opponents has begun:

- A confidential ANC document, revealed in *The Weekly Mail* today, gives first details of insurrectionary tactics to topple the state.
- Cosatu has announce a general strike on August 3.
- The world anti-apartheid campaign is to be revived within the next fortnight.
- Local churches are to launch a defiance campaign.
- Commonwealth leaders have flown to South Africa, to be followed next week by a UN delegation.

Full details: PAGES 2 and 3

... your child a computer whizz?

... and more toddlers are ... to use a PC ... before they learn ... Details about child ..., how to choose your ..., an agony column for ... innocents and a big ... competition ... all in the ... edition of

... & Eve

... PAGE 12

THE Boipatong funeral has just ended, quietly. But the calm is an illusion; outside the stadium, a man is about to die. Stanley Nagaga, accused of sympathising with Inkatha, sits shirtless in the street, facing his tormentors. Months of bloodshed have embittered the crowd; now they seek vengeance for the massacre of their neighbours. The crowd closes in, telling Nagaga he is about to die. He makes no move to resist. He is hacked with pangas, shot and necklaced, then abandoned ... one more body in a community that has seen too many corpses. But his brutal death does not go unnoticed. Hidden among the crowd, *Weekly Mail* photographer **GUY ADAMS** sees — and records — the murder.

See PAGES 10 & 11

Fig. 7. The Weekly Mail, July 3 to 9, 1992, page 1.

The mood has reached breaking point. The real target of Boipatong's rage are the whites. But the first victim is black ...

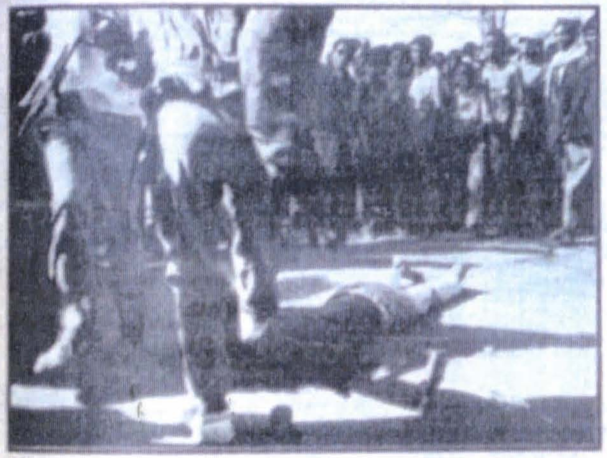
1/ The shirtless young man has already been kicked about. Now he is taunted: 'You are going to die' ...

3/ The crowd watches with horrified fascination as two men armed with pangas lay into him ...

"As the man was being hacked with pangas, he didn't scream or move, he just took it. He knew he was going to die"

5/ The crowd parts to allow a mini-bus through. It drives straight over the body ...

2/ ... before being dragged into the street, semi-conscious



4/ ... while others kick him, a man tries to shoot him with a home-made gun which fails to fire

6/ ... which is set alight, then abandoned, charred remains beneath debris, given hardly a glance by passers-by

The Boipatong funeral was peaceful, but beneath the seeming calm was an anger which suddenly exploded taking the life of a young man

By RAY NXUMALO

Photographs GUY ADAMS

Fig. 8. The Weekly Mail, July 3 to 9, 1992, page 11-12.

Chapter Six

The Assassination of Chris Hani

Introduction

Unlike the previous two case studies, the pictures of the corpse of ANC leader Chris Hani were highly newsworthy because of his public and political prominence and the circumstances of his assassination.

Their newsworthiness guaranteed the pictures front page positions. However, lined up against them, was their gruesome content, particularly the face, and the copious blood that lay around the body. Editors had to turn to various ways of downplaying the impact of these photographs - through which particular images they selected and how these were cropped and placed.

Other important considerations that emerged in the decision-making process were whether the photographs told a story, what the competition had used and how much time had elapsed since the killing occurred.

Context

On the morning of Easter Saturday, April 10 1993, just one month after negotiations between the South African government and the black liberation movements had been resumed, Hani was assassinated.

Hani was secretary-general of the South African Communist Party and one of the most charismatic of the black leaders (Sparks 1994, 187). He was shot four times in his driveway. Within the hour the assassin, Janusz Walus, was arrested. He was to turn out to be working with Clive Derby-Lewis, a leading member of the Conservative Party.[1]

Hani was a prominent figure in the ANC and for five years had been the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. Prominent local journalist Allister Sparks wrote that

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[1] Walus and Derby-Lewis were both found guilty of murder and were sentenced to death.

Despite the large number of photographers present, the limited access to the body resulted in photographs being very similar in content. Of the pictures used, 16 show the body lying on the bricks (eg. figs. 9-13). The remaining five show Adelaide Tambo closing Hani's eyes as he lies on a stretcher (fig. 14). Of the driveway pictures, three are of the body and the crowd (eg. fig. 9). Eight are of Sexwale about to lay or busy laying the ANC flag on Hani (eg. figs. 10, 11). Five are simply of the body on the bricks (eg. figs. 12, 13).

The first gatekeepers - the photographers

The first point of decision-making lay with the photographers. Unlike the two previous case studies, this was not a recording of an event as it was happening but rather of the aftermath. About a dozen photographers were present.

In most incidents, photographers took a wide range of pictures, of the body, of the mourners, of friends and family grieving. Those who could, took closeups of the face, leaving the decision about whether it was too gruesome to use to their editors. Robert Mgwaza, Sowetan chief photographer explained that "...people will say 'Where is Chris Hani? This is what we want to see.' And if I come back and say I thought it was gruesome, I can even lose my job. The decisions are taken here [at the office] to say we are not using the pictures. You don't come back without the picture and say you thought it was too gruesome."

The Star photographer Alf Khumalo said "I remember I was using a zoom lens and I closed in on the face. It was traumatic, especially since I had seen him the week before that... He was telling me how happy he is, everything is going well, and the next thing he is dead." Khumalo took a variety of pictures. "If it wasn't him I wouldn't have shown the face. I normally just show hands, the legs... But it's different with a leader of that calibre..."

However, not all photographers had unlimited access to the scene. Rapport news editor Herman Jansen reported that his photographer, Hoffie Hoffmeister, had only got the body from one angle because he was trapped by the crowd around him.

One of the classic news values - that of public prominence, was immediately evident in decision-making procedures. The fact that Hani was such a well-known figure means that pictures were

taken of his face where, otherwise, photographers might have decided against it. Prominence on this scale overrode concerns about taste.

Conflicting forces - newsworthiness and gory content

All those interviewed agreed that the event was highly newsworthy and demanded extensive coverage. This newsworthiness seems to have been made up by two elements.

The first, expressed by almost everyone, was Hani's personal prominence in society as a major political leader. Two people pointed out that he was the second most popular leader in the country (Hazelhurst at The Star and Mgwaza at Sowetan), and he was variously described as a prominent and very important political leader. At two newspapers (Sowetan and Sunday Times), his killing was compared with the assassination of J.F. Kennedy.

The second element, expressed by about half those interviewed, was the potential political consequences of the event. Charles Mogale, then news editor on City Press, said the killing "brought us very close to civil war". Others mentioned the "political import" of the event for South Africa.

The point was made at five of the newspapers that Hani's public prominence and importance to South Africa, meant that different visual standards were adopted than if he had been an ordinary citizen. City Press's Mogale said: "If this had been Joe Soap hit by a train, this [picture] would not have gone as far as even the subs desk. But then this was Chris Hani and this sort of thing happens once in a lifetime."

The people at the Sowetan, the Sunday Times, the Sunday Star and the Cape Times all expressed basically the same idea. They said that they received plenty of photographs of bodies of ordinary citizens who had been violently killed, by criminals or in car crashes. Various reasons were offered for their reluctance to use those kinds of images.

One was that editors felt those deaths were not likely to have widespread impact on people's lives. The implication was that in this country such events were too commonplace to be newsworthy, whereas the death of a prominent personality would have impact for readers.

Another reason, given by Cape Times night editor, Evelyn Holtzhausen, was that pictures of bodies do not add anything to the story. "If somebody has been shot, they are dead. That's the end of that," he said.

Dennis Hands, assistant editor at the Sunday Times, echoed this sentiment, while explaining how greater newsworthiness of a story could justify the use of more gory images to illustrate it. While explaining that he thought most of the photographs he received of the body were too gory to use, he said: "We weren't there when Walus walked up the driveway and shot [Hani]. Had [the photographs]... showed [Walus] actually lifting his gun and shooting him... it would have changed the decision. Here we are actually talking about a body photographed after an event. And I think it makes a difference."

Further questioning made it clear he felt that the portrayal of the 'news moment' - by implication, the moment of the killing - made greater gore acceptable. He considered corpses in themselves to be unexceptional and so not justifying graphic presentation.

This relates back to the case studies of Inhlanzane and Boipatong. Action, such as the actual sequence of killing, was given higher news value that photographs of the static aftermath would have been. And its presence justified the use of more gory imagery.

Mgwaza of the Sowetan made a similar point, that normally they would take the feeling of relatives into account in deciding whether to run photographs of corpses but because, "newswise it is a world wide event", such concerns fell by the wayside.

Clearly several different factors fed into these newspapers' traditional reluctance to show corpses. Some were reader-centred. Editors judged whether material would interest readers. And this was done by assessing whether the death would have "impact" on the lives of a substantial number of readers. An assessment also had to be made whether the interest for, and impact upon, readers was substantial enough to outweigh the offence and pain caused to those who knew the deceased. Other factors devaluing photographs of bodies were picture-centred, whether the contents of the image told anything more about the event than simply that a person was dead.

Clearly in respect to these kinds of pictures, they started with a negative bias anyway - the gory nature of their contents. So the positive forces in their favour had to be that much stronger to overcome that bias.

Thus, the photographs of Hani's body that landed on news desks were subject to two contradictory and conflicting forces as they entered the selection process. Their newsworthiness was a positive force, propelling them forward through the decision-making channels. That newsworthiness lay in Hani's prominence as a public figure and in the potential political consequences of his death. Their content - a body and a gruesome one at that, was a negative force. Dislike of bodies tended to be justified as being distressing to readers, particularly distressing to relatives, not visually furthering the story, and on top of all that too commonplace to be newsworthy.

Their newsworthiness won out, allowing many newspapers, who otherwise shied away from bodies on the front page, to run a picture of Hani's corpse. Nevertheless the negative force of the gory content would, as we will see, result in debates about which image to select and how to present it.

The selection procedure

There was no debate about front page placement. Eleven of 14 newspapers ran the picture on the front page. This included every newspaper that published on Saturday and Sunday. How the time delay was to affect placement in the other newspapers will be discussed later on. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, there was debate about what was acceptable on the front page.

Most newspapers had a fairly wide range of photographs available to them, both of the body and of the crowds standing around. The Sunday Star, for example, had about 40 photographs of which about a dozen were considered. Several papers expressed their selection as Jim McLagan, Argus picture editor, put it: "A simple choice of the best one." However, as the subsequent analysis will show, various factors, consciously or unconsciously, determined what made an image "best".

Although the gruesome content of the photographs was not a strong enough negative force to prevent the pictures being used, it did play a strong part in determining which pictures were selected and how they were presented. Although almost all newspapers considered it important to show the body, the debate remained how much detail of the corpse was allowable. Two factors were to divide editors within and across papers. One was whether to show Hani's face. The other was how much blood to show.

Hani's face - to show or not to show

Hani's face was to be a particularly contentious issue. His mouth was open, the tongue caught between the teeth and a bullet hole discernible in his jaw (eg. fig. 13). Blood was visible round the mouth and nose.

Only two photographs of 21, used in two different newspapers - Sunday Star and City Press - showed Hani's face full on (figs. 12, 13). Fourteen showed the body from behind the head so the facial features were concealed (eg. figs 9-11). Five were of Adelaide Tambo closing Hani's eyes, his face concealed by her hand (fig. 14). Five of the nine newspapers that ran front page pictures of the body with the face concealed, ran a mugshot of Hani as well (eg. figs. 9, 11).

Of the newspapers that did not show Hani's face, seven of 14 did not have the option.[2] In the case of all the Eastern and Western Cape newspapers (except the Cape Times) they did not receive any pictures of the face. Beeld could not remember if they had any photographs of Hani's face. As discussed above, Rapport had none because their photographer was trapped on the other side of the body and could not get those pictures.

Of the seven who did not have access to a photograph of Hani's face, three would not commit themselves as to whether they would have used it, had they had it. Four made it clear that they would not have used it, with the proviso from Pieter Spaarwater, picture editor of Die Burger, that they would have been forced to use it had they had nothing else.

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[2] In the case of The Citizen and New Nation it could not be established whether they had the option or not.

Jim McLagan of The Argus commented that one didn't want a picture to look like "a morgue shot" and said that he didn't think that "excess blood and excess facial..." was necessary.

Ric Wilson, editor of the Eastern Province Herald, was also concerned about the appearance of the face. "If [the face] was reasonably composed, then one would perhaps consider using it. If it had eyes open and mouth open, then one wouldn't. Especially on page one, because you have to bear in mind that there is an element of horror."

Three newspapers - the Sunday Times, the Cape Times and the Sowetan, had photographs of the face but refused to use them. Hands from the Sunday Times made the point discussed above that being a photograph of a corpse and as such unexceptional in terms of adding information to the story, it did not justify very graphic treatment. He explained that he thought showing the face was "just too gory".

Mgwaza from the Sowetan said he had taken a photograph of the face, but "it was too terrible to use". He said that instead they chose one where they could not actually see the face. He saw the point of the picture as being just to show people "this is how Chris Hani was lying". The blood and the mouth being "wide open" made them feel the photograph of the face was a "bit much".

Godfrey Haines, Cape Times chief sub editor, said that they had a picture of Hani that was a closeup of the head with the blood, without being able to see the body. He said they made a conscious decision not to use that picture because "it was far too gruesome for the front page". Night editor Holtzhausen added the viewer could become a voyeur, indulging in blood. He said that there is "a very subtle line between where a picture had impact and where it becomes what we call a marmalade dropper". He seemed to be drawing a line between pictures that bring something home to a reader and those that gratuitously shock.

These last two opinions also return to a point made earlier. Even though the newsworthy nature of the event justified putting a corpse on the front page, there was still concern about just how gory front page pictures can be. Wilson's reaction to the picture of Hani's face was "use it, but let's use it inside". Asked whether he therefore regarded the front page as more sensitive, he replied: "Oh, absolutely. From a marketing point of view, you use the front page and the picture

for impact. But you don't want to shock people so that they actually turn away. You want them to buy the paper."

The implication seems to be, although never stated as such, that Hani deserved front page treatment because the assassination was considered to be the most newsworthy story of the day. But some of the pictures were too gory to be used on the front page, even if they would be acceptable inside the newspaper. Front page coverage was seen as more important than explicit pictures, so images suitable for cover viewing were selected.

So the positive force of newsworthiness becomes, at the same time, a negative force, because the fact that this was a front page story in terms of its importance, meant that some of the pictures were considered too graphic for use. And others, as we will see, had to be toned down through cropping or sizing.

This can be contrasted to the photographs of the Inhlanzane station killing. There the newsworthiness of the story lay in the photographs themselves - the fact that it was so unusual to capture the moment like that. Thus, being considered largely too graphic for the front page, they were moved inside. With Hani, the newsworthiness lay in the fact of the event. The photographs were simply illustrations of a greater story. Thus, images were toned down to allow them to run on the front page.

However, this principle was not universally applicable.

Two newspapers, City Press and Sunday Star, took a different approach. City Press ran a colour picture of Hani's body from the waist up on the driveway, blood spilt out around his head on the bricks, his face facing the viewer (fig. 12). The photograph filled the full width of the page and top half of the page. The headline: HANI IS DEAD, was set into the photograph, above the body.

City Press used the most graphic image provided for them by photographer, Tladi Khuele. Khuele, said he thought it was the best image he took, describing it as "powerful" and said that he was happy with the way it had been used. "I would say they couldn't have done any other way, it was

the way it was." He said that he, the news editor, Mogale and the chief sub-editor, Stan James, all agreed on that photograph. Khuele and Mogale both felt the photograph needed to show the horror of the event.

Mogale said that they had a wide range of images available, including several shots of the body from different angles. He said that the photograph they used "is about the goriest we could find. I'm not into gore but I believed, everyone believed, that we needed to shock the nation a bit and deliver the story to them as blatantly, as raw, as it was, and this was the best we could do."

He also said that "there are occasions, once in a while, when we feel that the situation warrants shocking the nation a little and this picture [of Hani] is a case in point." He said, as mentioned above, that the killing brought South Africa very close to civil war. Khuele agreed, saying "when you are there you want to show the horrific part of the thing".

The following week they published a letter from a reader objecting to the photograph. The editor's reply read in part: "...to have attempted to "soften" the news would have diminished the importance of the event and constituted manipulation of the news - which is censorship."

Mogale indicated that another motive was concern about what their competitors might be using. "We didn't know what [the Sunday Star and the Sunday Times] had up their sleeves. We had to play all our aces. Especially the Sunday Times, they are a much bigger operation than we are and we didn't know if they would have a whole special on Hani. All we could do is have a good picture, the best picture we had and what we felt was a good story."

He said that the decision about the size of the picture was made by James but was not objected to by the other staff.

Khuele gave another reason why he thought it was important that Hani's face be visible. His contention was that a faceless body, only recognisable by reading the caption, becomes just another of the many anonymous body pictures that had come out of the violence in South Africa. He felt it important the people realise immediately that this is Hani, to be shocked and say "I know this man, who killed him?"

But although those making the decision agreed, not all the City Press staff agreed with them. Chief photographer Mike Mzileni would rather Hani's head had been covered. He was concerned that the photograph would disturb relatives. He was also not convinced about the view that held "let [the reader] see it as it is". He continued: "You can take a gory picture but avoid the worst of it, depending on your approach, the angle you took. For me the idea is not to shock people, but to tell the people what happened, show them what happened."[3]

For City Press the negative force of the gruesome content was negated by the positive force of the desire to shock readers. This was both to make them aware of who this man was who had died, and how horrible that death was. This is similar to the justification for using the pictures of the Inhlanzane station killing. A secondary force was the concern about what the competition might be using.

The Sunday Star ran two different pictures in the course of the day. In the early editions, they ran a picture of Hani's body with Tokyo Sexwale leaning over it, about to place the ANC flag on the chest. The face was turned away from the viewer and much of the blood was obscured. In the Late Final, the photograph was replaced with a closeup of the body with the ANC flag over the chest (fig. 13). The face was turned towards the viewer, the bullet hole in the cheek clearly visible, blood spilt over the bricks on both sides of the head.

Sunday Star had a wide range of pictures to choose from, from two of their photographers, Debbie Yazbeck and Alf Khumalo. The close up of the face was taken by Khumalo. It was not run in the early editions, because Khumalo had not yet come back by the time the first edition went to press.

Editor David Hazelhurst, who made the decision himself with the agreement of colleagues, said that he "had no hesitation about showing [Hani's] face", given that he was "the second most

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[3] Mzileni also indicated some of the pragmatic concerns of running a newspaper. He said "that picture [of Hani] came in very handy. We didn't have a front page picture. We had a conference in the morning at ten, not knowing what was going to be our front page picture and suddenly this thing happened."

popular person in this country". He went on to explain that he was "influenced slightly" by the report from the graphic artist who went to do a drawing. "She told me that while she was there, the body had been covered by a blanket and scores and scores of people came and asked that the blanket be lifted, so they could see the face."

Hazelhurst made an interesting distinction about the people he was trying to reach with the photograph. He said he was concerned not by "the sensibilities and sensitivities of the whites in the northern suburbs, but by the actual people who revered Hani, who went [to his home] and the funeral. Seeing the face is not a horror to those people as it would have maybe been to some whities. Without exception the people wanted to see his face." He reiterated later that "I had no problem with seeing the face. I didn't think it would cause offence to any of the people it concerned most and those were his millions of followers."

He had said in an earlier preliminary interview that he had judged that most readers would not be horrified by the picture. He said he had no scientific basis for that decision but that it was based on instinct developed over many years.

Hazelhurst's racial division was interesting in terms of the history of the Sunday Star. In existence for 10 years as an upmarket broadsheet aimed at affluent whites, it was relaunched in May 1992 as a tabloid aimed at a much younger audience, with an emphasis on reaching black readers.[4]

Two stories from the black newspapers seemed to indicate that Hani's supporters wanted to see his image, despite the horror. City Press photographer Khuele said that many in the crowds who gathered on Sunday to mourn Hani's death had cut out the picture of Hani from the front page of City Press (fig. 12) and were carrying it with them. Mgwaza from Sowetan said that he received many calls from readers wanting a copy of the photograph used in the Sowetan, so many in fact that the Sowetan finally stopped printing them for fear people might put the picture on T-shirts.

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[4] This did not solve its problems, however, and it closed down in January 1994.

Star photographer Khumalo said that he had taken a wide range of photographs. He said that if it had not been Hani, he would not have closed in on the face. Normally when a body is covered, he just showed the hands or legs, avoiding faces. But, as noted before, he felt it was "different with a leader of that calibre". He handed in a variety of pictures of which the face was chosen.

He felt that it was a powerful picture but a gruesome one. "When you look at it from a transparency it looks gruesome but it looks even harsher when it's bigger." He said later "I actually got worried about the reaction of the masses at large." But like Khuele he felt it was important that the body be immediately recognisable. He, too, felt that it was important that this body be distinguished from the many anonymous ones shown over the years.

He said: "it was important to show the face, to show people this was Hani that died, to show people it really happened. Otherwise they would not have believed, that's how much they loved him."

The Star received some negative letters about the picture. In the editor's reply published with these the next week, another reason for publishing was given. This was that "similar pictures were screened on television and throughout the world". This links up with a later point about how newspapers are influenced by their competition. As noted earlier, Hazelhurst also commented that "you got less of an outcry than if I'd got a crossword clue wrong."

So the positive forces in operation at the Sunday Star were slightly different from those at City Press. Rather than aiming to shock readers, Hazelhurst was concerned to give his readers, or some of them at least, what he believed they wanted - the sight of the face of their hero. Thus he was influenced by his perceptions of what his readers wanted. And again there was the concern that the body be instantly recognisable.

Four of the newspapers that showed Hani's body on the front page with the head turned away also ran a mugshot of Hani (eg. figs. 9, 11). McLagan of The Argus explained this decision as "helping to personalise the whole thing". He thought it would allow people to identify with him, those who might have seen him before, maybe on television.

From the various arguments voiced, we can surmise that there is something special about the face in a photograph. It is the key to the identity of the person. It is there that the indignity of death is most graphically written. It is also the face that people want to see to be sure of the identity of the dead. So whether and how much to show of the face is a particularly agonising decision.

How much blood to show?

Apart from the question of whether or not to show Hani's face, the second factor that fed into the negative force of the gruesome content of the pictures, was the large amount of blood spilt around Hani's head. The red blood was an obvious, visual element. City Press photographer Khuele said of the shooting of the photographs: "Everybody was there, TV crews and papers, all wanting to get a 'good' picture, the obvious thing being the blood on the pavement."

Of the 16 pictures of Hani's body on the bricks, 10 pictures showed varying amounts of blood, some having been cropped to reduce the amount of blood visible (eg. figs. 10-13). Six have almost all the blood cropped out (eg. fig. 9).

Some newspapers were unconcerned about the blood. Beeld ran a picture on the front page showing Sexwale placing the flag on the body. The face is turned away from the viewer, some blood is visible but not all. On page 14, a large colour photograph took up much of the top half of the page (fig. 10). It is a wide-angle shot of the body surrounded by onlookers with a lot of blood visible in the foreground. Typographical editor Jannie van der Merwe was concerned about choosing the visually most dramatic image available and did not consider that the amount of blood visible was important.

City Press, had, as discussed, chosen the most graphic image they had (fig. 12). The upper half of Hani's body occupied the left half of the page. The right half was filled by bricks, blood spilt over much of them. The headline: HANI IS DEAD, was set into the photograph and was in red.

As discussed above, City Press set out to shock - to convey the full horror of the killing as best they could. Using the blood was part of this. Although the chief sub-editor, who designed the page, was not available for interviewing, Mogale, the news editor, confirmed that he thought the

blood had been used deliberately, and that the blood had been emphasised by the use of red type in the headline.

For the Sowetan, who had rejected showing the face as being too gory, the blood did not carry the same weight. Mgwaza explained that they had sought a balance that would convey the importance of the event but yet not be too gruesome. For them, showing the face crossed the line, but showing the blood around the body did not. However, in explaining why they rejected the photograph of the face, Mgwaza highlighted two things. One was the open mouth, the other the blood on the face. So the positioning of the blood in relation to the body took on importance.

Yet for Hazelhurst at the Sunday Star, the concern was the other way around. Unconcerned about showing Hani's face, he said he was more worried about the blood and wanted it cropped so that what he described as "that huge pile of blood", was not included (fig. 13).

He cropped the picture himself and had marked it to be cut directly below the foot on the left, taking out about half the blood present in the picture as it was published. He had also left in more space above the body, leaving in two feet that he said "sort of framed the picture, which I felt brought more poignancy into it".

However, the marked transparency was sent to the works where it was cropped incorrectly. This is an example of the fact that the conscious decisions of gatekeepers are not the only forces at work in determining the final result on the page. Every so often, an image will appear in print that does not reflect the intentions of any of the gatekeepers.

Most newspapers were disturbed by the amount of blood but wished to show the body. For them there were three ways out. They could show the blood but reduce the size of the image and/or show it in black-or-white. Or they could crop the blood out.

Die Burger picture editor, Spaarwater, said that "we believe, though not I personally, that blood is off-putting. People read this over their breakfasts." Their solution with their front page picture was to crop some of the blood, though not all, and run the picture small - over two columns, but

in colour. On page 7 they ran a much bigger picture - four columns, of the crowd standing round the body, with the foreground the blood on the bricks. However it was in black-and-white.

The Cape Times ran a colour front page picture showing just the body with almost all the blood cropped out. Sub-editor Haines confirmed that he had done that deliberately. It is a small picture, four columns wide but only seven centimetres deep. Night editor Holtzhausen said: "I don't think it's necessary to over-egg the cake. That picture, cropped the way it is, is powerful. Using more blood, and maybe using the picture bigger, wouldn't have achieved more. I think the impact is there." This observation was linked to his point, made earlier, that a picture should have impact but without shocking - without being a "marmalade dropper".

The Argus also cropped out much of the blood, with picture editor McLagan saying that he thought "excess blood" was unnecessary. The Daily Dispatch held much the same view.

The Sunday Times took perhaps the most extreme action of any paper that chose to show the body on the bricks. They ran a front page colour picture nearly half the page wide and over half the page high (fig. 9). Hani's body was in the bottom of the picture, his head turned away with virtually no blood visible. Behind the body stood Sexwale with the ANC flag and Thenjiwe Mthintso, who was bending over the body. At the top of the page, acting as a divider between the headline and a sub-headline, was a very small black-and-white photograph. It showed the body covered by a flag, head partly visible but facial features covered, with a little blood by the head.

Assistant editor Hands confirmed that they drew the line at gory pictures. However, their definition of gory was very strict. The smaller picture was included to give "a different view of what was happening". It was deliberately used small and in black-and-white. The main picture was selected for its human drama, with Hani's friends looking down at him, rather than for its potential to shock.

It becomes clear that size, cropping, and colour are all tools at the editors' disposal to enhance or reduce the impact of an image. At one extreme stands City Press (fig. 12). The colour picture took up the entire page above the fold - even the headline space. It was uncropped. And the colour of the blood was emphasised by the use of the red type. At the other extreme were the

smaller of the Sunday Times pictures (fig. 9), which was tiny, black-and-white, and tightly cropped.

The interaction of positive and negative forces in the selection process can lead to images being selected but their impact played down by these tools.

Pictures that tell stories

Hands' comment about human drama brings us to the next major issue in picture selection that appears in the Hani case study. This was the importance placed on pictures that told a story of some kind, rather than simply showing the body on the ground. The very nature of the event, that it was the aftermath of the killing, and that access was limited, made such images difficult to come by. That there was only one such moment in the proceedings was clear from the fact that eight of the 16 pictures of the body on the bricks show Tokyo Sexwale about to lay, or busy laying, the ANC flag on Hani (eg. figs. 10, 11). Sexwale was a close friend of Hani's as well as being a major ANC leader.[5]

McLagan of The Argus said of the picture of Sexwale that it showed a "human touch", that told a story of "the closeness between Tokyo [Sexwale] and Hani".

On page 3, The Argus used a picture used by four other publications, that of Adelaide Tambo closing Hani's eyes, with her husband, ANC president Oliver Tambo standing next to her (fig. 14). He said that it helped portray the importance of the event, showing these prominent political figures showing their respects.

Die Burger, having run Sexwale with the body on the front page because that was "the news story of the day", ran the photograph of the Tambos on page 6. He felt that showed another piece of the story - the solidarity of those who supported Hani.

Hands explained the difference as he saw it between the two photographs on the front page of the Sunday Times (fig. 9). He saw the small photograph of the corpse as simply showing an

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[5] After the election he became premier of Gauteng, South Africa's wealthiest region.

important person who had been shot. The other, however, showed "participation in the tragedy", for it showed Tokyo Sexwale and Thenjiwe Mthintso, both friends of Hani's, looking at the body. He said that in choosing that picture, "Tokyo Sexwale's very close association with Chris Hani clearly came into consideration." He made the point that they did not have any pictures of Hani's wife, another newsworthy figure, as she had been shielded from the photographers.

This returns to the point made earlier about newspapers' traditional reluctance to show bodies because a picture of a body generally does not add any information to the story. One of the attributes of the "good" photograph would appear to be that it tells a story, rather than simply being an illustration of the main news point. So rather than repeat the news story in saying "this man is dead", it should convey something more, in these cases by showing how various prominent political figures felt about this man and about his death. The ability of a photograph to convey additional information, or to tell a story of some kind, becomes another positive force favouring it in the selection process.

Keeping an eye on the competition

In deciding what photographs to use, newspapers do not act in a vacuum. What other newspapers did or might use was considered important. Holtzhausen of the Cape Times put it as follows: "Newspapers are called newspapers because they carry the *news*, it must be *new*. Otherwise readers are going to say 'I've seen that before'". He said, in general, the Cape Times would try to use a different picture from their competitors, or at least crop it differently. It became clear that recency and exclusivity were both important news values, but both could be overridden by newsworthiness.

The fact that Hani was killed on the Easter weekend resulted in newspapers publishing their first edition following the killing on anything from Saturday to Tuesday. This time delay lets us see both how newspapers took note of what others had used and how Hani moves away from the front page as immediacy of the news diminishes.

The Weekend Post in Port Elizabeth, which publishes on Saturday afternoon, was the only paper to be able to publish the news on the same day. The event was then extensively covered on that night's television news.

In Cape Town, the Sunday edition of Weekend Argus was the only local Sunday paper. McLagan commented of the front page picture of Sexwale and Hani that "we were lucky in having first choice so we didn't have to worry what everyone else had done".

The Cape Times and Die Burger both came out on Monday morning, following not only the Argus, but also the national weekend newspapers, Sunday Times and Rapport. Both had a picture of the body on the driveway on the front page. Spaarwater of Die Burger said the picture merited the front page, even two days after the event, because of the highly newsworthy nature of the event.

The Cape Times also felt that it was still necessary to show the photograph. Haines said "I thought [the assassination] had a hell of an impact on everybody in South Africa... I had to make it available to those people who had not seen it."

Nevertheless, Haines felt he had a difficult decision to make because he also had a picture available of the local violence that had broken out following the assassination. It showed police approaching a barricade of burning tyres in Khayelitsha. He felt either that or Hani could have been the main picture on the page. However two things affected his decision.

One was that Hani had already been seen. "It had been on television all Sunday." The other was that the local picture "wasn't a marmalade dropper. It wasn't emphasising the gruesomeness and that was a major factor in my decision to use [the local picture] big and [Hani] smaller than the main picture." Holtzhausen made a similar point. He said the Sunday papers had "had the first bite" at the story and the Cape Times was "merely doing a follow-up". The local violence was "newer news".

In the Eastern Cape, both the Eastern Province Herald and the Daily Dispatch published on Monday morning. The Daily Dispatch ran the body on the bricks on the front page. Night editor Fred Fitzgerald said: "Pictures had been in the Sunday papers and a quite graphic selection of pictures had been shown on television. We, generally, will be influenced by what has been shown elsewhere. . But in this case, its historical importance was such that, even if it had appeared elsewhere, we would have used it."

The Eastern Province Herald ran the photograph of the Tambos with Hani on the front page. The editor Wilson said that if they had been able to publish the story on the Saturday, they might well have shown the body lying on the bricks but that by Monday, that picture had received quite a lot of exposure.

In Gauteng, competition was fierce in both the daily and the Sunday market. As we have seen, City Press was motivated by fear of what the competition might run in choosing their goriest picture.

Three other papers came out on Sunday morning in Gauteng - Sunday Times, Sunday Star[6] and Rapport. Rapport news editor Herman Jansen's first words on being shown the Hani photographs were "We took the Sunday Times to the cleaners on this." This was because Rapport had managed to get two exclusive pictures, of the killer and of the witness who had enabled police to catch the killer (fig. 11). They ran these two, as well as a picture of Hani with Sexwale, large on the front page.

Beeld came out on Monday and focused on the identity of the killer in their photographs, showing the killer, his car and the witnesses that led to him being caught. But Van der Merwe still felt that it was important to show Hani's body.

The Sowetan (and Pretoria News) were to come in latest of the dailies, only publishing their first edition on Tuesday. That day, the Sowetan covered the stayaway call as their lead story. On page 13 and 14 they ran a two page spread of three photographs of events related to the killing. Alone on the right-hand page was a colour picture of Hani's body with the ANC flag over it.

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[6] Of interest, but not directly related to this study, was the dilemma facing the Sunday Star. They were battling for a new news angle for the story. Unlike the other Sunday papers, they did not know the identity of the killer. They had, instead, what they believed to be an exclusive interview with Hani's daughter, who had been with him when he was shot. Thus, the headline directly above the photograph of Hani's corpse read; "I saw my daddy die". Hazelhurst said: "...we thought this was the most poignant, freshest thing we could do, to get the daughter's story".

Although Mgwaza brought up this point in relation to the pictures of the AWB, it seems relevant here as well. He said that staff at the Sowetan are very conscious of what has been in the other papers, especially The Star and The Citizen. The pressure is intensified because the Sowetan has an earlier deadline than its competitors.

Nevertheless, he said, "sometimes we run things that have been in The Star three days earlier. We believe we have a Sowetan reader, readers who buy the Sowetan only... The Star can scoop us but people will say 'We haven't seen it in the Sowetan.'" We can postulate that the same principle would apply to the coverage of Hani.

Finally, by the time the picture of Hani's corpse was shown for the last time, in the weekly New Nation the next Friday, it was on page 8 in black-and-white[7].

Again we see two forces for and against these photographs clashing. The negative force is that of 'old news', of material becoming very rapidly less interesting as the days pass since its occurrence. Combatting that in this case is the positive force of newsworthiness, which in this case is so great that it allows the pictures to remain of interest for several days.

Nevertheless, the interaction of these two forces means that as the days go by, the pictures moved further away from the front page. Of the 21 photographs, seven were on the front page on Sunday and two inside. On Monday, four were on the front page and five were inside. The last two were inside during the week.[8] And as they moved inside, they were less likely to be in colour. The front page pictures were almost all colour, inside pictures were about half colour, half black-and-white. The pictures also tended to become smaller. The average size of the Sunday front page picture was 402.5 cm^2. On Monday's front pages it was 166.75 cm^2.[9]

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[7] Those still working at New Nation could not recall who made the decisions about the picture of Hani.

[8] And the remaining one to make up 21 was on the front page on Saturday.

[9] Of course, that difference may also reflect Sunday newspapers giving greater prominence to photographs in general. The average size of inside page pictures was much more consistent. On Sunday it was 248.5 cm^2 and on Monday 267 cm^2. In total, front page pictures averaged 316 cm^2; inside page pictures 281 cm^2.

From this, we can surmise that placement, size and colour can all be indications of the degree of importance of an image, changing over time. This is, however, a very general rule, with plenty of contradictions evident.

Other issues

Beeld had another motivating factor in their picture selection. They first published on Monday, using a lot of photographs. They ran six colour pictures on the front page - of the killer, his car, Hani's daughter, the two witnesses and the body. Inside the paper, they ran three pages of stories and photographs about the murder. On these pages were two more photographs of the body. Van der Merwe explained that they wanted to use "everything we had". He said that they had a lot of stories and that he was worried that the readers were not going to read all of them. He felt that pictures would catch the reader's eye and lead them into the story.

Here the concern is not so much with the content of the pictures, but how the pictures interact with the text.

An issue brought up by all three of the people whose letters of objection were published in the Sunday Star the next weekend was that the picture of Hani's face (fig. 13) was provocative at a time when it was feared the killing would endanger the negotiation process and incite unrest. Sunday Star photographer Khumalo had also said that the gruesome nature of the photograph had him "worried about the reaction of the masses at large."

Hazelhurst's rejoinder was that not reporting the news for fear of provocation, was censorship. He said he did not understand the argument that it fine to print news but it is not fine to see it. He claimed that, in the end, it is the event that incites people to violence, not the photographs of the event.

Conclusion

A number of different factors fed into the decisions about which pictures of Hani's body to select and how to present them. In the circumstances, some of these assumed such importance that they led to others being of less concern than normal.

As ever, all these factors worked within a restricted framework dictated largely by happenstance. Many of these newspapers did not have access to all the versions of the Hani pictures that have been discussed. This could be for any of several reasons, from their own photographers being unable to move in the crowd, to having to rely on the images sent out by the wire services.

And, of course, all of them had images from only a brief window in time, a window that did not extend, for example, to the actual killing itself.

Of all the factors taken into account in this case study, newsworthiness was by far the most dominant positive force. This newsworthiness was made up of two elements - the public prominence of Hani and the potential political consequences of his assassination.

Newsworthiness overshadowed several other negative forces normally taken into account, notably reluctance to publish corpses, especially on the front page, reluctance to use gory pictures and reluctance to use pictures of news that was several days old and that had been extensively covered by other newspapers and electronic media.

Nevertheless these all played a part in determining which particular photographs were selected and how they were presented. The major factors that played a part in selection were goriness of content and story-telling ability. The content debate centred on two issues, whether to show Hani's face and how much blood to show. In neither area was there consensus among editors, indicating just how much the content of McLagan's "best" picture was defined by on-the-spot gut instinct of those involved in the decisions.

One factor involved here was the desire to show readers what had happened, and in its more extreme version, shock them into appreciating the full implications of it. That was balanced by a desire not to repel readers unnecessarily. This factor was strengthened by the fact that the newsworthiness dictated a front page spot and the front page was regarded as more sensitive than inside pages.

The other factor in selection was the desire for pictures that told a story, rather than being simply illustrative. The nature of the event made such images hard to come by. This, then, is another news value but one specific to photographs. It is part of what makes up the "good" photograph.

The interplay of these factors led in general to images of the face being rejected outright and images of the body from behind the head being accepted on the proviso that their impact would be played down in presentation by the various tools available to the editors. These were size, cropping and colour or black-and-white reproduction. Placement would generally make up the fourth tool available to influence impact, but, in this case, the overriding factor of newsworthiness had dictated the front page spot.

Over the four or five days in which these photographs were still being used, the negative forces of 'old news' became progressively stronger and the positive one of newsworthiness weaker. The changing balance was reflected in the increasingly less favourable presentation given to the photographs within the newspapers. The importance given to what was used by other communications organisations, suggests that these should be added to the list of social institutions given in chapter 1 which affect the gatekeeping process.

This case study was an interesting example of how specific context influences the interrelationship of the various factors taken into account in gatekeeping. In this case because of who Hani was and what his death potentially meant for South Africa, newsworthiness became the dominant factor. It is the context that dictates how powerful different factors will be in relation to each other and, therefore, how they will interact in the gatekeeping process.

EKEND
NERS
HE LUCKY
S: PAGE 12

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Sunday Times

APRIL 11 1993 PRICE R3 incl VAT

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

REJECTED
SURGICAL GLOVES WITH SABS MARK
PAGE 3

[H]ANI: [T]HE AWB LINK

Riddle of car driven by arrested immigrant

By DE WET POTGIETER, CHRIS PERKINS and EDYTH BULBRING

ANC calls for calm

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday appealed to their supporters to remain calm and restrained following the assassination of Chris Hani.

Blacks taunted in street

CHRIS HANI collapsed outside his front door

Point blank shots fired at lifeless body

By JOCELYN MAKER

Trigger

It INTRIGUES. It INFURIATES. But it's brain-teasingly IRRESISTIBLE!

Yes, FINDER'S KEEPERS, South Africa's most popular family fun game, is back in the SUNDAY TIMES next week. And this year we'll again be giving away R1-MILLION

● Don't miss your first clue in next week's MAGAZINE

ACT FAST AND SAVE ON THE SUNDAY TIMES

Fig. 9. Sunday Times, Sunday April 11, 1993, page 1.

Fig. 10. Beeld, Monday April 12, 1993, page 14.

Fig. 11. Rapport, Sunday April 11, 1993, page 1.

Fig. 12. City Press, Sunday April 11, 1993, page 1.

SUNDAY Star
LATE FINAL
APRIL 11 1993
R2,50 (PWV)

ASSASSINATION: Daughter tells how silent killer shot father four times

HANI KILLING

'I saw my daddy die'

PICTURE: ALF KUMALO

CHRIS HANI lies dead outside his Boksburg home yesterday after a silent white killer had gunned him down in front of his teenage daughter, Nomakhwezi. Later she spoke to the Sunday Star of how she had seen the man wave and then pump four bullets into her father. The assassin then sped off in a car. A man was arrested less than 10 km from the killing. Last night, as South Africa was plunged into turmoil over the death of the secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, ANC leader Nelson Mandela called for calm in a TV broadcast to the nation.

THE CHRIS HANI ASSASSINATION
SPECIAL REPORT: PAGES 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6

TWO LAST CHANCES WIN A HOUSE ▶12 | ALL THE JOKERS NUMBERS

MISSING 6 GIRLS: COPS PROBE SEX SYNDICATE ▶14, 20

MADONNA: Has she gone too far? ▶27

HOW PMT KEPT THIS WOMAN OUT OF JAIL ▶25

WOULD YOU SLEEP WITH A STRANGER FOR A MILLION? ▶7

Fig. 13. Sunday Star, Sunday April 11, 1993, page 1.

Fig. 14. Sunday Times, Sunday April 11, 1993, page 4.

Chapter Seven

The Killing of AWB members in Bophuthatswana

Introduction

The Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging[1] (AWB) case study might be considered the editor's dream - a highly newsworthy incident, both, because of immediate events and further political consequences, which came illustrated by very dramatic images. However, although widely covered, it was to generate considerable debate in newsrooms around the country.

This chapter looks first at difficulties photographers faced in capturing the crucial news moment, with all but one missing the moment of execution.

Turning to the newspaper coverage, it then examines why this execution should have been so newsworthy. In looking at the approach taken by different newspapers, this chapter uncovers some of the inherent racial tensions involved in covering news in South Africa as editors from different race groups disagree over treatment of white versus black deaths.

Due to the complexity of the material in this study, this is then followed by a look, newspaper by newspaper, at what was considered of importance in the decision-making. One of the most striking themes to emerge from the material is the lack of agreement over various issues: which images were the most newsworthy; which images were too gruesome for use; whether image quality was more important than the capturing of the news moment.

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[1] Trans: Afrikaner Resistance Movement

Context

In March 1994 Lucas Mangope, president of the Bophuthatswana homeland, declared that his territory would not be taking part in the forthcoming elections. Within days his civil servants began striking. Allister Sparks documented the events that followed (1994).

According to him, the strike soon developed into chaos, with widespread looting. Mangope then appealed to the right-wing Volksfront for help. Some 600 AWB men gathered near Mmabatho in response to Radio Pretoria broadcasts. On Friday March 11, they drove into Mmabatho, yelling racial abuse and taking potshots at groups of people, killing and wounding several. By the middle of that morning, the Bophuthatswana Defence Force mutinied and joined the rebellion against Mangope.

A convey of twenty AWB trucks and cars travelling along a road towards Mafikeng rode through a roadblock. Soldiers fired at the convoy, which returned fire. A passenger was shooting through the window of the last car in the convoy. A blast of gunfire from the soldiers shattered the vehicle's windscreen and it halted. Shooting continued and Sarel Fourie was hit and fell from the open door onto the ground, apparently dead. Alwyn Wolfaardt and Fanie Uys, both injured, crawled out and lay beside the body, hands in the air.

For twenty minutes they lay there, watched by soldiers and taunted by the crowd. Several reporters, photographers and camera crew arrived and spoke to the men. The men asked for medical help. Then, as the television cameras rolled, a policeman shot both men at close range.

Sparks wrote that this event and its widespread press coverage had tremendous impact.

> The image of the execution, in all its awfulness, had blown away an ancient myth that had grounded generations of colonialism and racial domination - the myth that the white race, with its superior arms and training, could always and everywhere command indigenous people of colour. That was the rationale behind the existence of the AWB and Volksfront armies. Now everyone had seen on their television screens that it no longer held; that black people, too, had lethal weapons; and to go to war against them was not a hunting

> expedition, a jolly adventure with one's mates where one could demonstrate one's dominance. The bubble of adventure, the heroic re-enactment of historic Boer myths, was punctured in a day of blood and humilation (1994, 213).

It was now clear that there would be no right-wing revolution to stop the elections. The right-wing parties had, up until that point, refused to participate in the elections. The next day, 10 minutes before the deadline for registration of parties for the election, a faction of the right-wing under General Constand Viljoen broke away and registered the Freedom Front.

Photographs taken

The incident was to provide something of a photo-opportunity for the press. Sunday Times photographer Chris Collingridge had been following the AWB convoy when the shoot-out at the road-block took place. He photographed the shoot-out and the surrender. In the following 20 minutes various other members of the press arrived. Kevin Carter, in an interview in American Photo, said that in the end there were 15 or 20 journalists on the scene, including photographers and television crews (1994).

Collingridge, like City Press photographer Evans Mboweni, was to leave the scene before the execution took place. Both photographers were afraid that the AWB might return to rescue their comrades, resulting in a very dangerous situation. Feeling they had their pictures, they left.

As Collingridge walked away to his car, he turned back to take a picture of the press corps photographing the AWB (top photograph, fig. 16). He said of it: "It was pornographic, basically. They were just photographing one who was dead, another who needed help, and who knows, the other guy might still have been alive. I just thought, it's such a bizarre scene, I just took the photograph. I think it was more instinctive than anything else. But it did strike me as disgusting."

Of the still photographers, only Sunday Times photographer Cobus Bodenstein was to get the moment of execution. When he sent his films to Johannesburg, he did not know if he had actually got the shot. He said: "I didn't really know how well I'd got the execution .... Your

motordrive could fire each in-between frame, and you could shoot the whole thing with nothing on it to show for it ... And my drive just synched for a change."[2]

Carter told American Photo that he photographed the scene from every angle until he could not think of any more ways to shoot it (1994, 38). When the execution happened, his back was turned. He dived for cover, trying to reload his cameras. When the second man was shot, he managed to turn round and focus but the camera had no film in it. Sunday Nation photographer Kendall Hunter managed to take a picture of the moment of shooting but was behind the soldier so all that could be seen was his back.

In explaining how everyone but Bodenstein missed the moment of execution, Collingridge revealed some of the difficulties of capturing the instant:

> ...James Nachtwey was next to Cobus [Bodenstein], as was Kevin Carter...
> Kevin says he was changing his film which is perfectly possible, something like that happens so fast, you've got to lift the camera, you've got to take the frames.
> You might be on the wrong exposure; you might have the wrong lens on one of your camera bodies which you're holding at that time. Cobus had a 20mm on, it's wide, it's going to take in the whole scene, whereas Nachtwey might have been focusing on a tight shot of one of the two guys on the ground, with a 105mm, so he might have missed it completely.
> Cobus might have been walking up to the scene, might have had a visual of the whole area, saw this guy running towards the guys on the ground automatically thought what's happening next, go closer, lift up camera, start looking, watching, waiting, there it happens, click, click, click, click.

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[2] Collingridge's reaction to this expresses something of the competitive element of photography: "Cobus came back in after I got to the hotel, some 20 minutes later, and said: "I've just photographed my first execution." I felt blown away because I thought I had the picture, I don't deny that. I thought I had it in the bag, I thought I was going to go international on that shot, and I really thought my pictures were [now] going to be relegated to page 17, the size of postage stamps or something, as it happens they were." In fact, they were only 'relegated' to page 3.

> Kevin might have been looking at the back of his camera and Nachtwey might have been fiddling with his lens, because you have to remember by that stage, although it was tense, basically the story was, in terms of pictures, pretty much wrapped up. The fire fight had happened; the surrender had been done; these guys were waiting to be taken away, they were obviously waiting for the ambulance. [Bodenstein taking those pictures] was serious reaction stuff, the [policeman] just came out of nowhere, just blew them away.

This was a graphic example of the difficulties photographers face, especially when trying to record breaking news. The ease with which photographs can be taken - just pushing the button, conceals the difficulty of taking news photographs. The photographer must not only be at the scene but be in a position to observe the action, with the correct equipment and with a sufficiently fast reaction.

The very first gate in the passage of these photographs through the various news room lay in the pressing of the camera's shutter release. The editors' selection was severely limited because of the difficulties of being able to press the button at the crucial moment.

Pictures used in the press

The three men were killed in the morning of Friday 11 March 1994. In the photographs, Alwyn Wolfaardt was on the left, either crouching in the car door or lying on his stomach. Fanie Uys lay against the back wheel. Sarel Fourie lay dead by the back door.

Fourteen of 17 newspapers ran photographs of the killing (figs. 15-21). The exceptions were the Daily Dispatch, which first published the next Monday, the Weekly Mail and South, both coming out the following Friday, ran follow-up stories on the unrest in Bophuthatswana. The New Nation, normally a Friday weekly, had, for a short period, relaunched itself as the Sunday Nation and so was in a position to cover the incident.

Twelve newspapers ran the pictures as their front page lead. Half used only one picture, with the others using anything from two to seven. Three newspapers were to run the pictures for more than one day.

A total of 41 photographs were used. These fell into three broad categories - the men still alive and pleading for their lives, the moment of the killing, or the bodies afterwards. Six photographs were of the moment of death. Two of those were the Sunday Times photograph (fig 15). The other four were a still from the television footage shot by Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) (fig. 17). Eighteen were of the men while still alive. Four of those showed the men getting out of the car. The rest showed them lying on the ground (eg. main photograph in fig. 19). Of these eight were an AP picture of the three men lying on the ground. Seventeen pictures were of the dead bodies. Thirteen of those showed the bodies lying where they had been shot. Of these 10 were the same image from AP (eg. second photograph in fig. 19). Four, all the same AP image, showed the bodies lying in the back of a police van.

Newsworthiness - the strongest factor

Editors were to agree that this was a highly newsworthy incident, both because of the news value of the revolution in Bophuthatswana, and because of the long-term political consequences of the incident.

This event was seen as the climax of the troubles in Bophuthatswana and was described variously as "the story of the month", "big news", "the biggest event of the week" and "very, very hard news".

The event was important in terms of the role being played by the AWB in the Bophuthatswana revolt. Dennis Hands, Sunday Times assistant editor said that "it was assumed, at the time, that [the AWB] were trying to take over a homeland, and that the killing took place within that context."

But it was more than just a dramatic image of the climax of the week's news. It was a image that was symbolic in its greater implications for South Africa. New Nation sub-editor Richard Gibbs saw the pictures as "the most dramatic sign that the white right had been routed," while Evelyn Holtzhausen, Cape Times night editor said: "This picture signifies the end of the AWB."

Ric Wilson, Eastern Province Herald editor, said: "...to a large extent, [these pictures] shattered the myth about the AWB and the white Afrikaners as being some sort of invincible force... If you remember, at the time, everybody was worried [saying] 'we must accommodate the right wing in any political settlement.'" He felt at the time that "this picture really typified more than just three white men on the ground being executed. It typified the transformation, the political transformation that was taking place and the extent of it."

The strongest factor in favour of these images was their newsworthiness, both in terms of immediate events and in terms of the long-term political future of the country. The threat of an armed revolution from the white right-wing groups had been a shadow over the negotiation process and the plans for South Africa's first democratic elections. With these pictures it became clear that threat was hollow.

Race concerns

Their highly newsworthy nature meant that these pictures would be used. One of the newsworthy factors that they embodied was one that often carries positive force, that of novelty. However that novelty centred around racial issues. Race became a significant and contentious issue in how these photographs were presented.

Wilson, Eastern Province Herald editor, said: "At a time when South Africa was in the throes of transformation, it was a very rare picture in South Africa to see three khaki-clad, AWB whites or Boers lying on the ground being executed by a black militia. For many years, we'd had similar pictures the other way, or not similar, but if one was to expect a picture like that in South Africa, it would be the reverse."

The novelty centred around the fact that for once it was whites rather than blacks who were dead, and furthermore they had been killed by blacks. But decisions about how to present these pictures were to arouse debate about how newspapers handled the deaths of black and whites, and whether they prioritised the latter over the former.

All but one of the weekend newspapers ran the story as their front page lead (eg. figs. 15, 17, 19). The Sunday Times, which had the exclusive photograph of the moment of execution, ran

the picture over nearly the entire top half of the page, under the headline: Sheer bloody murder (fig. 15).

Only the Weekend Star was the only newspaper to publish on the weekend where these pictures were not put on the front page (fig. 21). There were various reasons for this (dealt with later), including reluctance to use bodies on the front page, but a major one was racial. The editor, David Allen, said that over the preceding months there had been many incidents of bloodshed, mainly involving blacks, and these had been reported on page 3. "Why would we now take the death of three whites and play it big on page 1? So consistency played a big part. And I think this is why the Sunday Times came in for so much flak, for exactly that reason. [The dead men] were white and bang, splash it all over page 1. If they'd been three blacks shot outside a taxi rank, it certainly wouldn't have been page 1. Probably page 3 or 5 or it may not even have appeared."

In talking about the "flak" the Sunday Times received, he was meaning criticism from other journalists rather than from readers.

He said another concern was "whether we would be seen to be gloating in the murder of AWB people. And I know that is a strange thing to raise because the same argument could be said of our use of pictures of people who had been killed in the townships as a result of Third Force activity and Inkatha [IFP]/ANC clashes and this sort of thing. I remember that there was a lot of reflection, a lot of discussion over that picture."

The Star picture editor Robin Comley, who was not in the office when the incident occurred, commented:

> I know at the time there seemed to be an inordinate amount of shock attached to the death of three white people. Which I found a bit bizarre considering what had gone before that, innumerable black people had been killed, and there hadn't been that shock. I think it comes back to the old mind-set that we tend to find ourselves in. There seems to be a slight division between blacks and whites, on this newspaper in terms of reportage and how horrific this deed was.

> ..... I mean there are white policemen who have committed far more brutal acts than we saw here. I think that the emotion of this picture was largely related to whites' perception and reaction to it. You can't really avoid taking a slightly racial context relating to this picture.

Most newspapers did not agree with this criticism of the Sunday Times. New Nation sub-editor Gibbs took a more pragmatic approach towards the Sunday Times' coverage: "My feeling was it was a big story and a newspaper is almost obliged in a way to carry it. Also there is the competition thing, if you don't publish it somebody else is going to and then your readers are going to say 'why didn't they get the picture, where were you, were you sleeping?' It was a big news story and I think any newspaper that had those pictures [would have used them]."

Nevertheless, Comley's feeling about different perspectives from black and white newspapers was echoed by people from both Sowetan and City Press. Sowetan picture editor, Robert Mgwaza said: "About 50 blacks killed and three white AWB and it was the cause of mayhem, especially [in the] white papers. I always say to people, especially foreigners, the problem with this country is that we have two different kinds of media, a white media and a black media. Sometimes I take a copy of The Star and of the Sowetan and there are two separate worlds in most cases."

He gave the examples of seal clubbing or white lions making the front page of The Star. "We cannot come to people who have been plagued by poverty and violence and killings and say 'here is a sad story about the penguins in oil'. People won't go to a shebeen and talk about the dramatic rescue of the penguins, but in The Star it is hard news. We have a black interest and a white interest."

Mgwaza said: "I found it very peculiar that three guys died and there was so much condemnation, but 50 [black deaths], it was like, OK. It's like 50 blacks, they always die, they are always in violence, so what's new?" For Mgwaza the race taint also lay in what he saw as the condemnation of the event from the white press, the way the Sunday Times, for example, headlined the picture 'Sheer bloody murder'. "But as I remember, there was a lot of

condemnation for this action in the so-called white newspapers. So it is a political issue." (Hands, Sunday Times assistant editor, said the headline was decided on in the news conference. He was not prepared to speculate on the thinking behind it.)

Mgwaza emphasised that this story still had major news interest to black audiences.

> To me it was news, this story could be played big, because it has never happened before that a black person assassinates three AWB. Because AWB to us are like untouchables, they are vicious people. You'd be surprised that it was victory for a lot of black people because it had never happened before. And another news side was that it was the biggest embarrassment for the AWB because they thought nothing would happen to them and they drove so confident into Bop... [AWB leader Eugene] Terreblanche was shaken; he has never recovered; it was an embarrassment. As a newsman that is the approach for me.

Evans Mboweni, City Press photographer, has similar concerns to Mgwaza. He said that the other journalists at the scene had already judged that the soldier should not have shot the AWB men because the men had surrendered. "They had all this type of distortion in their stories that it was just a plain murder, that it was assassination, but when the AWB killed blacks, it [got a] low profile... [It is] because black deaths just don't make the news like white deaths, and even if it's a black paper, it's a white management."

City Press headlined their picture: Bloody revenge. Len Golani, City Press news editor said: "The climate was that of war. Once you are involved in war you cease to call people killers and victims, that kind of thing. [The headline] illustrate[s] the mood of the times."

White editors were less convinced that their coverage was in any way racially biased. Wilson of the Eastern Province Herald said:

> My thinking at the time was that this picture really typified more than just three white men on the ground being executed, but it typified the transformation, the political transformation that was taking place and the extent of it.
> So it's not quite as simple as saying 'ah, because they're whites, we made a big thing of it, if they were blacks, we wouldn't'. I think we would have also used the same picture with blacks in it, very big, as big, because it's just one hell of a good picture. Three men of any race on the ground pleading like that, and then the next moment they're shot dead, I think is a dramatic picture by anybody's standard. That's why it went around the world.

Sunday Nation staff took a similar position. They were motivated by both the newsworthiness of the event and the power of the images. Gibbs said that everyone in the office thought they were outstanding pictures. He said:

> We had to use them. You couldn't, I don't think, not use a picture like that. If these were just four guys who were travelling innocently through an area and had been stopped by some soldiers and killed, it might have been a different debate around it. Even then I think one would have used them. But it was the context of what was happening... Just prior to the elections, the right making a lot of noise. There'd been a lot of noises from the right and really it was just a good picture. We had to use it.

Nevertheless, he did say that he was concerned that some readers simply saw men who had surrendered being executed. "[The AWB] had been on a killing spree. I think a lot of people didn't actually realise that, they saw this picture as being... people were shocked by it. They didn't understand."

He said that the Sunday Nation staff did not see it as cold-blooded murder but as retaliation for the killing of black civilians. Asked why their images then all focused on the death of the whites, Gibbs explained that they had only had one photographer there and she did not get any picture of black deaths.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, ran two pictures on the front page and a sequence of five on page 3 (figs. 17, 18). Assistant editor Chris Karstens said the extensive coverage on page 3 was because it was a story very close to Rapport's potential readership community.

> It was Afrikaans-speaking people, potential readers, probably not readers of Rapport but potential readers, being Afrikaans speakers. So it's a special interest story to all our readers, that's the reason. If this happened in Bosnia or the United States, we wouldn't have [run the sequence of pictures]. It's on our doorstep: it's potential readers - they're Afrikaans-speaking people, with Afrikaans-speaking families, coming from Afrikaans-speaking denominations, never mind what their political views were. So it's purely, from our point of view, our readership point of view, the news value of the story, it was a rather big story.

In all these different perspectives, it is evident that picture placement becomes a way of prioritising. Front page placement serves as a signal to a reader that an event is considered of major importance. So too do the number of pictures used.

As was suggested in chapter 1 by theorists such as Barthes and Sontag, the words that are placed in conjunction with an image will emphasise one of a variety of potential meanings contained within the picture. Whether the pictures of the AWB showed murder of men who had surrendered or the killing of killers in a war, was open to interpretation. Words, particularly headlines, provided that interpretation. They gave readers a tool with which to decode the meaning of the image.

The political sensitivity of this event highlighted the often conflicting forces that go into determining how news is presented. Forces at work included the economic one - the need to play up dramatic news to attract readers, which was strengthened by the fear that if your newspaper did not, the competition would. Then, there was the sense of newsworthiness in its purest form - an event of immediate and long-term political importance, coming in a highly dramatic package.

Innate racial prejudices probably also play a part. In the interviews it was clear that no raving racism was to be uncovered. Racially hostile reporting was not intended by any of the decision-makers and most would deem their coverage to have been reasonably fair and objective. However, one could speculate that unconscious racial stereotypes may have been at work. Were whites more inclined to think of it as callous murder and blacks as justified revenge? Did unconscious biases, both of individuals and of the collective consciousness of the institution in which they work, feed into the way the news was presented? A different study could profitably consider such questions.

Picture selection

As the most complex of the five case studies, mostly due to the large number of pictures used, it becomes more difficult to deal with themes rather than individual newspapers. For this reason, the following section looks at what newspapers used, and why, individually. The common themes will then be examined afterwards.

Only a limited number of newspapers had their own photographers on the scene. Most had to rely on the wire agencies, primarily Associated Press. This put newspapers coming out on Saturday at a disadvantage. There were only a limited number of images available on Saturday, more coming through in time for Sunday publication.

Saturday newspapers

Beeld was to go in for extensive coverage (fig. 19). The Saturday edition of Beeld ran a large colour photograph above the fold, headlined: 'Ons wou huis toe gaan'.[3] It was a closeup of Uys leaning against the wheel with his hands up with Fourie next to him, his blood spilt on the ground. Below the fold to the right is a smaller black-and-white photograph of the three men after their deaths.

On page 2 they ran a large picture right across the top half of the page in black-and-white (fig. 20). It showed several journalists standing or crouched next to the men. At the bottom of the

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[3] Trans: 'We wanted to go home'.

page they ran a small black-and-white of a policeman standing next to the open door of a van, in the back of which can be seen two of the bodies, the bloody face of one visible.

Typographical editor Jannie van der Merwe felt the photograph of Uys was the best they had, "the most striking photo". He felt that any of the two front page pictures and the larger of the page 2 pictures could have been the front page lead, but that the Uys one fitted in best with the text. One of their reporters had interviewed the men as they lay on the ground, so it was "a very personalised story about the whole thing".

This was partly because of the need for a new news angle following the extensive coverage on television the night before. "Three AWB's doodgeskiet[4], that's old news, so this is the personal story [the reporter] wrote," said Van der Merwe. "I took a quote out of the story [for the headline], so the readers will immediately know we were there. We were on the scene and we can actually tell them what television and radio can't tell them. It's a fresh angle on the story."

The second picture was used because it showed what happened to Uys and the others. The page 2 photographs showed different aspects of the whole scene.

When asked why the paper used so many large pictures, he said Beeld has a policy with a big event to use pictures and stories as large as possible. "Even say we had 16 pages, we'll make this newspaper 18 or 20, just to get the pictures in... We try to, if we have got a big story, to do everything very big... in a very complete way, so there will be nothing left for the Sunday papers. When we've got a big story, we would like to kill it for everybody else." This was an unusual reaction among the newspapers surveyed. In most newspapers, the shortage of space takes precedence over pictures.

The Weekend Star played down the incident (fig. 21). On page 3, under the headline: Wild cheers as the defenders return (referring to the Bophuthatswana defence force), they ran a colour picture, taking up the top quarter of the page. It showed a Bophuthatswana soldier walking past the bodies of the dead men.

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[4] Trans: shot dead.

As discussed above, part of their decision to play down the incident was racially based. But other factors were also involved. One was the traditional reluctance of The Star to show bodies on the front page. Editor David Allen said: "There is, and has been for a long time, an important part of our readership that criticises us vociferously for emphasising bad news for the sake of sensationalism." He went on to say that what was newsworthy was essentially a matter of personal perception.

The Eastern Province Herald had as their lead picture the AP picture of the men pleading for their lives. It took up nearly half the page, in colour, and ran under the headline: 'God help us'. Below was a black-and-white picture over four columns of the men after they had been executed. Editor Wilson said: "You can tell [the story of what happened to the AWB men] quite dramatically in words, but no words could ever replace or match the impact of that picture. So when that picture came through at night, and I heard about it, I actually was phoned at home and I came into the office, and I looked at it and I said right, this is what we'll do. And we used it as big as we could. And I think we were the only newspaper to use it that big, and of course there are words that lent themselves to a headline too; 'God help us', so the overall effect was very dramatic. But it was a very dramatic incident." He said they received the picture of the men dead first and had been going to use that as the lead picture, and then the other arrived. "It was so clearly a more dramatic picture".

Die Burger led on Saturday with the AP picture of the dead bodies in colour. Picture editor Pieter Spaarwater could not remember if they had pictures of the men while still alive. He felt that even if they had, they would still have run with the picture they did because it was hard news. He felt had they had access to more pictures, they might have used more. They rejected a still shot showing the moment of the killing taken from the CBS television news, because of the poor quality. Taken from behind a fence and with colour lines across it from the television, it was a rather fuzzy picture (eg. fig. 17). He said they avoided using pictures taken from television because the quality was so bad. He said "the main consideration was this was very, very hard news. There were objections, we don't like showing bodies, but they were overruled by the immediacy of this picture." He said their main problem at the time was getting access to

pictures. Die Burger were using an old land line, where it took about half an hour to transmit the three colour separations needed for a colour picture.[5]

In their first edition, the Cape Times ran the AP picture of the three dead men large and in colour. In the next edition, they inserted into the bottom right of the picture a small black-and-white of the CBS television still. Cape Times night editor Evelyn Holtzhausen described the second edition as "a perfect example of schizophrenia". He said "obviously in this picture I couldn't decide which is a better picture, so I used them both and as a result lost the impact of both pictures..."

He believed both were good pictures but that in retrospect, the CBS television still might have been better. The poor quality was not a concern. "When the drama is there, quality of the picture does not matter. It's only when you have got the time that quality matters and with a dramatic picture, quality is no problem. Obviously the more quality the better, but sometimes the lack of quality shows the drama of it, it enhances it."

He felt he had shied away from using the CBS television still because it showed the actual death. "I think that at the time we considered [whether it was] really necessary to show that the instant of death - were we getting involved in gratuitous violence? What was the object of our using the picture - that picture of the guy who was shot? I know the television made a meal of it and the Sunday Times made a meal of it, but the readership of the Cape Times is fairly conservative and often when we go overboard we get a lot of reaction. So the Sunday Times would get away with some things that the Cape Times would not."

Chief sub-editor Godfrey Haines felt that the pictures were very powerful. He said: "I think the picture was the focus here, certainly not the story. The pictures said everything..." He recalled some debate over whether to use pictures of the men before or after they were shot. "This was a matter of great discussion about whether or not to use the picture [of the bodies], but I thought we should. It was far too dramatic to have ignored." He continued: "The reason

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[5] In contrast, only a year later, having changed to electronic transmission, they were getting images almost instantly.

for [not using the picture of the men still alive] was it wasn't close enough to bring out the expression on their faces or the terror. I had to weigh it up: 'Look, are we going for the expression before the shooting or the actual picture after the shooting ?' and I think [the picture of the bodies] was the better picture."

The Saturday Weekend Argus ran the same lead picture as the Cape Times, of the three men dead. On page 21 they ran two pictures, one of the policeman with the bodies in the van and below it the two men alive with their hands up.

Picture editor Jim McLagan's first concern was that "the Cape Times had broken the story on the killing. So we had to take it further, that is what happens after the killing. ..it's now twelve hours after the Cape Times." They had relatively few pictures available them, mostly from the same source as the Cape Times. He said "we try to avoid [using the same picture as the Cape Times], but in fact the story was so big, we felt the interest was still there to justify using it." He said the two pictures on page 21 were chosen to show the other sides of the story- the two men before they were killed and their bodies being taken away.

Looking at the pictures in retrospect, he was not sure he should have used the one of the bodies in the van. He said: "These decisions are made on the spur of the moment and you're guided by what you feel is correct. There are occasions where you think about it afterwards and you wonder whether you have done the right thing but it does not happen all that often."

He was bothered by the fact the face was showing. "I would have thought twice about showing a face. There is a slight difference using it here and using it in Johannesburg, you know. There is a factor in the covering of riots and things like this. Is it going to help incite further violence? And if it's local violence, yes it might, but if it's Transvaal violence, no it might not, so there is also that factor be taken into account." He added that "if you are thinking of the effect it would have on people's relatives, they are not going to see the papers so it's not quite the same as making the decision in the Transvaal."

Sunday newspapers

McLagan then had to select pictures for the next day's Sunday Argus. The Sunday Argus ran the same picture as a small two column picture on the front page with a cross-reference to "Dramatic story and pictures on page 3". The lead picture was of a Bophuthatswana soldier standing guard over arrested looters in Mafikeng. On page 3, they ran four pictures - the men getting out of the car, lying on the ground, the CBS television still and the dead bodies on ground.

McLagan said that the cross-over readership for the Saturday and Sunday newspapers was quite small, below 20%. He said: "By and large we have a policy between Saturday and Sunday, everything is taken out and we start again, except of course, big stories like this, when it's an ongoing thing." He added: "On a story like this, it's the same event, but it's different stories for different people, different angles. I mean, it's an ongoing story... A story of this magnitude does not suddenly die. It can go on for a few days, and this was what was happening here. We have actually re-used two pictures but the others were all new." These were pictures that had not been available for the Saturday edition.

Because of the ongoing nature of the story, "the actual killing part has moved out to page 3 and it's an interview with one of the photographers who was there. It's more colour. The whole essence is completely different from the Saturday."

He said they approached the story differently from the traditional Sunday papers. "The Sunday papers are slightly different to us in the sense we're seven day-a-week- they're once-a-week. For them it's still the major story and even then, I should imagine although it's a front page picture which was sufficiently different and dramatic enough to warrant taking the front page, the angles of the stories would have been adding to whatever information is already available."

The Sunday Times had an exclusive picture of the moment of the killing, taken by Bodenstein (fig. 15). By the time they came to decide on layout, they had seen the television coverage and the Saturday newspapers and knew that they had an exclusive. Because of this they decided to use it very big.

Assistant editor Hands described it as a "spontaneous raw news picture". It was both a very striking image and coverage of a newsworthy incident. He compared it with the images of the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald, Eddie Adam's picture of the execution of a Vietcong prisoner, and Nick Ut's picture of Vietnam children running from napalm.

The Star picture editor, Comley, called it "the epitome of the hard news picture". She said "it was clearly the best picture. He had actually caught that moment of impact, with the guy in the dust on the ground, it was an amazing picture." Rapport news editor Herman Jansen described it as "the ultimate picture".

The photographer, Bodenstein, said that the picture department had really pushed for the picture to be used. He said they "made big black-and-white prints and really showed [the editorial staff] what they looked like, because we deal with large quantities of visual material and one needs to really make things blatantly obvious if you really want them used."

The Sunday Times then used two other pictures on page 3 (fig. 16)[6], one of the journalists photographing the men lying on the ground and one of Wolfaardt crouched in the door of the car, hands up in surrender. Hands felt the picture of the journalists actually gave a different view. "When you're looking at the picture, you're really seeing it from the photographer's view. Whereas that particular picture actually reversed the process and showed the photographers, or the bank of photographers that were present, recording the event. Many of whom were in fact international people, so I would say [we used it] partly to actually illustrate the interest in the event."

The surrender picture was to supplement the execution picture on the front page. "It added to that picture. It showed that these people had in fact surrendered... In an incident like that, your idea is to capture both, in pictures and in words, the drama of the event. And that showed a stage of the drama which was the actual surrender."

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[6] These were Collingridge's pictures.

Sunday Nation ran three colour pictures on the front page under the headline: BYE-BYE LUCAS!. The main photograph was of a road littered with debris. Inset on the left at an angle were two smaller photographs of the AWB. The top photograph was a closeup of Uys leaning against the wheel with his hands up, with the body of Fourie next to him, blood spilling on the ground. An arrow took the viewer down to the bottom photograph, which was the same image, but with both men dead.

Sunday Nation had access only to images brought back by their photographer, Kendall Hunter. Sub-editor Michael Khakhane, who laid out the page, said they all felt really shocked when they looked at the pictures. "And then we thought these are outstanding pictures. We had to play them nice and big on the front page." At that time they did not know what images other Sunday newspapers had. But they were conscious of being part of a highly competitive Sunday market. Khakhane said "we had to use the best we had". They had a number of images, quite similar to the ones used.

Gibbs said the images were closeups but were cropped even further to bring the focus onto the subjects. "Obviously [the men] are the centre of focus. Particularly the hands up like that, the surrender pose. Including the rest of the background didn't add much to it." Khakhane said that the background picture was used to show how deserted the place was, to show how the people had scattered.

On page 4, in black-and-white, was a photograph similar to the first one on the front page but closer in and from a different angle, focusing on the face of Uys with his hands up. Gibbs and Khakhane were not sure why it had been used and decided on reflection that it probably should not have been. They said the reason was likely to be lack of co-ordination with the person laying out that page. Gibbs said "these things do happen, especially when you are under pressure."

City Press ran one colour picture over nearly the full top half of the front page. It showed Wolfaardt crouched at the front door of the car, with his hands up. Fourie lay in front of him, with Uys lying half off the back seat. Below the fold on the left was a colour picture of black youths with their fists upraised in a victory salute.

News editor Golani saw these photographs as an opportunity to drive a message home to his readers, "to show the country that we cannot afford to be at war with ourselves. This is the kind of thing that might happen if you push people too far and I personally think that the person who [shot the AWB men] had been pushed too far, because he felt he was defending his own people killed by the AWB."

He said it was a "newsy picture". He said it was not a nice photograph for relatives to see, but said that " when you are in a war situation and you are a journalist, it is your responsibility to bring the message home: to show the people what is happening around them. If you do not do that, I'm afraid that, as a journalist, you are failing the public." He said later that: "Looking at it now, it was very well that we decided to run this picture and actually show what a civil war can lead to. And tell South Africa that this is what we must stop."

He also said: "you sell more issues with these sort of pictures. We did sell quite well with that. I don't know what comes first. Is it to drive the message home, that actually motivates us to make such decisions, or is it profits? I'm not too sure." In selecting the image they took the best image available, the "one that tells the story", not paying too much attention to what had been used in the Saturday newspapers.

The photographer, Mboweni, took a wide range of pictures but was most interested in Wolfaard's face. He said: "what attracted me to come closer is the desperation of this guy, [rather] than the ones who were laying there. One was already dead and these two were still alive and the desperation of this guy, it's what prompted me to come closer and get his facial expression, how desperate he was, because he had no other way but to give up."

Mboweni said he was pleased with the way his image was used. "They used it in a way that illustrated exactly what happened in the scene and they used it big, which is the way one should use the pictures to attract the reader, if it's used in the poster or the front page."

This picture was designed to interact with the other picture on the page, of the youths celebrating. Golani said "You are showing two different sides of feeling. Looking at it now, it is bad, the merrymaking. It is merrymaking from the side of the people who are thought to

have been protected against those who have been displayed here as dying. And this was the reality and we had to bring the message home."

Rapport, under the headline: IS MY PAPPIE DOOD?[7], ran two colour photographs, the one inset into the other (fig. 17). The larger one was the CBS television still. Inset into it was a smaller picture of Wolfaard lying on the ground with his head up.

Rapport used it as their front page lead picture. Assistant editor Chris Karstens said that "obviously that was the news picture".

News editor Herman Jansen said it was a terrible picture, apparently referring to the content it depicted, rather than its pictorial quality, but said "we had to use it". Part of his rationale was that the picture had not been used that extensively by the Saturday newspapers. (The Citizen had used it on page 3, the Cape Times as a second picture on the front page.)

The inset of Wolfaard was included because he was the man referred to in the headline. Assistant editor Chris Karstens said the headline and story were dictated by the need to find another angle on a news story running since Friday. In this case, they chose the reaction of the wife and daughter of Wolfaard who only became aware of his death, when they saw the killing on the Friday night television news.

On page 3 were six photos, five in colour (fig. 18). Just left of the headline was a small photograph of an AWB cap on the dashboard of the car. A five picture series ran one below the other for the full height of the page. It was headlined: So het hulle gesterf.[8]

The first showed Wolfaard climbing out of the car; the second was a closeup of Fourie's body, with blood spilling out around his face. The third showed Uys lying by the car wheel, while six soldiers stood and looked down at him. The fourth showed the three men lying dead on the

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[7] Trans: Is my daddy dead?

[8] Trans: This is how they died.

ground. The fifth was a closeup of the bodies in van, with one blood-covered face clearly visible.

News editor Jansen said that it was a news event and that at the time they were trying to present it as strongly as they could. He said they received a lot of criticism for the second picture, where Fourie lies in a pool of blood. In retrospect, he felt they should have left it out. But that in the rest of them there was not much blood. He said they had complaints but that nobody complained to the Media Council. "That's supposed to be the bottom line."

He said there had been debate about the graphic nature of the pictures and that Rapport tended not to be too graphic in coverage of such events. "All the pictures were either from Beeld or from AP, not from ourselves. The photographers who were there from AP or from Beeld or from the rest of the newspapers thought these pictures have news value as well or they would not take them."

He said, on reflection, that perhaps the coverage was a bit graphic. "You sort of decide on every story and every picture the moment you've got it in front of you and the story is still hot and warm and everybody is talking about it, so it's very difficult. In retrospect, now, maybe it's a bit graphic, but if it happens tomorrow, we'd probably do it again."

Other newspapers

The Sowetan, who do not publish on Saturdays, ran two pictures, one on Monday, one on Tuesday. On Monday, on page 3, they ran the AP colour photograph of the policeman and the bodies in the van, with a caption, but no story. On Tuesday, they ran a picture page with five photographs of various incidents in Bophuthatswana from the past week. The middle photograph, in black-and-white, was the AP picture of the bodies on the ground.

Picture editor Mgwaza felt the story was flat from all the media coverage from Friday to Sunday. Nevertheless, he said they believe they have "a Sowetan reader". "We have readers who buy the Sowetan only... The Star can scoop us but people say 'but we haven't seen it in the Sowetan.'" So they decided to put a picture in. The bodies in the van were chosen for two reasons. One was that they felt the picture of the actual assassination was over-used. Second,

Mgwaza said "I found this picture a bit milder, compared to the other of the actual assassination."

On Tuesday, they decided to run a picture page on the events in Bophuthatswana. Mgwaza said "we had our guys based in Bop, we had transmission problems, and we felt we didn't do it enough justice in terms of visual impact as to what was happening. And it was a big change because Bop was seen as one of those homelands that will never change, because the leader was saying 'not over his dead body', and it came like a whirlwind, in no time things just turned to the other side." They went back to a picture of the actual incident " to avoid a repetition of yesterday's picture but again we avoided the guy ...actually pointing the gun at somebody's head."

The Sowetan seemed to take a hard line in rejecting images that were potentially gruesome. Mgwaza said "maybe because of reaction from the community, you know we have been under fire most of the time that we shouldn't have used those sort of pictures. Maybe now we have developed this kind of self-censorship, kind of a feeling in the office, what is the reaction going to be if we use this picture?"

The Daily Dispatch, which first came out on the Monday, did not use any of the pictures. Editor Gavin Stewart said that the story had been on television and the pictures had been seen in all the Sunday newspapers. The newspaper concentrated on local news - a lead story on a killing in a nearby township and a picture of Red Nose Day.

Important factors emerging from the case study

One of the more striking features of this case study was the lack of agreement on various issues. Beyond the fact that these images were highly newsworthy and very dramatic, there was considerable disagreement. Weekend Star editor David Allen said that news is essentially a matter of personal perception. "You can have six editors often disagreeing on the same topic, six different views of what the news is. Not really what news is, we all know what news is, but the actual newsworthiness of the news and how it should be played and how it should be projected."

In this case how the news should be projected was not agreed upon. There was disagreement over whether pictures of the men alive or dead were more effective. Some newspapers, such as Die Burger and Cape Times felt that the dead bodies were *the* news picture (given that they did not have the moment of killing). This seems to be on the assumption that the pictures illustrated the main news thrust - that these men died. Other newspapers, such as the Eastern Province Herald and City Press, chose, instead, the men alive, going for the drama and human emotion of the surrender over the prosaic depiction of corpses.

The CBS television still (fig. 17) also aroused different opinions. Some newspapers felt the quality was so poor that it could not be used, such as Die Burger. At the Cape Times they felt the poor quality potentially enhanced the drama of the image. Other newspapers, such as Rapport, felt the news value of the image outweighed the poor quality. This became a conflict between aesthetic forces - what makes a good picture, and news forces - capturing the moment. In different newsrooms these forces were given different weightings.

The news value of the image was also contentious. For newspapers, such as Rapport, it was the ultimate news moment. Yet other papers, like the Cape Times and Sowetan, considered the moment of death to be gruesome and showing gratuitous violence.

Another image that raised differences was that of the bodies in the police van. Both the Weekend Argus and Rapport expressed reservations about the wisdom of having used such a graphic image. Yet the Sowetan chose it as being less gruesome than that of the bodies on the ground. Rapport, the only newspaper to report complaints from readers, had increased the impact of the image by cropping out the policeman, so focusing entirely on the bloody bodies.

What all agreed on was that the Sunday Times had the ultimate picture (fig. 15). Like the Boipatong and Inhlanzane pictures, it captured the moment of killing, rather than the aftermath. But it was even more powerful, because in this case, the killing was not a drawn-out process, but a sudden death.

And unlike those examples, its newsworthiness lay not simply in the drama internal to the image, but in the event itself. The revolt in Bophuthatswana, the failure of the AWB to seize

control, their defeat at black hands- all these were major news stories. Even without any pictures, they would have been front page news.

But in this case, the news value and the dramatic content of all the images, but particularly that of the Sunday Times, fed into each other. The event came to be seen as the turning point in the power relations between the white right and the black majority. It took a photograph to freeze the moment those power relations changed.

The Eastern Province Herald, Die Burger, Rapport and the Weekend Star all emphasised the power of the photograph over television when it comes to freezing a moment and allowing it to be looked at again and again. Wilson of the Eastern Province Herald said "the frozen moment, that still picture that captures the moment like this one [of the surrender], does, to me has a lot more impact [than television]."

Other than that, the same factors occurred as had been evident in the other case studies. Access to images was a problem, especially for the Saturday papers, having to rely on a limited number of AP images. This meant considerable repetition of pictures.

The positive force of newsworthiness overcame the traditional negative of not wishing to repeat images the competition is using or has used. Nevertheless, there was a concern to use new pictures, where possible, and coverage dropped off sharply in the following week, due, largely, to extensive coverage in both newspapers and television at the weekend.

There was also continual pressure to find a new news angle on the ongoing story, particularly given that the story broke on a weekend, so the dailies had to follow up the extensive coverage in the weekend newspapers . In several cases, notably Rapport and Beeld, a major factor in the selection of front page pictures, was choosing ones that illustrated the lead story.

A few papers expressed concern about showing bodies, such as the Weekend Star and Die Burger, but for most the newsworthiness again overrode this concern. Certain comments made at various papers indicated that these images did not cause too much concern about their gruesome nature, largely because there was not that much blood. It was only pictures of the

body of Fourie and of the bodies in the van that caused comment, both of which contain blood.

The point was made several times, by Sunday Nation and by Rapport, that decisions were being made under considerable time pressure. In the case of Sunday Nation, it led to an unintentional duplication of pictures.

Conclusion

As in the Hani case study, by far the strongest force at work in this case, was newsworthiness. However, here, it was not newsworthy because the individual participants in the drama who were well known. They were a part of a much bigger drama: in the short term, the fall of Bophuthatswana; in the long term, the shift of power from white to black in South Africa.

But, unlike the Hani photographs, the photographs here were, in themselves, newsworthy, because of the dramatic moments they captured. That drama lay both in the immediate action shown and in what it symbolised. There was no need here to search for a picture that told some kind of story.

The execution picture was a rare example of what is regarded as an ultimate news picture. That ultimate picture would seem to be made up of a brief and highly dramatic moment - of which the moment of killing is a prime example. That makes it, of essence, very difficult to record on film, as the difficulties of the photographers showed, and its rarity adds to its value. And then it is a moment that is highly newsworthy, so that its value lies not simply in the subject of the photograph, but also in the event that occurred, irrespective of whether it was photographed.

But each of the photographs used showed an image that came to stand for more than just the three deaths it recorded. What made this particular incident within the Bophuthatswana revolt so dramatic, was that it summed up in miniature the fall of the white right in the face of the growing power of the black majority.

And the camera was there to freeze that moment forever.

However, because of that very novelty of blacks having whites at their mercy, the pictures generated debate about potential racial biases in news coverage. In general, the black newspapers saw the historically white newspapers as playing up white deaths; as presenting those deaths as cold-blooded murder and as ignoring the many more black deaths that occurred on the same day.

In general, the historically white newspapers simply saw themselves as giving extensive coverage to very important news. But these generalisations are very broad. The historically white newspaper, The Star, was the only one not to run these photographs on the front page and they did so for reasons of racial sensitivity. All the black newspapers saw the assassination as major news, not because it was whites who died, but because of the political implications of the collapse of the far right in the face of black power.

As explained above, the fact that the pictures were so newsworthy did not make their selection or presentation any easier. One negative force was the gruesome nature of the photographs. The main criteria for gruesomeness was a visual element - blood, with only a few newspapers objecting to the inherently violent nature of the act depicted in the photographs.

Another negative force was the fact that the event was extensively covered in other media, many using similar photographs. This led to a search for different news angles and photographs to illustrate those news angles. For those newspapers who received it, the poor quality of the CBS television still was another negative force. But in most cases the positive forces of newsworthiness and drama overcame these negatives.

Fig. 15. Sunday Times, Sunday March 13, 1994, page 1.

LAST INTERVIEW ... minutes after answering questions from this group of SA and international journalists, the three men lying on the dusty road were executed by members of the Bop security forces

The bullets that no one expected

By PETER De IONNO

THE execution of the rightwingers in Mafikeng was as unexpected as it was brutal.

No one expected it to happen. Not the journalists crowding around the scene to see and interview some of the gunmen who invaded Bophuthatswana, not the black civilians, not the police who had them under arrest, and certainly not the victims themselves.

When the man who had killed one of the rightwingers turned his gun on journalists and others, cover and safety were my only thoughts. As others sheltered behind a brick wall, I dived into an ornamental garden.

A minute before I had interviewed both the victims. They were subdued and frightened but spoke readily. They were under arrest and the police, although agitated, were not mistreating them.

Every journalist at the scene treated the three men with compassion. But for the execution, it was like any other event in the middle of the week's turmoil that produced hundreds of casualties.

A short while before, colleague Ray Hartley who saw the rightwingers surrender, had asked Colonel Marx of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force to call for medics. He was told an ambulance was on the way.

Then suddenly they were all shot dead.

It was horrific and it was shocking, a sight I never want to see again. It was murder. Neither cold-blooded nor premeditated, but a crime of passion.

At least one other policeman had vented his anger by abusing and threatening them. I urged him to stay calm and he seemed to listen.

But after four days of rioting, shooting and bodies it was hard to find sympathy for the men who had come to the homeland armed and looking for trouble. They were the aggressors and were singled out by two angry men who made them pay the ultimate price.

Volksfront's day of 'glory' ends in hasty retreat

THE WEEK

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche was ordered to withdraw his rag-tag army of rightwingers from Bophuthatswana by a fellow right-wing officer and the head of the homeland's defence force. He agreed to do so and then reneged.

The result: three of his men were killed after a shootout with Bophuthatswana Defence Force soldiers and an unknown number of black civilians were slaughtered or injured in shootings by out-of-control rightwingers.

Allegations of random violence emerged in the wake of the rightwingers' brief "invasion" of Mmabatho this week.

[illegible]

Thursday night, he instructed Colonel Manne Botes to tell Mr Terre Blanche to withdraw his men immediately.

"His reaction was that he did not take orders from colonels. Mr Terre Blanche was accompanied to Mmabatho, where I personally made it clear to him that he and his men should leave.

"Mr Terre Blanche was visibly upset but, after lengthy discussion, agreed to leave. Regrettably, he reneged."

On Friday, after AWB members had opened fire on BDF troops at the Molopo military base, the man in charge of the AVF force, former 32 Battalion commander Colonel Jan Breytenbach, told AWB chief of staff "General" Alec Cruywagen to withdraw. The AWB men at first refused.

When the AWB did move out, according to the Sunday Times source, "it wasn't even in a proper convoy, and they started firing at random".

"Shortly after three AWB members were shot in the street, they radioed back to the airport that a convoy of BDF armoured vehicles was heading our way."

Most of the 3 500 men at the base then withdrew in convoy, leaving about 150.

At dusk, General Viljoen arrived and the SADF moved in to secure the area. [illegible]

AWB member Alwyn Wolfaardt surrenders to Bop forces. A fatally wounded Nic Fourie lies [illegible]

Police loot stores

By MPHO KOBUE

MORE than [illegible] Bophuthatswana policemen and defence force members in the Odi region were seen slinging their rifles and other weapons over their shoulders and looting shops in the Mabopane Central City shopping complex on Friday afternoon.

[illegible]

Fig. 16. Sunday Times, Sunday March 13, 1994, page 3.

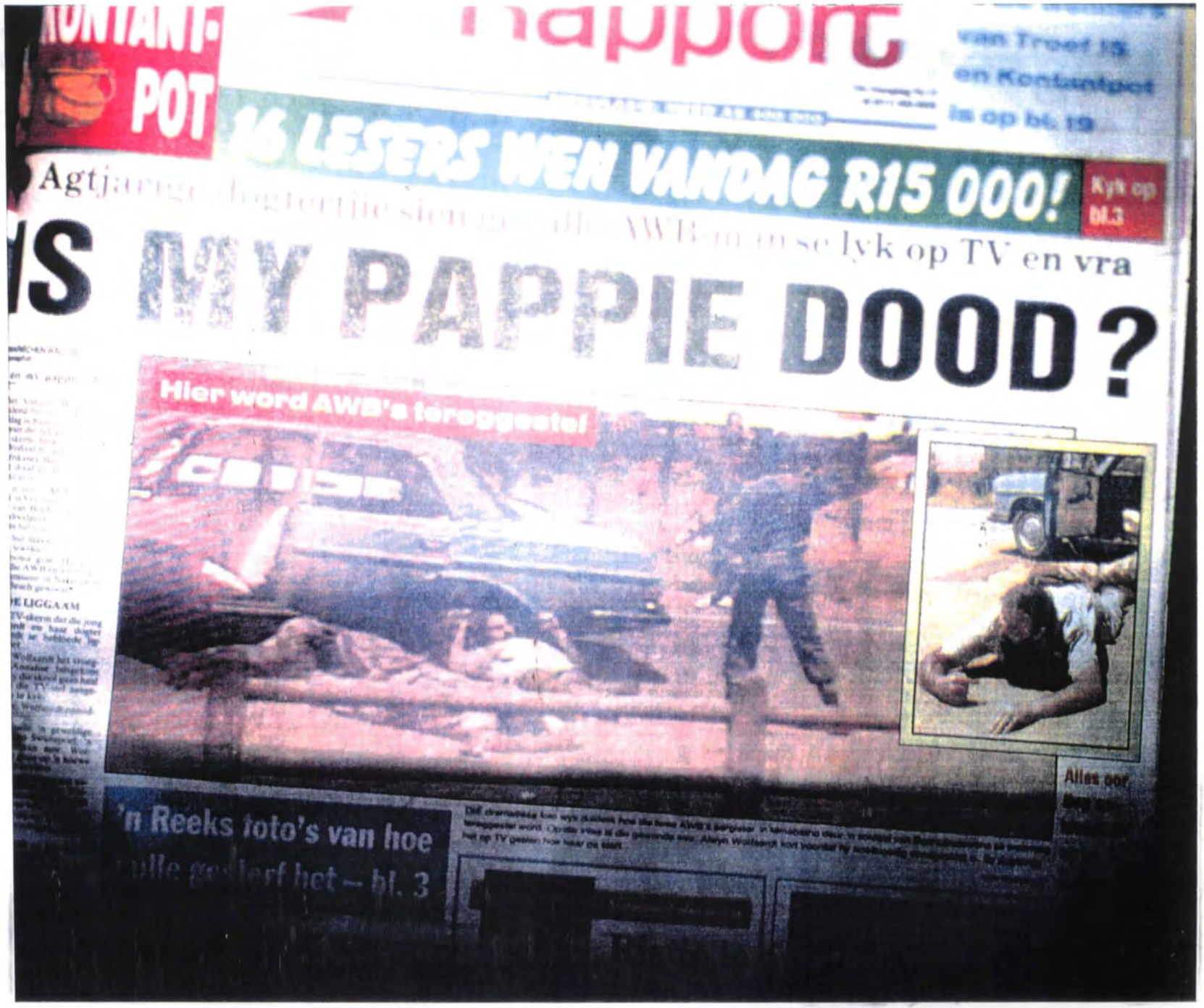


Fig. 17. Rapport, Sunday March 13, 1994, page 1.

Fig. 18. Rapport, Sunday March 13, 1994, page 3.

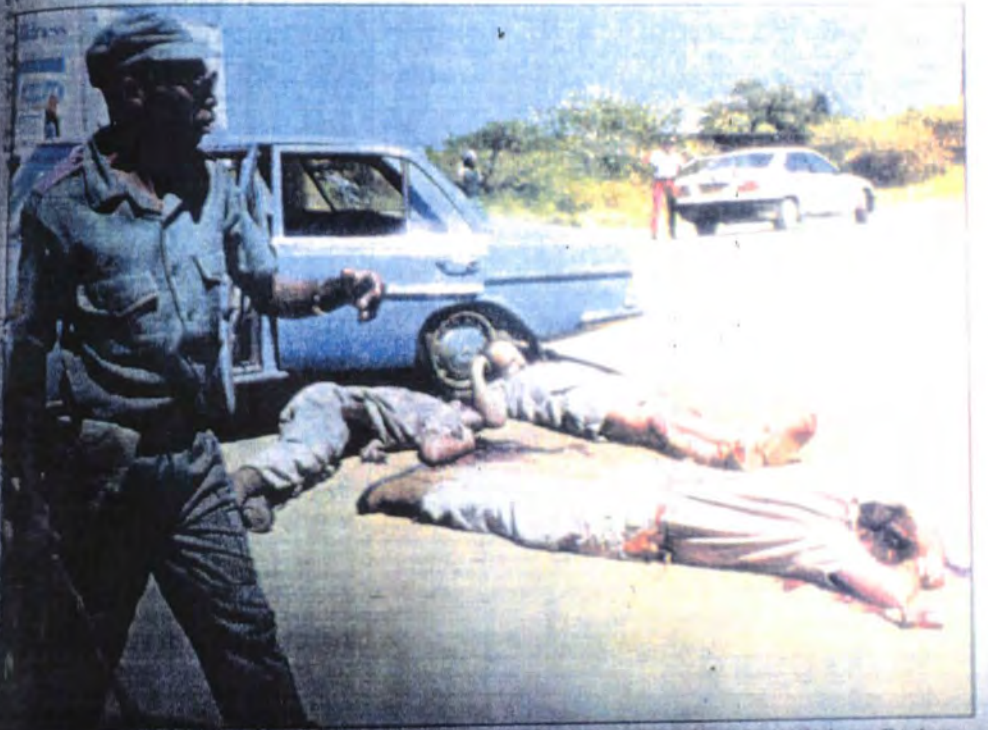
Fig. 19. Beeld, Saturday March 12, 1994, page 1.

Fig. 20. Beeld, Saturday March 12, 1994, page 2.

BOP MAYHEM

Grip of fear vanishes when homeland's armoured vehicles roll into view

Wild cheers as the defenders return



[illegible] lie beside their car as a Bophuthatswana policeman looks on. The three [illegible] the right-wing occupation of Mmabatho. PHOTOGRAPH: AFP

JUBILATION greeted the soldiers who rolled into Montshiwa town to order out the AWB. **JOHN PERLMAN** reports.

[illegible]

In a week that has seen people jump from hope to deep despair and back again, this was possibly the most dramatic change of all. Minutes before [illegible] the streets of Montshiwa in a grim grip. With the air greyed by the smoke from smouldering tyres and fiercely burning Bophuthatswana police vehicles, residents stood talking anxiously about the white men with guns who had taken over their streets.

"Where is the SADF?" one youth asked. "Surely they must come." Said another: "Tonight we shall have to protect ourselves because they are going to come into our homes."

Someone came running across from a nearby house. "There is a man there, the AWB have shot him," he said.

As the crowd moved over to where the injured man lay, another youth came bouncing down the road on a tractor. Another shooting just up the road, and this time someone was dead.

As the crowd gathered around the injured man, Thabelo Bume's story was told again and again.

He had been walking home. He had been stopped by three men, their faces hidden in masks. And they had blasted a shot through the left side of his stomach.

As youths hailed a taxi to take Bume to a doctor, another said: "Mr Mangope has sold us to the AWB and now he has gone."

INVADERS: A group of rightwingers enters the Bophuthatswana capital yesterday. PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

Earlier a young priest had driven up in a red van, climbed on the roof and — with arms outstretched and palms down — appealed for quiet. With a police vehicle burning just a few metres away, he said: "We understand that you are angry. I am angry with Mangope. But we don't want to lose anybody. We all need to go to the new South Africa."

People young and old nodded and clapped. One young man yelled out: "The AWB is killing us. Give us arms." Said another: "Tell the Bophuthatswana Defence Force to protect us."

Somebody must have done just that. As a convoy of BDF armoured vehicles moved closer to town, the throngs cheering them on grew larger.

Once inside town, the soldie[rs] — machine-guns at the ready — herded bakkie-loads of rightwin[g]ers together. As they set abo[ut] running them out of town, bla[ck] people who had ducked in[to] doorways as the AWB bakki[es] rolled passed came rushing on[to] the pavements, shouting a[nd] waving. "Get those bastards o[ut] of here," screamed one.

The soldiers themselves ke[pt] pointing fingers towards Lichte[n]burg. You could hear them sho[ut] "AWB out". As one convoy [of] bakkies headed for the Sou[th] African "border", a short volle[y] of parting shots was fired in[to] the air over their roofs.

One convoy of AWB men l[eft] by a different route. Taking t[he] winding roads through Mo[nt]shiwa, men in bakkies and ca[rs] blazed away at people as th[ey] passed. Three of them paid [a] deadly price: shot dead by B[o]phuthatswana police whose be[ll] they had fired at.

Long afterwards, their bodi[es] lay slumped against a blue Me[r]cedes-Benz in which they ha[d] gone to war. The car's op[en] backdoor revealed the tin[y] brown suitcase in which one [of] them had packed his overnigh[t] gear.

Residents looked on from [a] distance, some peering out fro[m] behind walls because "the AW[B] might come back". But othe[rs] who passed in cars hooted a[nd] waved. And as an armoured c[ar] of soldiers came past, one turn[ed] to the policeman standing by a[nd] waved — a fist up in the air a[nd] then a thumbs-up.

[illegible] men executed [illegible] crowd

Fig. 21. Weekend Star, Saturday-Sunday March 12-13, 1994, page 3.

Chapter Eight

The Death of Ken Oosterbroek

Introduction

The death of news photographer Ken Oosterbroek was to give rise to some unusual concerns in newsrooms, because of his close connections with the press. This was to make impartiality on the part of the gatekeepers much more difficult.

Positive forces in favour of using photographs of the incident included the newsworthiness of the event - he died in the course of duty and was reasonably well-known, and the dramatic picture that a fellow photographer took. But in addition to these, another positive force that was to emerge was the fact that he was a newsman and his colleagues paid him tribute by covering his death.

Negative forces included not only the common one of the gruesome nature of the incident, but an unusual one, in that his wife worked on the same newspaper as he had, leading to concerns about her reaction in relation to the use of pictures of the body. A limited number of photographs available also led to concerns about what the competition were using.

Context

In April 1994, violence broke out in the East Rand, near Johannesburg. On Monday 18 April about 12 photographers were in the township of Tokoza, covering running gun battles between hostel dwellers and the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) troops. A burst of gunfire from the hostel led to the photographers taking cover near the NPKF. It seems that the NPKF forces then panicked and fired at the photographers.

Greg Marinovich was wounded in the buttock, arm and thumb and Juda Ngwenya in the arm. Ken Oosterbroek, chief photographer at The Star, was shot in the chest and was dead within minutes. A few weeks before he had won the Ilford Press Photographer of the Year award for the fourth time.

Soon after this incident, the NPKF were withdrawn from active duty in the townships.

Pictures used in the press

The story was reported in the following day's newspapers (figs. 22-24). Of the 17 newspapers surveyed, 10 ran stories on the killing and two ran follow-up stories. All 12 newspapers used pictures, seven using pictures of Oosterbroek's body. No paper used more than one body picture. Of those seven, six were in dailies published the next day and one in a Sunday paper illustrating a follow-up story.

Of the seven body pictures, five were the same picture, taken by Joao Silva of Associated Press (fig. 22). Silva had pulled Marinovich out of the firing line after he had been hit. Once he realised Oosterbroek had also been hit, he came over to help. "Gary Bernard [another photographer from The Star] and one of the NPKF guys were already with him. They were lifting up the body. There was nothing I could do, so I took a few pictures and went back to helping Greg," he said.

Joao Silva's picture was sent out by AP. It showed Oosterbroek lying in the arms of Bernard, with a member of the NPKF leaning over him from the other side. Another photograph of Bernard lifting Oosterbroek's body also went out on the wire.

The last frames in Oosterbroek's camera, which showed the NPKF in front of township residents who were hiding behind a wall (main photograph in fig. 23), were available to The Star. This picture was also available to the other Argus newspapers - in this case, essentially to The Argus in Cape Town. Other than that newspapers had access to file photographs of Oosterbroek (eg. figs. 23, 24).

Newsworthiness

This was a story accorded front page importance by the daily newspapers. Nine of the 10 dailies ran the story on the front page, illustrated with one or more photographs. This would seem to be partly due to the intrinsic newsworthiness of the event, and partly due to another force discussed below - the desire to pay tribute to a colleague.

Ric Wilson, editor of the Eastern Province Herald, said "This picture probably did more to focus attention on [the violence in the townships] than any other picture, because it was not the participant in the violence who was killed, and it was more than just an innocent bystander who was killed... it was a member of the press..." He added that "to me this picture shows the senselessness of the township violence."

Robert Mgwaza of the Sowetan said its importance lay in the fact that, at the time, the media was under fire in covering the violence. Also it was not long since another photographer had been killed.[1]

The point was also made the Oosterbroek was reasonably well known and, furthermore, he had just won a major photographic award. If he just been a private citizen unknown to readers, it would have been much less likely that pictures of the body would have been used.

Thus Oosterbroek's death was newsworthy for two reasons. It illustrated both the violence happening in the East Rand, itself a newsworthy event, and the danger that news reporters were facing in South Africa. And Oosterbroek himself, if not exactly a public figure, was fairly well-known because of the awards he had won. This acted as a positive force in bringing these pictures to the attention of news editors.

Tribute to a colleague

However, in this case, there was another, rather unusual, force at work. This was the fact that he was a newsman and his fellows were paying him tribute through the news medium. Half those interviewed whose newspaper had covered the killing made the point that this story was not just for readers. There was another force at work - that of paying tribute to a colleague. Wilson and Gavin Stewart, editor the Daily Dispatch, both said that when a member of the press is killed, the press make a big issue of it.

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[1] In January 1994 freelance photographer Abdul Shariff was killed while covering a tour through Kathlehong township by ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo. Shariff was hit when shots were fired from a hostel at the tour party.

Pieter Spaarwater, Die Burger picture editor, said "We were all very down when we got [Silva's picture] and [publishing] it was sort of considered to be a tribute to a very great photographer." Jannie van der Merwe, typographical editor at Beeld said "everybody was in agreement that this was going to be the top photo. Even, if in the back of your mind, you are not so sure that your readers are interested..."[2]

So this was a case where perceptions of what interested readers took second place to, or were at least supplemented by, news people's concern about paying tribute to one of their own.

The role of relatives

Unusual circumstances at The Star were to highlight another set of issues - that of the rights of the relatives of the dead person. News people are generally concerned about not causing undue anguish to the relatives of the dead shown in newspapers. They may decide that the pain caused by an image will outweigh its newsworthiness and thus not publish it. Mgwaza of the Sowetan made the point in relation to the death of Chris Hani, that normally they would take the feeling of relatives into account in deciding whether to run photographs of corpses, unless the newsworthiness of the event was overwhelming. But that is a decision made within the newspaper. They do not contact the relatives and ask for their permission to publish.

But The Star staff faced not only the problem of making decisions in the face of the death of their chief photographer, but also the fact that his wife, Monica, worked for them, as a crime reporter. Picture editor Robin Comley went with Monica to the hospital. Comley returned to the office fairly late that night to find they had put a picture of Oosterbroek on the front page, along with one of the last frames he shot (fig. 23).

Silva's picture only arrived from AP the following morning. "I immediately thought we should use it," she said. And that is what she told the editor, Richard Steyn, when he asked her if she thought they should use it. She said Steyn was a little uncertain and spoke to Monica, who said absolutely not. "He came back and said "You see, Monica doesn't want to use it" and I said

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[2] Oosterbroek had worked for Beeld before joining The Star.

"Well, I think it is a bad decision". But in deference to Monica as his widow, we decided not to use it."[3]

Monica would later object to Reuters photographer Juda Ngwenya's submitting for an award a picture he took of James Nachtway aiding Marinovich, with Silva photographing Oosterbroek in the background. She said she felt it was very distasteful.

Comley said in reference to this incident: "I just think it's the most bizarre situation. I mean we take pictures every single day of dead people, dead children. We never go back to the families and say "do you mind if we publish this picture?" We don't even know who their families are; they're nameless people. I don't think we can now make a differentiation simply because it's someone that we know."

Comley said she had been shocked by the pictures, that they "looked absolutely terrible". But she said that "you have to try and distance yourself and not make a personal decision and an emotional decision. You have to look at it the same as you would any other picture in that instance."

Silva said in a published interview that he was worried about Monica's feeling but that he had done what he could to help before he took the photograph. "I knew it had to be recorded, and that Ken himself would not have wanted his death to go unrecorded. After all, he gave his life for this kind of work" (qtd. in Roper, 1994: 41).

Van der Merwe, typographical editor of Beeld, which did use the picture (fig. 22), said that some people would say: "But what about the family?". He said: "I think our responsibility is broader than only the immediate family. We've got to show what is happening to us [the press] as well."

Eastern Province Herald editor Wilson sympathised with The Star and said he might have felt differently had Oosterbroek been his photographer. However, he felt that one should concentrate

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[3] Comley said that Monica also initially refused to allow Silva to be a pallbearer for Oosterbroek because he had taken the photograph. According to Comley, Monica later said she could not believe she had made such a fuss about it.

on the fact that it was a good picture and "not think too much about the more intimate details of it like his wife being upset about seeing it..."

This incident highlighted the balance that news editors have to reach between concern for the feelings of those involved in the incident and the desire to make the event known to the public. Silva's picture was propelled forward by, among other things, its newsworthiness and its personal appeal - that it was of a news photographer. It was subject to the negative force of, among other things, being of a man whose relatives were known to those making the decisions about it. The closer the gatekeepers were to the relative, the stronger this negative force became.

It becomes apparent that the impartial nature of the news decision - the almost clinical balancing of newsworthiness against personal harm, becomes harder and harder to do the closer the decision-makers come to being personally involved in the news event themselves.

Gruesomeness versus a "good" picture

Of all the other newspapers interviewed who received the Silva picture, only one rejected it, the Sowetan. Their concern was not the feelings of the wife, but the sensitivities of readers. Their chief photographer, Mgwaza, said "Ken's picture was too gruesome, he was almost dead and his head was hanging, so it looked very bad."

The Sowetan ran two pictures across the top of the front page (fig. 24). One was a colour picture of Marinovich being aided by three fellow photographers, taken by one of the Sowetan photographers, Len Kumalo. The other a black-and-white portrait of Oosterbroek. Mgwaza said they decided to use a mugshot of Oosterbroek and then a photograph of the photographer, who was still alive, to cushion the horrible nature of the event.

Whether the Silva picture classified as really gruesome was not agreed upon among other newspapers. Beeld used the picture as their lead on the front page. Van der Merwe of Beeld said they had no hesitations about using the picture, explaining that there was not any blood, that it was "sort of clinical".

Die Burger ran the picture on the front page in colour but small and below the fold. Pieter Spaarwater, picture editor, felt that although the picture was grim, it was not shocking or off-putting. He felt that the lack of blood made it more acceptable. As was also evident in the coverage of Hani's assassination, Die Burger was very concerned about blood. Spaarwater said "We would use blood if it was functional, but then in black-and-white so you can't see the blood. We feel very squeamish about that sort of thing. I don't always agree with it but that is policy."

The Cape Times used it as their lead picture. Chief sub-editor Godfrey Haines said that although it was "a bit gruesome", that was what made it such a strong picture. He said he cropped it to make Oosterbroek the focus, to emphasise him. He said, that in the second edition, he added in a portrait because in Silva's picture the face was not that clear. "He was an award-winning photographer," said Haines, "and [the mugshot] was just to jerk people back, "oh, that was the chap" ". This linked back to the factor of fame. Haines was constructing a signpost that helped to indicate to readers why they should be interested in the death of this man - that is, he is someone they know.

Chris Karstens, assistant editor of Rapport, which ran a picture of Bernard lifting the body (for reasons discussed later), felt the violence of the picture suited the circumstances. He said that Oosterbroek went in for depicting violence, and it was in those circumstances that he died, so why not use a picture of him in the circumstances in which he thrived. He said: "We try to do something more when we use pictures rather than just using mugshots. And the whole story is about violence. I don't think that would be very appropriate to use a picture of him sitting in his lounge."

The Eastern Province Herald ran the death as their lead story, with Silva's photograph as the lead picture. Wilson described Silva's image as a "good picture" because it was dramatic; it had impact and it showed "the senseless carnage and needless death that was happening in the townships."

The Daily Dispatch ran the story above the front page lead with a colour mugshot taken by a Daily Dispatch photographer, Rob Mellin. Their lead picture was of Nelson Mandela with a local chief, which linked with the lead story. Thus it got precedence.

On page 3 the Daily Dispatch ran a black-and-white of Marinovich in hospital. Stewart said the page was probably laid out by a junior person who might have been told that Oosterbroek was on the front page so rather use Marinovich. Stewart said the Silva picture was a "very dramatic picture" and that in retrospect he would also have used it inside as well but that the problem might also have been one of space. He said it was only a 16 page paper so "we didn't have much space to play with." He explained that the size of the paper can make a tremendous difference to the size of the pictures and the number used of any one event.

On the whole, the photographs of Oosterbroek's body were not regarded as overly gruesome, largely apparently because there was so little blood evident. So this particular negative force was rather weak. A strong positive force was that Silva's picture was regarded as a "good" picture, largely because it was dramatic. One can speculate that the drama lay in the fact that, unlike for example some of the pictures of Hani's corpse, it showed more than just a dead body. It showed the reaction of the people with him when he died, all compressed into a visually arresting vignette.

The pressures of competition

The Argus was the only daily not to put the story on the front page. Instead it ran a story on Oosterbroek taking up most of page 13, with three black-and-white pictures. The main one was of Bernard carrying the slumped body of Oosterbroek. Then there was a one column mugshot and Oosterbroek's last frame of the NPKF. There was a small piece in the front page teaser box.

In this case, The Argus had the disadvantage of being an afternoon newspaper, with the Cape Times and Die Burger both already on the streets, with Silva's picture on the front page. Furthermore, their first deadline happened under immense pressure. The news conference was at quarter to seven, with the front page deadline being eight o'clock.

Picture editor Jim McLagan said they arrived to face a story well-covered by television, and by the morning papers. So they decided to do it as background news, putting it on their Spectrum page, which is devoted to analysis of news in the last 24 hours. There they gave the story the whole page. Printing constraints dictated that this page was generally not a colour page, so the images were all in black-and-white. They showed Oosterbroek's body, but did not use Silva's photograph which both their competitors had used.

They changed the pictures slightly in the second edition. Trying to keep the news as current as possible and in the face of continuing fighting in Tokoza, they moved Oosterbroek's last frame onto the front page, in colour. They felt it was neutral enough in its content to go with the general violence story. It was replaced on page 13 with that of Marinovich in the hospital.

Here the negative force of already extensive exposure worked against the positive one of the dramatic power of the Silva picture. The result was that another image was chosen.

As time passed

Although immediately newsworthy, this event did not have the holding power of something like the Hani story. The weekly and Sunday papers, if they covered the story at all, covered the funeral and carried a picture of that.[4]

The exception was Rapport, which illustrated their story on the funeral with a picture of Bernard carrying Oosterbroek's body. They did not have a photographer at the funeral. Assistant editor Chris Karstens said "Sunday newspapers tend to use more pictures than dailies. We try and use a picture with every story we run. We try to use a different picture [from the] dailies." So they had to use what they could get, which was a wire service picture, but not the one that had been so extensively used on the front page of the dailies.

However, news editor Herman Jansen said that even if they had a funeral picture, he would rather have gone with the body, feeling that it was the stronger picture. "The story says [Oosterbroek's] father-in-law criticised the peace-keeping force for shooting him. So [if you show his wife] Monica sitting there crying at the funeral, nobody knows what actually happened. ...for this story you had to use a picture [of the body]..."

Here, the negative forces of old news and of a picture already used by some other newspapers were overcome by the positive forces of a picture that was different from what other newspapers were currently using and that enhanced the accompanying text.

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[4] The Weekly Mail, New Nation and Sunday Times did not cover the event at all. City Press ran a story and photograph on the funeral.

Conclusion

Like the pictures of Hani and of the AWB men, those of Oosterbroek were generally placed on the front page. They were judged not to be particularly gruesome, largely because of the lack of blood, but, nevertheless, they did have to overcome the general reluctance to show bodies on the front page. This they did partly because of the newsworthiness of the event. Oosterbroek was a reasonably well-known figure because of the photographic awards he had received, and the situation in which he was killed highlighted the ongoing violence in the townships and the troubled part that the NPKF was playing in subduing that.

Nevertheless, Oosterbroek was hardly a public personality, and the violence of which his death was part was very much an ongoing event. The particularly prominent coverage of his death would seem to have been motivated by the desire to pay tribute to a colleague. The fact that Silva's photographic was a dramatic image was also a positive force.

Lined up against the photographs were their relatively gruesome content, and, in the case of The Star, concern over the feelings of a close relative. This was an anomalous situation for had Oosterbroek's wife not also worked for The Star, her opinion would never have been asked.

For most newspapers the positive forces dominated strongly. Paradoxically, had Oosterbroek been, for example, a peace monitor, the photographs of his death might well have been less likely to have received front page coverage in most newspapers and more likely to have been used in The Star.

eld

19 APRIL 1994 R1.00 (BTW Ingesluit)

Tanerig bloed by sy mond en neus uitkom, word mnr. Ken Oosterbroek, bekroonde fotograaf van The Star, deur sy kollega mnr. Gary Bernard (links) en 'n lid van die Nasionale Vredesmag gehelp. Mnr. Oosterbroek is dood in 'n skietery tussen hostelbewoners en lede van die Vredesmag in Tokoza.

Foto onder: Mnr. Greg Marinovich, die 1990-Pulitzerpryswenner wat gister in die skietgeveg gewond is, huil toe hy mnr. Oosterbroek se vrou, Monica (links agter), sien. By haar is mnr. Marinovich se vriendin, mej. Heide Rinke.

Foto's: AP

Top-fotograaf sterf in kruisvuur in Tokoza

vielswond in die arm.

'n Lid van die Vredesmag is in die been gewond.

Volgens 'n fotograaf van Londen wat ook op die toneel was, kon dokters geen koeëlwond aan mnr. Oosterbroek vind nie.

"Bloed het uit sy neus en mond gevloei. Hy het waarskynlik sy nek gebreek toe hy platgeduik het nadat die skote begin klap het.

"Die skietery het reeds vroeggegend in Tokoza begin nadat 'n ANC-plakkaat blykbaar voor een van die hostels gehang is. 'n Sporadiese skietery het voorgekom en die mediagenoot het die lede van die Vredesmag deurentyd gevolg.

"Dit is onsin dat die joernaliste onverskillig was. Die lede van die Vre-

Versekeraar ontvang daagliks honderde oproepe

Fig. 22. Beeld, Tuesday April 19, 1994, page 1.

Fig. 23. The Star, Tuesday April 19, 1994, page 1.

Fig. 24. Sowetan, Tuesday April 19, 1994, page 1.

Conclusion

Introduction

It becomes evident from the five case studies presented in this thesis that the history of the news photograph between the moment it is taken at the event and the moment it is viewed on the newspaper page by the reader is a complex one. During this period a variety of important decisions are made about which photograph will be selected to represent the event in question and how that photograph will be presented. Those decisions are crucial in determining what readers will see of the incident. They will also provide guidelines to readers on how to interpret what they see.

On first consideration gatekeepers were inclined to say that those decisions were a simple process of choosing "the best picture". One gatekeeper said in relation to how decisions are made that "there are no definitive answers, it's just gut feeling. " But further investigation revealed that such decisions were rather more complex than at first appeared. Another gatekeeper was certain that "we all know what news is" but then acknowledged that "you can have six editors often disagreeing on the same topic, six different views of what the news is." Although the initial reaction of journalists tended to be that any decision was based on an instinctive understanding of what they saw as an objective criteria of newsworthiness, this same reasoning was used to justify widely different usage of the same raw materials in photographic terms.

In the introduction this study suggested the hypothesis that there must in fact be a number of factors involved in the decisions about which news photographs are selected and how they are presented. And it was a consideration of these factors, consciously or unconsciously, that fed into decisions made on so-called "gut feeling".

It suggested that these factors were likely to be held in common across individuals and across news organisations and that their function would be to aid decision-makers in assessing material in order to streamline its progress from source to newspaper output. Present as patterns in the everyday decisions taken by these people, and taken for granted as common sense procedures, they would serve to structure the way news was created. This study set out to identify some of those factors.

It was suggested that how these general factors functioned in any particular situation would be determined by the specific context of the event, of the news at the time. The interrelationship of these factors and the specific context of the event was another area this study was intended to explore.

These initial hypotheses have been upheld by the analysis of the five case studies in question. Each set of decisions leading to the choice and presentation of certain photographs as against others, however much decision-makers may have seen the decision as simply about choosing "the best picture", turned out to be based on a variety of factors. This chapter looks first at what these factors turned out to be. It then considers how the interaction of these factors, as determined by the specific news context, gave rise to the final pictorial result. It looks at how these factors manifested themselves as positive or negative forces and at how the decisions were determined by a balancing of these forces. It considers how the relative strength of a factor could vary from event to event depending on the news context. It also looks at how that strength could vary during the decision-making process.

It then points out that it was not only the news context that needs to be taken into account but also the decision-making context, because similar factors in similar circumstances were handled differently in different newsrooms. Into this area fall the issues of individual choices, the group consensus, the culture of the organisation and of the social milieu, and unconscious biases of all of these.

Given that in most cases pictures were deemed suitable only once they had been modified in some way, this chapter then looks at the various ways in which they could be modified. Next it looks at the various elements beyond the decision-makers' control that limited their decision-making capabilities. These included the limited range of photographs available, the occurrence of errors and the pressure of deadlines.

Finally it considers the implication of this study for gatekeeping theory and outlines areas in which further research might be undertaken.

The most common factors

In looking at the results of all five case studies, it becomes clear that certain factors occur time and again. It would seem that there are factors that form the basis of most decisions made in relation to these photographs. The most common would appear to be newsworthiness. Newsworthiness is not in itself a factor but rather a catch-all phrase embodying several factors. It can be used very loosely, to imply all the positive forces acting on a photograph, or it can be used in a more narrow sense of the reasons why readers would want to know about this particular story. In this form it would consist of a combination of various of the traditional news values.

But in this study it would seem the decision-makers tended to embrace certain specific factors under the term 'newsworthy' and consider other factors separately. When asked in interviews to explain what they meant when they described an event as highly newsworthy they generally focused on two characteristics - that the person or people involved were well-known to readers and that the event in question had important political consequences, immediate and/or in the long term.

Judging the case studies solely on newsworthiness defined in these terms, the death of Chris Hani and the killing of the AWB men in Bophuthatswana would be regarded as the most newsworthy of the five case studies. Hani was both well known and his assassination had potentially crucial consequences for the negotiation process in South Africa. The AWB men were not in themselves well known but the organisation they represented was. And the manner of their death was of great political consequence in the context of the run up to the first democratic elections.

Oosterbroek would rank next in terms of newsworthiness. Decision-makers took into account the fact that he was reasonably well-known through his photographic awards and the manner of his death reflected on the current political unrest and the controversial position of the NPKF. The other two case studies would be in these terms largely unnewsworthy. Those involved were nameless, both victims and killers, and the incidents were simply one of many, part of a larger political crisis but in themselves unremarkable. The Star photographer Joao Silva described the Boipatong incident as journalistically "a non-story" for just these reasons.

That personal prominence and political impact should have been highlighted by decision-makers in explaining what they meant by newsworthiness may well be a result of the similar nature of the five case studies - incidents of extreme politically motivated violence. Whether other photographs would come up with other factors would require another study.

However, the fact that all of these case studies received extensive coverage made it clear that "newsworthiness" (as defined by decision-makers in this study) was far from being the only factor at work in the decision-making process. A number of other factors were at work, (many of which would traditionally also be considered to be elements of newsworthiness). It was often difficult to untangle one factor from another, as they tended to be closely connected. Dividing them into categories is a rather artificial procedure but does help to clarify what kind of issues were regarded as of importance. On that basis, other factors that emerged, given in no particular order of importance, were:

Novelty - anything out of the ordinary was valued. In these cases the pictures of the Boipatong killing and the Inhlanzane killing, as well of Bodenstein's execution photograph of the AWB, were all valued because they were unusual. They showed the moment and/or the process of the murder, something that, despite the considerable amount of violence in South Africa, was rarely captured on film. The Hani photographs suffered from the negative equivalent of this force, that pictures of bodies were commonplace. Novelty is of course a time bound factor. What was novel in 1990 with the Inhlanzane killing was less so two years later at Boipatong by which time photographs of violence had become much more common.

Action - photographs that showed events as they were happening, rather than just the aftermath, were more highly valued. In the case of something as relatively unusual as a murder, images of the murder in progress were highly thought of. Thus here the Boipatong, Inhlanzane and AWB images rated highly while the others did not.

Story-telling - photographs that contained within themselves some kind of dramatic tension were rated over those that simply illustrated the accompanying text. In those case studies where there was not obvious action, such as Oosterbroek and Hani, in general pictures of colleagues standing

in mourning over a body were rated above pictures of the body on its own. If those colleagues were themselves well-known, that increased their narrative qualities.

Newspaper policy - although no newspaper had a written policy, many had some form of informal policy. By and large these had to do with not putting bodies on the front page, and in some cases not showing bodies unless absolutely necessary. In general they took the approach that some other cogent factor was needed before a body picture would be used. Mostly this took the form of 'newsworthiness' as defined above - the person was famous or the killing politically important. Die Burger also emerged as having a strong policy against showing blood.

Gruesomeness - editors generally rejected images they considered to be too gruesome. How gruesome was defined varied considerably but areas that emerged as being of concern were blood; faces - in relation to blood, injury and expression; and to a certain degree visuals of extreme violence. Rejection of images on grounds of gruesomeness was justified in various ways - as potentially offending readers; as being sensationalist and/or pandering to readers' fascination with violence; and as being hurtful to relatives and/or admirers.

Concern about reader reaction - given the nature of the photographs under consideration, this was generally a concern not to offend readers. Some newspapers got greater feedback from their readers than others but on the whole the judgement on whether readers would be offended seemed to be based on personal judgement rather than on any type of reader research. But in the Inhlanzane case study editors were more afraid that readers might be bored by excessive repetition of similar types of news.

Concern for relatives - this was a desire not to unnecessarily hurt relatives by graphic coverage, particularly evident in the Oosterbroek case study.

Social conscience - this is a catch-all category for decision-makers' concerns about the welfare of their readers. This came up in various forms. In the Inhlanzane case it included a feeling of duty to inform readers of events that readers might themselves choose not to know about and a concern not to publicise events that children might copy. Sometimes, as at the Sowetan (chapter 3), it took the form of a concern not to numb readers to violence by overpublicising it. In the

Inhlanzane and Hani case studies, it meant trying to shock readers out of their apathy by using particularly gruesome photographs.

Timeliness - this was a desire to cover news as quickly as possible and not to use news that was more than a few days, or even just one day, old.

Exclusivity - a very high value was placed on photographs which no other newspaper had access to. As that was generally not possible, higher value was placed on images which had not been extensively used by the competition and on news in general that had not been extensively covered by other media. Where possible different pictures would be chosen, as with The Argus in the Oosterbroek case study. Where the story was of such importance that it was being extensively covered by all media, value was placed on new angles on running stories and pictures were sometimes selected simply because they illustrated the chosen angle, for example, Rapport in the AWB case study.

Dramatic image - a category exclusive to photographs, this has to do with images that not only recorded the event but did so in a visually exciting manner. Difficult to capture in words, visually dramatic photographs included Silva's photograph of Oosterbroek, Marinovich's photograph of the Inhlanzane victim being set alight, certain pictures of the AWB surrendering and the execution picture.

Picture quality - the photograph should ideally be of good quality. The CBS television still in the AWB case study was the most obvious example of the dilemna presented by poor quality images.

Variation of factors due to news context

Although many of the same factors re-occurred from study to study, their relative importance varied depending in part on the news context. An understanding of the interplay between the factors and the news context was crucial to understanding how certain decisions came to be made. Where one factor might be dominant in one study, a different context might make it subordinate to another factor at another time. Factors might emerge in the decision-making process as either positive or negative forces and influence the decision to be made accordingly.

For example, two apparently similar sets of photographs, such as the Inhlanzane killing and the Boipatong killing, could be given very different treatment because of the change of circumstance. A factor that emerged as a positive force in the first was evident as a negative force in the second, leading to very different results. In these two case studies much the same factors were present and in much the same degrees of importance. The photographs were dramatic, the coverage unusual and the subject action-filled politically-motivated murder recorded in sequence. The incidents recorded were not particularly newsworthy, being of unknown people and being in themselves of little greater consequence, and the images were gruesome. Yet the Inhlanzane photographs were much more widely used, and more were used in each instance, that the Boipatong ones.

Two factors were present in both cases, but in the first case as positive forces and in the second as negative forces. The first was that of novelty. In 1990 photographs of the 'black-on-black' killings were still rare. Although there had been considerable violence through the second half of the 1980s the State of Emergency had severely restricted the degree to which the press could report of them. By 1992 such images had become almost commonplace. Editors were receiving pictures of violence on a daily basis. This then fed into the second factor, that of repelling and/or boring readers. Newspapers were not using much of the violence reportage they received at least partly because they felt readers had had as much as they could take of it. Where these factors emerged in the form of positive forces for the Inhlanzane photographs, they appeared in negative form for the Boipatong photographs. That which was novel and likely to interest readers became commonplace and decision-makers therefore assumed it was likely to bore readers.

And finally there was a factor present in the Inhlanzane case counterbalancing the negative force of the gruesome content that was not present in the other case - that of social conscience. Editors felt they had a duty to show their readers the horrid reality, despite the danger of offending them in the process. Two years later many decision-makers believed readers had had enough of the horrid reality and economic imperatives dictated that they bowed to what they believed were their readers' views.

All decisions eventually came down to an interaction and a balancing of different forces. For example, similar factors were at work in the Hani and the Inhlanzane case studies in the question of presentation. Both involved gruesome photographs. Both were newsworthy, although for

rather different reasons. Hani was newsworthy because of the importance of the event as such. Inhlanzane was newsworthy because of the nature of the pictures - capturing a killing as it happened. Both case studies involved a balancing of the positive force of the newsworthiness of the event against the negative force of the gruesome photographs with their potential to offend readers.

Both incidents were sufficiently newsworthy for the photographs to be selected for use. But their presentation was problematic. At question was whether to place them on the front page, given the sensitivity given to the front page, or to put them inside the newspaper. In the two case studies the various forces at work balanced out differently. In the Hani case the newsworthiness was considered of the paramount importance and as a result the photographs were placed on the front page. With that as a given, pictures that were too gruesome for front page viewing were rejected, such as those showing Hani's face. In those chosen the blood was often cropped out to reduce the horror. In the Inhlanzane case the opposite happened. The pictures and their content were considered of paramount importance, given that their newsworthiness lay essentially in fact that the killing had been captured on camera. Considered too gruesome for front page viewing, all but one newspaper, City Press, placed them inside.

Different circumstances may lead to one factor overwhelming others that are traditionally of importance. The Oosterbroek case study demonstrated one type of balance between the forces of newsworthiness and of newness. It was emphasised in most of the case studies that newspapers seek 'new' information. Anything that is even one day old and/or has been extensively covered by other media is thereby reduced in value as a news item. Oosterbroek was newsworthy enough to make several front pages on the day after he died. But that was all the coverage his death received. If the newspapers ran follow-up stories the next day, they did not illustrate them with pictures of the body. Yet Hani's body was still being shown in newspapers three days after he was killed. The difference lay in the far greater force of newsworthiness at work in the Hani case.

Variation of factors through the gatekeeping process

Not only did factors vary in their weighting from event to event, they varied in weighting through the gatekeeping process. A force that might be comparatively weak in the selection process might make a strong comeback in the presentation process.

In the Hani case study, newsworthiness overshadowed several other negative forces normally taken into account in the decision to publish , notably reluctance to publish corpses, especially on page one, and reluctance to use gruesome pictures. Nevertheless the latter force played a major part in determining which particular photographs were selected and how they were presented. Thus all but two newspapers, City Press and Sunday Star, rejected photographs of Hani's face as too gruesome and several newspapers, most notably the Sunday Times, cropped photographs to reduce the amount of blood visible.

In the Inhlanzane example, the forces lined up against the pictures of the burning, that the gruesome content (with the attendant concern of not offending readers and not being available to children), and the absence of a newsworthy peg, were not sufficient to stop their publication. Nevertheless they ensured that, except in City Press, they did not make the front page but were tucked away inside.

The balance of forces also varied over time. In the Hani case study, over the four or five days in which the photographs were being used, the negative forces of 'old news' became progressively stronger and the positive one of newsworthiness weaker. This then influenced the way the photographs were presented, with their gradually being placed deeper in the newspaper and being less likely to be in colour.

Variation of factors due to decision-making context

Variation occurs not only from event to event, and through the gatekeeping process, but from newsroom to newsroom. The weighting given to different factors is in itself no way an absolute. A force that may take precedence in one newsroom may be overridden by something else in another. Thus it is that with similar raw materials and similar attitudes to what constitutes news, different newspapers may still come to very different decisions about how to present a story.

For example, with the Boipatong case study, where most newspapers decided either not to use it or to use only one of the photographs and not to give the incident great prominence, The Weekly Mail put it on the front page and ran a double page spread of six photographs. There, unlike on the other newspapers, the positive forces of novelty and of action were given greater weight than the negative forces of gruesomeness and sheer quantity of images of violence.

In the AWB case study the question of the quality of the CBS television still aroused different opinions. Some newspapers felt the quality was so poor that it could not be used, others that the poor quality potentially enhanced the drama of the image. Yet others felt the news value of the image outweighed the poor quality. Some newspapers, such as Die Burger, gave more weight to the aesthetic forces - what makes a good picture, while others, such as Rapport, favoured the news forces - capturing the moment.

But it is not simply a question of the same factors being given different weights in different newsrooms. In any situation there exist any number of latent factors. Which factors were picked upon and considered varied from newsroom to newsroom. In comparing the decisions taken at different newspapers, it became apparent they did not all assess the same set of factors. This was because decisions are related not only to the news context but to the decision-making context. What decisions are made, and what factors are taken into account in making those decisions, were a product of a combination of the individuals involved in the decision, the culture of the newsroom in which they worked, and the social milieu from which they came.

Personal judgement was always going to play a part. For example, in the Hani case study Sunday Star editor David Hazelhurst made the final decision and decided to use a photograph showing Hani's face. Unlike the decision-makers at all but one of the other newspapers, he decided that his readers would not be offended by the image. It was a decision based purely on "instinct" developed over many years.

However, given that most of these decisions were the joint decisions of several people, any decision was going to be the result of not only the balancing of different forces but the balancing of different opinions within the newsroom as to which forces were more important. Thus with the Oosterbroek case study The Star picture editor Robin Comley felt they should use Silva's picture of Oosterbroek, feeling the positive forces of a good photograph and of telling the news overrode any negative forces of hurting Oosterbroek's wife. However, she was overruled by her editor, Richard Steyn, who saw the negative force as more important than the positive.

Personal opinions were modified by the policies of the organisation. For example, Die Burger picture editor Pieter Spaarwater made it clear that, although he personally had no objection to

blood, his newspaper did and that made it an important factor in assessing whether a photograph was too gruesome for use. Another example of unwritten policy of a different form would be from Rapport where the fact that they were criticised by the Media Council in 1988 for using gruesome pictures on the front page had left them exceptionally cautious about photographs they used ever since.

Underlying both conscious individual and organisational choices was likely to be unconscious biases. Such things are not easily uncovered by the methodology used in this study but did perhaps appear in the AWB case study where black decision-makers read racial bias into the way some of the historically white newspapers dealt with the event.

Both individual and organisational choices were in turn influenced by the culture of a social group. Thus in the Inhlanzane case study the dominant positive force was the feeling that the newspapers had a duty to show these unpleasant truths to readers. Although this was true of both black and white newspapers, the black newspapers appeared to take a much more overtly didactic approach to their readers than the traditionally white newspapers did.

Even when decision-makers were making use of the so-called professional norms of news values there was no real consensus of what exactly the news value of a photograph was. Thus with the CBS television still showing the moment of execution in the AWB case study, some newspapers considered it the ultimate news moment, while others considered it to be gruesome and showing gratuitous violence.

The modification of selected photographs

The decision-making process was never a simple matter of acceptance or rejection. A photograph that was accepted for use could not simply be used as is. A place had to be found for it; it had to be sized to fit the page; it may have had to be cropped to fit. These were all technical procedures that had to be done and often the placement, sizing, colour and cropping of a photograph had little or nothing to do with its content and all to do with puzzling the pieces of the newspaper together.

Nevertheless, as has become apparent in this study, these were all ways of modifying an image that only became acceptable once it had been altered. The initial step involved selecting some

photographs from a larger set. In the Hani case study some newspapers rejected pictures showing Hani's face as altogether too gruesome. They may have accepted one of the body on the bricks on the proviso that the blood be cropped out, or that it was run fairly small, or that it was run in black-and-white or that it was not run on the front page. These were all measures used by various newspapers to reduce the impact of the image. Similarly they may have been used to enhance the impact, as City Press did in this case with an image taking up the entire front page above the fold, with the effect heightened by a red headline dropped into the picture.

Text too was an important tool in influencing the impact of photographs. Although not a focus of this study, it did emerge as an issue in the AWB case study with some decision-makers, particularly blacks, reading racist implications into the headlines written by some of the historically white newspapers.

Limiting criteria

Despite all the variables listed above, the nature of the news medium is such that it limits the parameters within which decision-makers can work. Choices were always dictated by what was available at the time. News photography is in its nature very limited in scope. Photographers can only capture those moments they are in a position to witness and even so they may miss them. The AWB case study was a graphic example of this. Several news photographers had left the scene before the execution took place on the assumption that the action was over. And of those who were there only one managed to capture the moment of execution. Hani was a typical example of news photography, where the photographers arrive after the event and are only able to record the aftermath. That was why the Inhlanzane and the Boipatong photographs were so highly regarded in pictorial terms, because they recorded the action rather than the aftermath.

The photographers had then to get their images back to the newspaper in time to meet the deadlines. The Sunday Star ran a more graphic image of Hani in their second edition, once the photographer finally arrived back at the office.

Newspapers which did not have their photographer on the scene faced further difficulties. The Argus was at a disadvantage because it often did not receive the best photographs from their sister newspaper, The Star. Die Burger was disadvantaged by its available technology, which made

receiving colour pictures over the wires a very slow process. All newspapers relying on the picture agencies were disadvantaged by the limited number of pictures available and the lack of exclusivity.

Another limitation was the problem of error. The results as printed in the newspaper may have had little to do with the specific intentions of any of the decision-makers. When the picture of Hani appeared in the Sunday Star with copious blood evident, that was the result of the picture being incorrectly cropped in the works. It was the opposite of what the editor Hazelhurst had intended when he marked the cropping. Similarly when Sunday Nation ran almost identical pictures of the AWB men on pages 1 and 3, it was the result of faulty communication between the layout people, not of conscious intention. At fault here was generally the pressure of deadlines. Decisions had to be made very quickly, often in a matter of minutes.

This pressure led also to hasty decisions that had decision-makers wondering in retrospect if they made the right choice. Some wondered if they had not been too cautious, such as Hazelhurst questioning if he should not have put the Inhlanzane burning photograph on the front page, instead of page 9. Others wondered if they had not been too rash, such as Chris Karstens of Rapport thinking that the photograph of the bloody bodies of the AWB men in the police van was too graphic and should not have been used.

The significance of the study for gatekeeping theory

In the introduction to this study it was postulated that a limited number of factors would underlie decision-making and that their importance would be determined by the news context of event being covered. This has proved to be correct, but it has also become clear that news context is not the only variable at work. News context itself is a complex issue, expressing itself differently at different stages in the decision-making procedure, and changing as time passes. Then, the decision-making context has turned out to be very important, as well, with the news context being interpreted differently in different newsrooms. Finally, the limitations of circumstance and the variables introduced by error have also been seen to play a major role.

This thesis shows that gatekeeping theory can be a useful tool for deconstructing the decision-making process in relation to news photography. Lewin's concept of forces provides a valuable

structure for understanding how factors interact in influencing decision. Nevertheless, Lewin' original structure, while useful, is only an outline. It is clearly too simplistic to allow for the complexity of the interaction of forces. Shoemaker's expanded study (as explained in chapter 1) provides a much more comprehensive analysis.

The material uncovered in this study suggests certain aspects that should be added to her analysis. One is the point that forces exist in relation to gates. At different gates, different forces can be expected to be in action. And the relative importance of forces is likely to differ depending on the gate they are interacting with. Thus forces that were weak at the selection gate may make a strong comeback in reference to presentation.

This study also strongly confirms Shoemaker's hypothesis that forces should influence not only whether items get selected but how they get presented. Indeed selection and presentation, although one can analyse them as separate processes, and they may be influenced by different forces, are essentially two side of the same coin. Frequently an image is only selected on the understanding that its appearance will be modified in certain ways in the presentation.

Then this study highlights another set of variables that she does not consider in detail, that of circumstance and error. The gatekeeping process can only work with the material available to it. In photography a very limited sample of all the possible photographs that could theoretically have been taken of an event will actually arrive for consideration. And the results that emerge from the gatekeeping process are determined not only by the gatekeepers' decisions but by human and mechanical error of various kinds.

Further research

This thesis demonstrates the insights that may be gained by using the theory of gatekeeping and of forces. As far as I am aware, this is the first study to apply gatekeeping theory to news photography, and it is hoped this work will provide a possible new model for photographic research, as well as suggesting other areas that might profitably be studied.

A different set of case studies would quite possibly reveal a different set of factors taken into account in decision-making. An area of future research would be studies using similar

methodology but different case studies, in order to determine whether similar factors occurred in different circumstances, for example in cases other than political violence or in newspapers other than South Africa. Such studies could also examine whether similar conclusions are to be drawn about factors and context interact in the decision-making process.

Another major area for further research would be reader reaction to case studies such as these. As many of the factors discussed here are based on beliefs about how readers are likely to react, whether it be concerns about keeping them interested or not offending them, studies of whether editors' beliefs actually match reader opinions would be very informative. It would be interesting to test editors' beliefs that various modification to images, such as putting pictures inside a newspaper, cropping out details like blood, or running them in black-and-white, reduces their impact and so their potential offensiveness.

The role of text in informing readers how to approach the interpretation of an image is an area covered only in passing in this study but an important one in newspapers. An analysis of these or other case studies examining the ways different presentation and textual context influenced reader understanding would be interesting.

Clearly of interest in South Africa, given our history, and probably elsewhere as well, would be a study of the extent to which racial bias consciously or unconsciously affects decision-making. There is a perception among some South Africans that white deaths (and actions of all kinds) get or have got more coverage than black deaths. A photographic study in this area could be valuable.

The wealth of photographic material emerging from the South African political conflict in the last 10 years would be fertile ground for a variety of studies, from the ways in which photographers and newspapers chose to depict the conflict visually, to the impact such images had on the opinions of readers. South African news photography is an untouched field in terms of research and it is to be hoped this study will be the first of many.

Conclusion

Research cited in this work shows that, on any given page of a newspaper, the photograph is likely to be the first thing the reader will look at (Garcia, 1991). Decision-makers interviewed in

this study were convinced of the importance of photographs in makeup of a newspaper. They believed that pictures provided a hook to get the reader to look at the news stories, that pictures could convey information quickly to readers in a hurry, that pictures conveyed the dramatic nature of an event in a way that words cannot, and that pictures attracted what many of them believed was an increasingly visually-orientated readership.

In deciding what photographs would fulfill all these requirements they relied on their experience in the news business. They developed the 'gut feel' for the 'good photograph'. In this thesis I set out to analyse that 'gut feel', to deconstruct the decision-making process in relation to selection and presentation of news photographs of political violence. The study was based on the hypothesis that seemingly 'instinctive' decisions, were in fact determined by a complex balancing of a variety of often conflicting factors.

Through the case studies I demonstrated that there were a fairly limited number of factors taken into account in making any particular decision. These factors took the form of positive or negative forces, of varying degrees of strength. The form they took was dictated by both the news context and the decision-making context. The resulting decision was determined by a balancing of these various forces. However, this study also demonstrated that this process was constrained by a variety of limiting criteria, from which photographs were available to uncontrolled variables of error in various forms.

In these case studies the decision-makers were almost always making important decisions under the pressure of deadlines. To do so, they had to draw on their previous experience to quickly assess the different factors present and reach a considered conclusion. All too often the limited time left little space for consideration. The gut feeling took over. One observation from this study was the lack of curiosity among news people about what other newspapers had made of the same material, about why they had reached a different conclusion.

Studies of this kind, by uncovering how decisions are made, and what they are based on, can make for a better understanding of how decisions are arrived at. In comparing the different result of different newspapers and analysing why they occurred, they can demonstrate that there is life beyond the culture and news values of any one newsroom. In the end their usefulness for the media lies in providing a tool towards better conscious decision-making.

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Appendix A

Content analysis

The content analysis form for each case study was identical except in the identification of the content of the photograph. Here one full form is given, that from the Oosterbroek case study, and then the content sections for the other four case studies are given.

A form was filled in for each photograph analysed.

CASE STUDY: OOSTERBROEK

NEWSPAPER:_____

DATE:_____

EDITION:_____

BROADSHEET:_____ TABLOID:_____

PHOTOS:_____ STORY:_____ NEITHER:_____

PHOTO: PAGE:_____

COLOUR:_____ B/W:_____

HEIGHT IN CMS:_____ WIDTH:_____

ABOVE FOLD:_____ BELOW FOLD:_____

CONTENT:

Silva's AP picture:_____

Mugshot of Oosterbroek:_____

Shot from Oosterbroek's last film:_____

Other (describe):_____

BYLINE:

AP:_____ AFP:_____

none:_____ photographer by name:_____

other:_____

CAPTION:_____

_____

_____

HEADLINE:_____

_____

OTHER PHOTOS ON PAGE:

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOTES:_____

_____

_____

INHLANZANE:

CONTENT:

Victim being led from station:_____

Victim being beaten/stabbed:_____

Victim on fire:_____

BOIPATONG:

CONTENT:

Victim being questioned:_____

Victim being hacked with panga:_____

Victim being beaten up:_____

Victim driven over by bus:_____

Charred corpse:_____

HANI:

CONTENT:

Body on bricks with facial features visible:_____

with face not visible:_____

with blood visible:_____

with blood not visible:_____

Sexwale laying ANC flag:_____

Body with the Tambos:_____

AWB:

CONTENT:

Men crouched outside car:_____

Men lying on ground:_____

Moment of execution:_____

CBS still:_____

Dead bodies on ground:_____

Dead bodies in van:_____

Appendix B

Interview questions

This is the guideline questionnaire form used. Depending on the interviewee's response and the photographs under discussion, some questions might have been asked in a slightly different order, and some further questions may have been asked.

At all interviews, photocopies of the pages in question were shown to the interviewee.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

General questions:

What is your role on the newspaper?

Who is involved in decision-making about photographs?

Who chooses the pictures?

Who determines placement, colour, cropping, size?

How are decisions made about photographs (individually or in conference)?

Is there any formal policy on picture use?

If not, are there any informal guidelines?

What issues do you take into account in selecting and presenting photographs?

Do you generally get much reader reaction to photographs?

Who do you see as the general reader of your newspaper?

Questions specific to the case study:

Selection:

Who made the decisions for these pictures?

Was the selection discussed and why?

Was anyone out of the ordinary consulted in coming to a decision?

What photographs were available to you?

Why did you choose the one(s) you did?

For what reason did you reject the other photographs?

Presentation:

Was the presentation discussed and why?

Why was it placed and sized the way it was?

Why was it cropped the way it was?

Who wrote the headline and caption?

What was the intention behind the wording?

Did anything else affect the final presentation of the photograph?

Other:

Were you influenced by what had been used on television?

Or by what had been used in other newspapers?

What do you feel was the point of running the picture - what was it meant to get across?

Did you agree with the decisions made at the time?

Did you receive any reader reaction?

In retrospect, would you have changed the selection and/or presentation?

What do you see as the point of using photographs in newspapers?

Appendix C

Reader composition and circulation figures of surveyed newspapers

The Argus

Regional, English-language, afternoon daily, based in Cape Town.[1]

Circulation: about 106 000.

Readership: mostly from Cape Town; 60% coloured, 30% white; 50% English-speaking, 40% Afrikaans-speaking; most with high school education; middle-income[2].

Weekend Argus

The Argus's weekend version, published on both Saturday and Sunday.

Circulation: about 121 000.

Readership: similar to The Argus except 40% coloured, 50% white; 60% English-speaking; middle-or-upper income.

Beeld

Regional, Afrikaans-language, morning daily, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: about 113 000[3].

Readership: mostly from the urban[4] areas of Gauteng; 90% Afrikaans; 96% white; most with high school education or above, and middle-to-upper income.

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[1] Unless otherwise specified, all information comes from the All Media Product Survey (AMPS) 1994, vol. 1.

[2] AMPS list eight income categories. Here they are merged to form three categories: lower income up to R1399, middle income R1400 to R5999 and upper income R6000 and above.

[3] The figures for Beeld, Pretoria News and The Citizen are taken from the weekly edition, not from the Saturday paper.

[4] Urban includes the two largest of AMPS's community categories - metropolitan areas of 250 000 or more, and large towns of 40 000 or more.

Die Burger

Regional, Afrikaans-language, morning daily, based in Cape Town.

Circulation: around 93 000.

Readership: 85% in the Western Cape, the rest in the Eastern Cape, 60% are urban; 50% white, 50% coloured; 90% Afrikaans-speaking; most with high school education; middle-income.

Cape Times

Regional, English-language, morning daily, based in Cape Town.

Circulation: about 61 000.

Readership: mostly in Cape Town; 40% white, 50% coloured; 50% English-speaking, 40% Afrikaans-speaking; most with high school education; middle-to-upper income.

The Citizen

Regional, English-language, morning daily tabloid, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 140 000.

Readership: mostly in Johannesburg; 60% black, 30% white, the remainder coloured and Indian; 60% of white readers English-speaking; most with high school education; lower-to-middle income.

City Press

National, English-language, Sunday paper, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 263 000 (up considerably from 135 000 in 1990).

Readership: read in urban areas in all the regions but predominantly in Gauteng (42%); 99% black; over half not having finished school; lower-to-middle income.

Daily Dispatch

Regional, English-language, morning daily, based in East London.

Circulation: around 37 000.

Readership: mostly in East London and its surroundings; 60% black, 30% white; most with high school education; middle-income.

Eastern Province Herald

Regional, English-language, morning daily, based in Port Elizabeth.

Circulation: around 30 000.

Readership: mostly in Port Elizabeth and its surroundings; 50% white, 25% coloured, 25% black; 40% English-speaking, 35% Afrikaans-speaking; most with high school education; covering the full spread of income groups.

New Nation[5]

Regional, English-language, Friday weekly tabloid, based in Johannesburg. (For a year from about June 1993 they published on Sundays as Sunday Nation.)

Circulation: around 30 000, (down drastically from 12 months earlier at 60 000).

Readership: primarily young males from Gauteng.

Pretoria News

Regional, English-language, morning daily, based in Pretoria.

Circulation: around 26 000

Readership: 94% live in Pretoria; 26% black, 68% white; nearly 50% English-speaking; most with high school education or above; middle-to-upper income.

Rapport

National, Afrikaans-language, Sunday paper, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 400 000.

Readership: both urban and rural areas in all regions, but predominantly in Western Cape and Gauteng; 93% Afrikaans, 70% white, 30% coloured; most with high school education; middle-income

South[6]

Regional, English-language, Friday weekly tabloid, based in Cape Town. (It closed down in January 1995.)

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[5] New Nation is not listed in AMPS. These details come from their own reader research.

[6] South is not listed in AMPS. These details come from their own reader research.

Circulation: around 6000.

Readership: predominantly coloured and Afrikaans-speaking.

Sowetan

Regional, English-language, morning daily tabloid, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 23 000.

Readership: largely urban, 50% based in Gauteng, the remainder in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and North West; 97% black; most with some high school education; lower-to-middle income.

The Star

Regional, English-language, all day daily, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 210 000.

Readership: from all the northern regions but not the Cape or Natal; 52% black, 38% white, 10% Indian and coloured; most of the whites are English-speaking; most with high school education; middle income.

Weekend Star (formally the Saturday Star)

The Star's weekend edition, published on Saturday.

Circulation: about 162 000.

Readership: much the same as The Star.

Sunday Star[7]

Regional, English-language, Sunday tabloid. (It closed in January 1994.)

Circulation: 110 000.

Readership: similar to The Star, except nearly 70% of readers were black.

It had been relaunched as a tabloid in 1992. Before that its circulation was 92 500 in 1990 and its readership 45% white, 50% black. Readers tended to be better educated and wealthier.[8]

Sunday Times

National, English-language, Sunday paper, based in Johannesburg.

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[7] These figures are taken from AMPS 1993.

[8] The figures are taken from AMPS 89/90.

Circulation: around 530 000 (South Africa's biggest newspaper).

Readership: mostly urban, 40% in Gauteng; 40% white, 35% black, 13% Indian, 11% coloured; 80% of white readers English-speaking; most with high school education; middle-income.

Weekly Mail (since renamed the Mail and Guardian)

National, English-language, Friday weekly tabloid, based in Johannesburg.

Circulation: around 29 000.

Readership: of mixed race but on the whole a relatively rich, relatively white, well educated audience.[9]

Weekend Post [10]

Regional, English-language, weekly newspaper produced on Saturday afternoon, based in Port Elizabeth.

Circulation: around 37 000.

Readership: based in Port Elizabeth and its surroundings; 75% white, 20% coloured; 60% English-speaking; most with high school education; middle-income.

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[9] The Weekly Mail is not listed in AMPS, so these details come from their ex-chief sub-editor, Laura Yeatman.

[10] It has a daily equivalent, the Evening Post but this is a very small local newspaper, so was not included in the survey.