T H E A F R I C A N P R E S S
I N S O U T H A F R I C A

by

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PREFACE

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Fred St Leger

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The sociological study of South African society has yielded much social survey type material, several community studies and an increasing number of macro-sociological analyses (e.g. Van Den Berghe, 1965; Adam, 1971; and Kinloch, 1972). Much ethnographic work of a high standard has been done, primarily in rural but increasingly in urban settings. What may be called work at the middle level, the study of society-wide social institutions, such as the church, political parties, the social services, the family and kinship (except for anthropological studies), occupational groups or the mass media has, however, been slower to develop, although a few very promising contributions have been made (e.g. Sherwood's study of the African clerk (Sherwood, no 1958)) and Kuper's study of the African 'bourgeoisie' (Kuper, 1965)), which are of particular relevance to this research. The present study aims to contribute to this genre by an analysis of one social institution, the Press, specifically of that part of it that may be described as African, i.e. those newspapers and magazines which are directed wholly or mainly at Africans.

In a plural society, riven by deep conflict, as is South Africa, where however the Press retains a considerable measure of freedom to contribute to the political process it is the political role which is of the greatest significance rather than, for example, the reflection by the Press of social values (see e.g. Hoggart (1957) or Smith, Immirzi and Blackwell, 1971, for good examples of this approach) or the internal organisation of the Press as a social system, although it is, of course, hardly possible completely to ignore these other aspects in any institutional study. The theoretical background to the research will be developed at greater length in Chapter II; here only a brief statement of the objectives of the study and the means used to achieve these objectives will be given.

In a 'plural society' (by Ven Den Berghe's definition (Van Den Berghe, 1969)) it is incorrect to speak of a single set of

social institutions serving the whole; rather there are 'analogous, parallel and noncomplementary' institutions within the segments into which the society is divided. So in South Africa one may distinguish (at least) English, Afrikaans and African churches, European (English and Afrikaans), Indian, Coloured and African school systems, an Afrikaans, English and African Press. In many respects these institutions are similar to each other, in fact, they not infrequently are formally parts of the same organization, such as the Dutch Reformed (mother) Church and the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, or similar in title and largely in organization, as in the case of the Methodist and the Bantu Methodist Churches. Nevertheless it is their separateness which is of major significance in the present context. Specifically, though there are important links (especially financial, and organizational) between the White[1] and African Presses in South Africa it is more appropriate to study these as separate social institutions than to look at the South African Press as a single whole. Although, as will be shown later, the ethos and values of the White and African Presses - the division of the former into the English and Afrikaans Press is ignored, for the moment - are in many respects similar, their position and functions in the social structure are very largely different. This is particularly true as far as their political functions are concerned. Comparison with the social and political functions of the electronic media is instructive. Radio - and presumably television, when it comes - can be seen as having the same functions for white and black. Hence a study of the radio in South Africa would involve analysis of one social institution, not two.

Study of the White Press would have involved a very much larger research effort than examination of the African Press, and much more - if little or nothing that could be called sociological - has been written on the White than on the African Press. Further,

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1. In this thesis the term 'White' will be used synonymously with 'European' and 'Black' with 'Non-European', or 'Non-White'. The three main Black groups will be termed, Coloured, Asiatic (or Indian) and African, in accordance with usual South African terminology. Because the 'white' newspapers - at least the English-language ones - are ostensibly addressed to all sections of the population it would be arguable to describe them as the 'National' Press. In the present context the term 'White' is, however, considered more appropriate.

study of the African Press probably does illustrate better than does that of the White Press the pluralistic/conflictual nature of the society. This then is primarily a 'political' study, if this term is broadly defined. It refers, in this context, not only to direct intervention in the political process at central or local government level but to what may broadly be termed the 'social responsibilities' of the Press (Schramm et alii, 1956). These will be discussed more fully in Chapter II; here it is sufficient to state them, with little qualification, as the Informational, Partisan and Social Critic functions. Accurate information is obviously necessary for political as well as economic action. The Partisan function refers to overall newspaper policy, expressed primarily but not solely in editorials; the Social Critic function refers to the role of the Press in uncovering abuses or injustices and getting them put right.

The social functions, and the responsibilities of the Press are wider then the political sphere, even if broadly defined. They include, for example, education, and entertainment. The contribution of the Press, as well as the electronic media, to the process of modernization is another aspect of considerable importance, especially in a semi-underdeveloped country such as South Africa.

Lasswell's famous formulation of the task of mass communications research to ascertain, 'Who says what, to whom, through which channel and with what effect?' (Lasswell, 1948) would seem to provide a ready-made framework for a study such as this. Attention has been given to these different categories in this research but the main focus has been on an analysis of the 'What', on the actual printed page. This is the measure of the paper's fulfilment of its responsibilities. The other aspects were studied primarily for the light they throw on the content analysis data. The ideals and aspirations of the journalists or newspaper proprietors, for example, are relevant to an understanding of what is produced; the effects of reading the newspaper on the attitudes and actions of the readers is obviously of great importance. The acid test of newspaper policy, of its 'character' remains the text. It is, moreover, more easily accessible to the

investigator, in libraries or on microfilm, than either the characteristics or beliefs of the communicators or the effects produced on the readers - this latter is particularly difficult to investigate in South Africa, because of Africans' suspicion of social research which in any way touches on politics.

This thesis while focusing particularly on the 'political' aspects of the African Press, does involve an overall account of this Press as a social institution. An analysis of that Press in its social, economic, organizational and cultural aspects is not only necessary for the understanding of its political role but serves to complete a rounded sociological account of the Press as a whole. In one aspect this is, then, in the nature of a case study, and therefore in the first place descriptive, in its approach. No study, however, can be without some framework by which the data are analysed. Quite early in the study certain expectations were, in fact, developed as to the probable nature of the findings, and the reasons for these. These expectations are, perhaps, not to be dignified as hypotheses, but they did serve as a further source of orientation to the material. From another point of view they constitute hypotheses for future testing.

These expectations refer, firstly, to the comparison between the African and White Press, secondly to the relationship between the structure and 'personality' of different newspapers in the African group and their performance, thirdly to the role of political, economic and social factors in bringing about changes in newspaper policy over time.

(1) The writer expected to find that there was a correlation between racial segregation in the society as a whole and racial segregation of newspaper content in white and black newspapers. Hence the two types of paper would be not competing so much as complementary.

(2) That the African Press, because its readership are mainly powerless, or nearly so politically and socially, would be in a much weaker position vis-a-vis Government than the White Press,

hence less able to adopt a strong line either as crusader or as social critic.

(3) That the policy and performance of different African newspapers was related to the degree of bureaucratic organization of the particular newspaper, to the degree of social cohesion within the office and to the values and attitudes of the staff.

(4) That African newspapers had become significantly less outspoken from broadly the time of Sharpeville because of Government pressures (actual or latent) and because of the growth of the economic base and consequently bureaucratization of the newspapers. The growth of the economic base has been due to greater capitalization and greater advertising, which in turn reflect both a 'normal' tendency to concentration in newspaper ownership and improving economic and educational standards of Africans in South Africa.

The next chapter endeavours to provide a theoretical framework for the study, drawing on the sociological analysis of mass communications as well as on theories of social change, conflict and modernization. Chapter III is a detailed, rather technical exposition of the methodology of the research.

Chapter IV gives an account of the organization of the African Press, including its place in the structure of the South African Press as a whole. It includes a study of recruitment, pay and conditions of service within each of the main newspapers. The accent in this chapter is on the close organizational relationships between the White and African Press, and the major differences in rates of pay.

Chapter V considers the economics of the African Press, including the provision of capital and advertising. The financial integration of the African into the White Press structure, the links between the latter and other industrial and financial interests and the growing importance of the African market to advertisers, are emphasised.

Chapter VI, Politics and the Press, deals with the relationship between political institutions, attitudes and events and the African Press, including a brief historical sketch of the development of the Press in South Africa in general, and of the African Press in particular, from its early origins in the nineteenth century missionary newspapers. The relationships between these developments and the course of South African politics as a whole are stressed. This historical survey is followed by an outline of the legal framework, both common law and statutory, within which the Press operates.

Chapter VII, the Social Context of Readership, covers the social milieu, including especially factors affecting readership and attitudes towards the Press. Various interacting factors affecting readership include urban or rural residence, income and education. Well-marked patterns in terms of readership of different types of newspaper can be distinguished at different socio-economic, urbanization and educational levels. The rather scanty data on attitudes in relation to various types of newspapers and to the radio, is also analysed.

Chapters VIII - XI, which form the core of the thesis, report the results of the content analysis of the major African newspapers and of the Rand Daily Mail for 1968, in terms of subject matter as well as attitudes and values, in news columns, feature articles and editorials. Some of the material is statistical, but especially in relation to 'direction', or values expressed extensive use is made of qualitative data, particularly in the form of quotations from editorials. Again, marked differences were noted between the Rand Daily Mail and the African newspapers, and between the latter, especially World and Post, upon which the analysis was particularly focused.

Chapter XII deals with the content of Post and World in 1959 and (to a very limited extent) 1971, and with the changes that occurred between 1959 and 1968. This chapter is less statistical and more impressionistic than those on these two newspapers in

1968 but does show a marked change in the values expressed by both newspapers, more so in World than in Post.

Chapter XIII uses the material derived from surveys of journalists, as well as from semi-structured interviewing and observation to give a picture of journalists' values, aspirations and degree of job-satisfaction. Although the influence of journalists on newspaper policy and performance is definitely secondary to economic and political factors it is not negligible. Further the degree of discrepancy between their ideals for themselves, as well as for their newspapers ('What should the Press be doing for society?' was one of the questions asked) can be taken as one measure of role strain, which in turn has relevance for the functioning of the Press. The data used in this chapter include some from the White as well as the African Press.

Chapter XIV deals with the means by which policy is shaped on the African Press, drawing together the evidence adduced in Chapters IV - VII and XIII, as well as the scattered and fragmentary evidence obtained by the writer, mainly from conversations with journalists and others. In the nature of things most of the evidence on the shaping of policy is circumstantial, hence conclusions call for a measure of 'inspired guesswork'.

The last chapter (XV) summarizes the material that has gone before, giving a brief assessment of Press performance. It examines the factors that appear to have influenced this performance. Finally it considers some of the implications of the findings for South African society as a whole.

Although a number of other techniques have been used in this study, including postal surveys, interviewing and observation, the principal one has been content analysis. It is this that has made possible the assessment of the newspapers' performance of their social roles and done much to delineate the distinctive

personalities and ideals of the various newspapers studied. Hence a brief discussion of content analysis as a research method will not be out of place at this point.

Content analysis has been widely used in mass communications research, as well as in a number of other fields, ranging from psychiatry (analysis of doctor-patient communications) to literature or theology (for general discussions of content analysis and its implications see Berelson, 1952; Pool, 1959; Budd, Thorpe and Donahew, 1967; and Holsti, 1969). As mentioned above it seeks to answer the 'What' part of the Lasswell question and hence forms the middle term in a study of effects: it may also, however, be analysed for the light it throws on the 'communicators'. It can be studied for information on the value system of the society or social group within which the message originates, or to whom it is addressed - the latter on the assumption that communicators try to give their audience what they think they want. Like Lasswell's paradigmatic question, for a time it suffered something of an eclipse in scientific popularity because it was recognized that the questions it sought to answer were often wrongly-phrased, or that the assumed relation between the origin, the content, and the effects of the communication had been much over-simplified. There is now, however, something of a renewed, but more sophisticated interest in content analysis, and techniques as well as theoretical framework have shown an advance in recent years.

It is impossible here to survey the whole field of application of content analysis, nor to consider all the techniques used. Rather certain crucial problems of theory and of method will be isolated for discussion. The first major problem is the relative usefulness of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Closely allied to this is the problem of manifest and latent meanings. Both these questions relate to the more fundamental one of inference, or meaning.

One problem arising in relation to content analysis is that of representativeness. A not infrequent purpose of content

analysis (as mentioned above) has been to throw light on community or societal values - the 'mirror to society' concept. This method is, perforce, widely used by historians but also by sociologists of literature, students of national character, and others. There is, of course, a sampling problem here - are the literary works of an era which have survived to posterity 'typical' of that age, for instance? Much more important, what relationship do the content, style and values of present (or past) literary works, television programmes or newspaper human interest stories (Smith, Immirzi and Blackwell, 1970) bear to the characteristics, values, attitudes and interests of the particular groups within which they are produced - or alternatively of particular groups within the society to which they are addressed? A number of variables affect the answer to this question: how close is the relationship or degree of empathy between the producers and the consumers of the material, how far do the materials produced conform to certain norms of style or content (e.g. certain - not necessarily the same - subjects are taboo in almost all societies), how far is the material 'propaganda' in a broad sense, on behalf of the dominant (or other) interests in society? Knowledge of the conditions under which written or broadcast material is produced is essential for a correct evaluation of its meaning and significance, for example, is the organization of a newspaper hierarchic, with an autocratic editor dictating policy, or are leaders the result of a democratic, if informal, consensus among the journalists? (Whale, 1972, p.27).

More fundamental than the above questions, however, is the problem of assigning meaning to the content (written or spoken words, or pictures) in itself. This need not be problematic. The percentage of editorial matter in a newspaper represented by crime news or the ratio of adjectives to verbs in private letters, for example, are unambiguous measures, though the task of drawing valid inferences in the latter case may be far from simple. In very many cases, however, the needs of the investigator require a much more subtle approach than counting column inches. The values or attitudes contained in the material are often the essential core of the analysis. This can be expressed in numerous ways, e.g. 'direction' (favourable or unfavourable), degree of intensity of the attitude expressed, stylistic devices such as satire, the pathetic fallacy, etc., and positioning of an a[illegible]

article on a page, size of headlines, type face used, accompanying pictures, etc..

Judgements have then to be made as to what constitutes a favourable, what an unfavourable, reference and what weight must be attached in each case, or how far (to take the Popular Press and Social Change example - Immirzi et alii, op. cit.) human interest stories, feature articles or editorials contain 'working class' values or reflect working class rhythms of speech. This is essentially a problem of 'indicators', indicators which must be subtle enough to take account of the varying ways in which the same idea, or the same degree of disapproval, may be expressed, but yet standardized or, if based on the coders' judgements, reliable in the technical sense, i.e. consistent. Berelson's definition of content analysis as the 'objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson, 1952, p.18) implies the attainment of such standards. It also requires that the content material be 'taken at face value', that (as in the legal interpretation of a statute) the normal, everyday meaning of the words used be accepted, with the latent, or multiple meanings, or those derived from their use in a particular context, largely or wholly ignored. The narrower or less complex the focus of the study the easier it is to construct standardized, hence reliable, indicators which also validly reflect the concerns of that study. The value of the attributes listed by Berelson is obvious, in particular their amenability to statistical manipulation. The extreme difficulties which can attend the achievement of these goals are scarcely less obvious.

A great deal of ingenuity has been devoted to producing standardized measures of content for the innumerable different research problems for which content analysis has been used. Careful definition of what falls into different categories is, of course, a basic requisite. For instance, Budd, in a study of news relating to the United States in Australian newspapers, spends over half a page in defining what is to be considered as favourable or unfavourable news (Budd, Thorp and Donohew, 1967, p.53). The use of semantic differentials has been mentioned above, analysis in terms of polar pairs of adjectives, such as 'strong ... weak', 'active ... passive', etc. Contingency analysis, an examination of how far different words or themes

are found contiguous to each other in a piece of writing is a potentially fruitful tool, but one which is very difficult to use (Pool, 1959, Ch. 6 '... most of the conferees agreed that contiguity was a more significant factor in the content analysis of personal documents than frequency, ... but they also agreed that contiguity was more difficult to measure, interpret and control effectively than simple frequency relationships').

In summary, the difficulty of quantitative content analysis of course varies with the particular research problem, but in the case of more complex problems the difficulty will not infrequently amount to impossibility. The work of the 'Birmingham' or 'Hoggart' school is a good example of the use of qualitative analysis, particularly as in the example given above, of style. Hoggart's 'The Uses of Literacy (Hoggart, 1957) can be taken as the foundation document of this school. For such work traditional methods of literary criticism are fruitfully wedded to sociological analysis. The result is subjective, or intuitive, but based on a very close familiarity with the sorts of material being analysed, in Hoggart's case, with working class idiom, speech and thought patterns. A grimmer example is afforded by the operations of Allied intelligence monitoring of German radio broadcasts during World War II (George, 1959, cited in Holsti, 1969, p.10). Both quantitative (symbol or theme counts) and qualitative methods were employed. The latter were found to be more effective in inferring from propaganda broadcasts to political or military decisions taken by the Germans or to events in Germany. The accuracy of many of the analyses was confirmed by examination of German documents after the War. Naturally, the two methods are not in practice wholly exclusive. One can supplement the other in any given piece of work.

There are, of course, other problems which arise in content analysis, such as the choice of units of analysis or coding units (e.g. newspaper articles, words or themes) and of contextual units (e.g. single issues of a newspaper, news articles, editorials), that is, those in relation to which the coding units are to be counted. Sampling also constitutes a technical problem. These problems are discussed in the chapter on Methodology (III). The solution adopted in this research in regard to the problem of quantitative or qualitative analysis is, as follows:

The Information-giving duty of the Press is in the main subject to objective tests hence could be studied primarily through quantitative analysis. An analysis was made of the relative proportion of different categories of editorial as well as advertising material in a stratified random sample of the four main African newspapers and of the Rand Daily Mail for the year 1968. Categories used included, e.g. court and crime news, political, and social news. It was believed that comparison between these newspapers would throw considerable light on their different 'personalities' with, in turn, implications relating to the influence of internal structure and policy as well as readership, would throw up significant differences between the type of information supplied by the white newspaper and the four African ones, and would have implications for the standard of performance of the newspapers in this area. In addition to this analysis some comparisons were made between articles in different newspapers dealing with the same incident, and the rather scanty evidence on the opinions of readers is also adduced in Chapter VII.

The Partisan or Advocate and Social Critic responsibilities of the African Press can be analysed to a limited extent in quantitative terms, but such study of direction and intensity would, it was felt, have elicited comparatively trivial and even misleading or invalid findings, with a value at best out of proportion to the labour expended. Hence the two categories were dealt with, firstly, by subject matter classification of editorials of three African newspapers (not Imvo Zabantsundu) and the Rand Daily Mail for the same year, 1968; secondly the tone of editorials was analysed qualitatively: this has implied fairly extensive quotations. Political news, more particularly news of African political groups, of the Bantustans, and foreign news, especially that relating to Africa, was also examined, but not reduced to quantitative form, for the purpose of studying the Advocate as well as the Information-giving role. News pertaining to the Social Critic role including items on police ill-treatment of prisoners, the operation of influx control, Limehill, etc. were also analysed qualitatively, and to some extent quantitatively. Drum was analysed in the same way, though less exhaustively.

Besides 1968 considerable attention was given to 1959, as far as World and Post were concerned and to some extent to 1971. Some material was gathered for the years between 1959 and 1968. Some historical material about the newspapers was obtained from interviews and questionnaires, as well as the minute books of the World Printing and Publishing Company. The historical (pre-1968) material was gathered in order to test the hypothesis of a change in the degree to which the African Press had met the criteria of Press performance between 1959 and 1968, the 1971 material was collected in order to see whether there had been any marked change in the African Press since the time of the main field work. 1971 was chosen partly because the newspapers for that year were more readily available (in Britain), but more important because it was late in that year that Post was taken over by the Argus company, the ultimate owners of World, so that it ceased to be an independent organ. As mentioned the year 1968 was that originally chosen for study, but for various reasons production of the thesis was long delayed.

Attention was focussed throughout on World as the only African daily newspaper, and Post as the weekly with by far the largest circulation: Week-end World, founded in July 1968 had grown to about half its rival's circulation by 1971. Imvo Zabantsundu and Ilanga, which are largely vernacular newspapers, have a smaller circulation than either World or Post and the writer's ignorance of Xhosa and Zulu made any detailed study of these newspapers virtually impossible, at least with the writer's resources.

The Rand Daily Mail was chosen for comparison because it is the white paper with the largest African readership (according to Market Research Africa's survey of 1967/68) and because it is probably the most liberal white newspaper, hence that most concerned with African rights and grievances. If even it is unduly 'white oriented' as compared to the African newspapers (or to an ideally objective standard) then how much more will the rest of the white Press be so? It would obviously have been interesting and instructive to have included a second white newspaper, perhaps an Afrikaans newspaper, in the control group, but the writer's resources again precluded this.

CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESS

The last chapter has given a brief account of what this thesis is attempting to do. It did not, however, attempt to develop a theoretical rationale for the thesis. This is the task of the present chapter.

In doing so it is appropriate to begin with a general discussion of the functions of the mass media, more specifically the Press, in modern society, prior to applying the results of this analysis in the particular context of the South African society and polity. The mass media can be taken to include newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, films, records and tapes (produced for commercial distribution).

Much of the study of the mass media has been concerned with empirical issues, such as the demand for certain commodities in relation to use of the media, people's voting intentions and their attitudes to issues of public debate, their willingness to adopt agricultural innovations, their susceptibility to propaganda, and so on. Because of the sponsorship by commercial interests of much of the work, and to a lesser extent the provision of funds by governments, e.g. for propaganda analysis in war time, or for the study of socio-economic development a great deal of research has been done, but it has been very largely ad hoc and the development of theory in the field has been slow. To a considerable extent theory has in the past been dominated by psychology, especially in the form of a rather simplistic stimulus-response model, and has been concerned with measuring the effects of communications on individuals, treated as discrete units, without reference to their social milieu, or social relationships. The psychology on which this was based was largely that of the 'instinct' theorists, such as MacDougall, on the one hand, and Freudian ideas on the other, emphasising man's instinctual and largely non-rational motivation. (See, e.g. De Fleur, 1970, Ch. VI; Brown, 1970; and Merton, 1957, pp.439-456 for brief accounts

of the development of mass communication research.) One of the most famous early formulations of the tasks of mass communications study was Lasswell's paradigmatic question quoted in Chapter I (Lasswell, 1948).

Related to this approach, from the sociological side has been what may loosely be called the theory of 'Mass society'. The concept of a rootless, alienated mass society has, of course, firm roots in the sociological tradition, dating back to the work of men such as Maine, Comte, Durkheim, Weber and Tonnies, and, of course, in a rather different sense, Marx. The relevance of the concept to mass communication theory has more recently been emphasised by a variety of writers from various standpoints (e.g. Eliot, 1948; Mills, 1956; Williams, 1958, 1961 and 1968; and, for a useful summary and criticism McQuail, 1969). Very briefly, the mass media are seen - by most, if not all, writers in this tradition - as reinforcing the tendency to alienation and isolation of mass man and as conducive to passivity and fantasy, while at the same time serving as a means of social control and reinforcement of the social and political status quo and/or of persuasion in the service of totalitarian or quasi-totalitarian political aims. They may also serve to debase popular taste, often in the service of commercial interests, to encourage juvenile delinquency or sexual licence, etc.

While the mass society approach is in many respects persuasive it remains at least in part on the level of philosophical speculation rather than of science. The theory is difficult to test empirically, but at least in some respects the assumptions on which it rests have not found solid research support, e.g. that of the persuasibility of mass man - generally mass communications would now be regarded as having rather little capacity to change attitudes and opinions, at least in the short term (see e.g. Klapper, 1960) - and in some instances the evidence negates conclusions to be drawn from the theory, for example community newspapers in Chicago have been found to encourage social cohesion rather than isolation and 'privatization' (Janowitz, 1967). Further, there is considerable evidence that the picture of urban society as a mass of isolated, normless social atoms is, if not

wholly untrue, a good deal exaggerated. Long-settled working class areas of great cities, such as Bethnal Green in the East End of London, well-established housing estates and even the urban slums and shanty-towns on the periphery of the cities of the underdeveloped world have been shown by various researchers to have flourishing kinship and/or friendship networks, developed normative systems and in many respects a framework of well-established social institutions (see e.g. Willmot and Young, 1957; Willmot, 1963; Mayer, 1971; Lewis, 1952; Gans, 1962). The middle class urban dweller may approximate rather more to the rather depressing model quoted above (Whyte, 1956 and compare Frankenberg's 'spiralists' - Frankenberg, 1966) but even here the evidence is by no means clear (Willmot and Young, 1960), although it is probably true that geographical propinquity does play a much smaller role than before in shaping social bonds.

A more fruitful alternative, among the few which aspire to comprehensiveness, is probably the functionalist approach, exemplified by Wright (1964). This approach in effect embodies the individualistic 'uses and gratifications' formulation, which explains the differential usage of the mass media by individuals in terms of the varying socio-psychological needs which are met by the media (see, e.g. McQuail, 1970 and 1969, Ch. IV, Sec. 4; Katz, 1959; Schramm, 1961; Herzog, 1944). Wright recognizes that the functions of the mass media may be manifest or latent (to use Merton's terminology) and either positive or negative; further, the functions may relate either to the whole society or to various groups or individuals within it. Hence what is functional for one group may be dysfunctional for others.

Wright distinguished four broad categories of function of the mass media:

(1) Surveillance, or provision of information
(2) Correlation, or Editorial selection, Interpretation and Prescription
(3) Cultural transmission, or Education
(4) Entertainment

On the basis of this categorization Wright has constructed an elaborate 'inventory' of functions. Examples are: in the first

group, information is necessary for the working of the economy (instrumental function, manifest); at the same time information conveys status quo on certain groups or individuals (mentioned in the media), a latent function. In the third category the mass media act as socializing agents for adults, and help to maintain common norms and values, hence making for social and cultural stability. On the negative side the media may have a 'privatizing' or 'narcotic' effect, for the characteristic of most media content is 'difference-within-sameness', so that the Sunday newspaper (for example) may act as a virtual soporific rather than a stimulating call to social action.

Wright's 'inventory' cannot claim the status of a theory, and the various functions which he lists do not form a logically connected set like the Parsonian paradigm. Nevertheless, it does afford a number of stimulating suggestions, and provides an orderly framework for them.

The use of functional analysis in this context, of course, is open to the usual objections against functionalist theory in general, in particular that it is circular in its argument - the reason for the existence of some social institution is that it serves a social function, but the proof that it does so is that it exists - and its inability to account for social change. Nevertheless, Wright avoids these criticisms in part because of his recognition of differential functions and dysfunctions for different groups or individuals in the society, and the functionalist approach does provide a useful orientation in this largely uncharted field, and will be utilized in this way in this study.

There are, of course, other classifications that could be or have been made of the activities of the mass media. A number of such classifications, unlike Wright's, have an implicit or explicit normative reference, providing not simply an account of what the media (or more specifically newspapers, or television) do but of what they ought to be doing. Examples of such classifications include: (1) that of the United States Commission on the Freedom of the Press. According to this source the Press should:

i. Provide truthful and objective information about current events, and an interpretation of them.
ii. Be a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.
iii. Give a representative picture of the constituent groups in society (e.g. Italian immigrants, Negroes).
iv. Present and clarify the goals and values of the society.
v. Make possible 'full access to the day's intelligence'. (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, as summarized in Schramm et alii, 1956, Ch. 3).

(2) The British Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-1949 (Royal Commission on the Press, 1949) posits basically five functions:

i. The provision of Information.
ii. Instruction.
iii. Entertainment.
iv. Reflection of public opinion.
v. Advocacy.

(3) Tunstall, in his book on specialist journalists in London (Tunstall, 1971, p.7) sees 'news organizations' (Press, radio or television) as having three goals, namely:

i. The advertising revenue goal.
ii. The audience (or sales) revenue goal, and
iii. The non-revenue (or prestige) goal.

There are, of course, many other formulations, including the codes drawn up, for example, by the (United States) Federal Communications Commission (1952) and the International Federation of Journalists (see Sommerlad, 1966, p.165). The writer included a question in a questionnaire used in the present research, on 'What the Press should be doing for Society?' and the answers, by white and black South African journalists, fall into much the same pattern as those given above, with the addition of the 'Watchdog' or 'Social Critic function' (the data are given later in this thesis - Chapter XIII). Francis Williams, in his book on the world Press summarizes the Press's 'three linked responsibilities' as 'to collect and publicise the news, to interpret and comment on it, to act as a guard dog of the public interest' (Williams, 1969). The last-mentioned function has, in fact, been extremely important in the history as well as in the social philosophy of the Press in the Western world, from the time of Wilkes or Junius in England and the Press of the American colonies in the independence struggle onwards, and one could go back to the seventeenth

century English pamphleteers when government censorship inspired Milton's famous 'Areopagitica' or even earlier. This certainly deserves inclusion in any analysis of Press functions, or duties.

The foregoing discussion has combined references to how the Press (or the mass media) actually function in society, and the social goals which it is believed they should seek. On neither point was a comprehensive discussion feasible, nor intended. They were meant simply as a preliminary to the writer's attempt to formulate a framework for the study of the Press in South Africa. The sociology of the Press is an indispensable framework for a study of what the Press in fact does in any given situation, the social philosophy of the Press provides a standard against which Press performance may be judged. This thesis makes use of both approaches.

Summarizing what has gone before it is probably reasonable to argue that the mass media serve principally the following ends:

i. Provision of information on current events
ii. Interpretation and evaluation of these
iii. Education, or transmission of the cultural heritage
iv. Entertainment.

The most important latent social functions of the mass media include:

i. The instrumental function
ii. Social integration
iii. The creation, or more usually the reinforcement of consensus (in social and political matters)
iv. The creation and reinforcement of cultural conformity.

The psychological functions of the mass media for the individual have not been considered, and fall somewhat outside of the main concern of this thesis. They might include, for example, the reduction of anomia or alienation, the vicarious release of

aggression, the encouragement of fantasy and 'escapism' and the reduction of loneliness (cf. McQuail's study of gratifications received by elderly single or widowed persons from radio and television - McQuail, 1970, unpublished). All except the first of the latent social functions listed above are debatable, and of course are subject to modification or even reversal in different social contexts.

Though not a logical necessity to Wright's version of the functionalist approach, functionalism does in general imply a consensus, as opposed to a conflict model of society, such as adumbrated by Marx, Mills (1956), Dahrendorf (1959) or Rex (1961). Some versions of the 'mass society' theory do, in fact, adopt the latter model. Although, as indicated above, there is reason to quarrel with several of the assumptions and conclusions of the 'mass society' approach, to exclude the conflict model from consideration gives a misleading picture of the working of the mass media in society. The same is true of the inadequate emphasis given to social change in the functionalist model.

Social conflict theory is, indeed, provided for to some extent in Wright's inventory, for instance, it is pointed out that the media may serve to provide knowledge of subversive or deviant behaviour, to monitor and control public opinion, and to legitimise the power of the ruling group. Wright does not, however, refer to the analyses of Williams (1961) or Marcuse (1964) which describe the subtle manipulation of men's opinions and attitudes through the creation of patterns of consumer demand and values in support of a new and more sophisticated form of capitalist control of both polity and economy. Whatever the merits of such theories, the function of mass communication in serving the interests of different groups in society has been underemphasised in the functional approach to mass communications. By the same token it follows that the tendency of the media to act as a catalyst for - if not as an instigator of - social change through conflict, or through espousal of new ideas, is understressed. There are numerous historical examples where the Press has been in the forefront of revolutionary or rapid change, as in the American colonies prior to the War of Independence, or in many colonial

territories in the period of European decolonization in Africa and Asia. The story of Cobbett's 'Penny Register' is well known in British journalistic history. It should be stressed that, in general, newspapers (or other mass media) do not as a rule create, but give expression to broad movements of opinion, whether conservative or radical, thereby hastening their success. In general, the fact that the establishment of a new mass circulation newspaper or a broadcasting station in a modern, industrial state, requires a very considerable capital investment, implies that the means of mass communication tend to be controlled either by big business concerns or by the state: in both instances the policy followed is more likely to be a conservative one.

The conflict model, derived from Marx and his successors has been elaborated, mainly in relation to the conflict between social classes. Much less attention has been devoted to the analysis of situations of ethnic, religious or racial conflict. It is the latter situation which obtains in South Africa, the United States, Canada, Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland and a number of other countries. The analysis of such societies can be based on the class conflict, more especially the Marxist-Leninist model. This model sees capitalism as allied - at least in the 'colonial' situation - to imperialism, since imperialist exploitation of material resources and cheap labour supplies in the colonies aids in the maintenance of capitalism in the home country. Local capitalists are in alliance with their overseas counterparts, and in part-industrialised, part-tribal, societies such as South Africa a sort of internal imperialism is practised.

While this interpretation, at least as applied to South Africa or other 'colonial' territories contains, in the writer's opinion, important elements of truth - economic exploitation, in favour of the owners of industrial or mining capital, has undoubtedly taken place and still does so - but it fails to explain a number of factors in the situation, in particular the alliance between white workers and white capitalists and in South Africa, the clash between the Government and business interests. As John Rex, in his recent book on Race Relations in Sociological Theory (Rex, 1970) and Heribert Adam, in his book on South Africa

(Adam, 1971) both, though from rather different standpoints, argue while the conflict is based on material interests these interests are defined not in terms of class but of race. As Rex puts it (op. cit., p.74) '... settler governed societies [he is thinking primarily of Southern Africa] ... are marked by a particular form of class struggle, that is to say, a conflict between physically distinguishable groups acting in terms of their material interests' (present writer's underlining). Adam says (op. cit., p.30) 'contrary to a vulgar Marxist assumption, the political decisions in this country [South Africa] are not based monocausally on economic interests of big business, but rather the process of production and distribution is largely determined by the polity in which the white, particularly the Afrikaner, interests are embodied'.

Rex summarises his position as follows: a race relations situation consists of three characteristics, firstly, it has certain distinctive structural features having to do with the kind of stratification and the degree of pluralism; secondly, groups which are party to the conflict inherent in this kind of situation do not, like Marxist classes, form in the course of the conflict, but are recognised as preceding it; thirdly, in some such situations, at least there is an ideological base in terms of which discrimination between one group and another is justified. (Rex, op. cit., p.132). (See also the symposium on race relations edited by Zubaida, 1970; and various contributions in Leftwich, 1974).

The mention of pluralism by Rex may serve to introduce this concept, touched on in Chapter I, used in particular by Smith (1965), Kuper (1969), and Van den Berghe (1969). Broadly, a plural society, as described by these writers, is one which is divided into 'corporate groups' that frequently, though not necessarily have different cultures or subcultures and in which the 'social structure is compartmentalized into analogous, parallel, noncomplementary but distinguishable sets of institutions' (Van den Berghe, op. cit., p.67). Plural societies frequently have various secondary characteristics such as a low level of value consensus, a high level of conflict and coercion of one group by another. An important variable in such situations

is the degree to which social pluralism (i.e. the existence of separate groups with their own sets of social institutions) coincides with cultural pluralism, that is the possession by each group of a different culture. Indians and Negroes in Guyana or Flemings and Walloons in Belgium exist as separate corporate groups and have different cultures; urban Africans in South Africa share to a considerable extent the same culture as the whites but are still sharply divided from them socially, and have parallel social institutions, e.g. separate but basically analogous religious institutions. The concept of pluralism is quite a complex one, but it is not possible here to elaborate it further.

This, necessarily cursory, discussion of the conflict model, in terms first of societies divided on class lines and secondly those split along racial, ethnic or religious lines, is meant to provide a background for discussion of aspects of the working of the mass media which are underemphasised in Wright's model, but which are particularly relevant to South African society.

In terms of the conflict model the mass media can be seen to have various functions, which include:

(1) 'Spearheading' the conflicting forces, mobilizing them and providing a rationalization and legitimation for the opposed ideologies and/or an expression of the opposed interests (see, e.g. Myrdal, 1944, Ch. 42; and Oak, 1948 for this role of the Negro Press in America, and Coser, 1956 for a more general statement). This function implies not only advocacy on behalf of the group concerned but the ventilation of the grievances of and the injusticee suffered by its members. The appeal is mainly to members of the group, but at the same time some effort may be made to obtain allies or at least sympathisers, either individuals or groups. This aspect is usually of comparatively minor importance.

(2) Exposure of corruption, inefficiency, dishonesty, etc. among members of the opposing group.

(3) External propaganda, on behalf of one or other party to the conflict.

(4) Creation of dissatisfaction by making other ways of life and other standards of living visible and salient to members of subordinate (often poor or deprived) groups. Thus a Communist newspaper in Africa might point to the success of the Chinese at achieving an improved standard and more rational way of living (manifest function) or magazine advertisements or films may create dissatisfaction by portrayal of the good things of life enjoyed by Americans (latent function).

The above are characteristically functions performed by the mass media in support of either (or any) party to the conflict, but perhaps more particularly the subordinate group. There are functions which serve mainly the dominant group's interests, viz:

(5) Reducing conflict by laying stress on consensus - shared interests, real or alleged, rather than conflict - and on conformity to the ruling group's norms. There are many variants of this, and this function may either be manifest, and deliberate, or latent, and unconscious. This function is less likely to occur in a plural than in an integrated society, as it is less clear to the average member of such societies that the interests of (say) Catholics and Protestants, Republicans and Loyalists in Northern Ireland are the same than it is that the interests of members of different classes but the same religio-ethnic affiliation are the same.

(6) Deflecting the readership or audience concern from matters of public policy to private, entertainment or sensational matters, generally trivializing the content of the media. This, of course, is the 'circus' component of the old Roman 'bread and circuses' formula, but again it need not necessarily be deliberate policy, rather the socio-economic structure of most Western societies, and the conditions of mass media production for a mass market, tend to have this effect.

(7) Closely related to (6), but distinguishable, is reflection of the ethos of (a) material advancement and (b) social status (wright, 1964; Williams, 1968). This is seen most clearly in advertisements and magazine fiction, but also extends into the

news columns to some extent. It is of interest that one recent study has shown less concern with such issues and with 'candy floss' romances and more with 'real' social problems in recent British magazine fiction (White, 1970).

This list of functions does not claim to be exhaustive, but does illustrate many of the more important mechanisms at work.

When the First Amendment to the United States Constitution (guaranteeing freedom of the Press) was passed it was possible for anyone possessed of a message for the people and a modicum of capital to set up a newspaper propagating his views or those of the group he represented (Williams, 1969, pp.19-22). At the present time, however, as mentioned above, control of the bulk, at least, of the mass media is likely to be in the hands of the dominant group in society. Hence media content is likely to - and in fact does - predominantly fulfil the functions listed as (5) to (7) above, rather than (1), (2) or (4). They also tend to mirror the dominant values of society or values of the dominant section of society, to the exclusion of minority or subordinate or deviant group values (see e.g. Martel and McCall, 1964; Breed, 1958). While this is true to a large extent, the picture is appreciably modified, at least in most democratic Western countries, by the norms and values which are part of the sub-culture of the Press, and to a somewhat lesser extent of the electronic and film media.

Before going on to consider the values and norms of the mass media as they relate to their social responsibilities, it is necessary to examine another facet of mass media function, namely its role in the modernization of traditional societies. This, of course, is part of the broader question of the role of the media in facilitating social change. It is now generally accepted by social scientists that the transformation of a poor, mainly rural, pre-industrial society to an at least reasonably affluent, urbanised, industrial society, is not simply a matter of pumping in investment funds, of altering the terms of trade, or even of education, but requires more or less radical change in the social institutions and social values of the society in question (Hoselitz

and Moore, 1963; Moore, 1965; Eisenstadt, 1966). At least from the time of publication of Lerner's classic work The Passing of Traditional Society (Lerner, 1958) dealing with the Middle East, the importance of the mass media in this change has been recognized. Growth of the mass media in a country appears to be both cause and effect of the modernization process. Lerner links it with literacy, urbanization, empathy and political participation, in a mutually reinforcing system. The acquisition of literacy makes it more likely that men will attend to the mass media (even the electronic media - see Chapter VIII below for profiles of different kinds of media in use in South Africa). Meanwhile, the mass media broaden men's horizons and encourage empathy, the ability to 'put oneself in the shoes' of distant and different people, imaginatively to play very different social roles, which is a prerequisite of meaningful participation in modern society. Subsequent work (see, e.g. Pye, 1963; Rogers, 1965) appears to indicate that the media are often intervening rather than independent variables in modernization, catalysts rather than instigators - as in Western societies. This, however, is by no means to deny that they do have an important role to play. Though the present study is focussed primarily on the conflictual elements in South African society, it is necessary to note the aspects in which the media do also act as modernizing agents.

Tunstall (1970, p.10 and 1971, p.7) as quoted above, posits three goals of news organizations. The first two of these are economic, to make money from advertising and from sales respectively - in the case of radio or television the latter source of income is replaced by licence fees. The Press, then, as well as the other mass media, are in part, at least, business concerns: they have to justify their existence in economic terms. Of course, insofar as the newspaper or television network concerned is maintained wholly or in part by public funds, or by political party subventions (for example) this argument applies less, but even in such cases some attempt is often made to recoup some of the costs. The economic goals naturally result in constraints upon the policy followed by the media; on the one hand media content must not be such as to offend or put off advertisers (where those exist) to the extent that they cease to place advertisements, on the other hand it must be such as to please current as well as potential readers, listeners or viewers. Further, as both the amount of

advertising advertisers are prepared to place and the rates which can be charged for it, usually vary with the volume of circulation - though the income, hence spending power of readers or listeners is also relevant - there is a further incentive to raise circulation. The economic aspects of the African Press and their implication for policy will be considered in more detail in a later chapter.

Tunstall's third goal is the non-revenue one. This may include 'political partisan, educational, cultural or merely general prestige objectives' (Tunstall, 1971, p.10). With the last-mentioned, this study is not primarily concerned. The other objectives are those which are generally included in any study of the duties or social responsibilities of the Press, and are those listed by the American and British Commissions on the Press, quoted above. Slightly modifying the above lists one may categorise the responsibilities, or from another angle, the social values of the mass media as follows:

1. Provision of accurate, objective, information on current events, and the interpretation thereof.
2. The provision of a forum for the expression of public opinion.
3. Advocacy of particular policies; otherwise the 'partisan' or 'crusader' value.
4. Social criticism, or the 'watchdog' function.
5. Education of the public.
6. Entertainment.

Other values could be listed, such as that of acting as a mirror to society, or a recorder of events. The New York Times, for example, regards as one of its functions the recording of contemporary history (Charnley, 1966, p.17). This value is, however, really a part, or a bye-product of 1. the provision of information, 'Giving a representative picture of the constituent groups in society', or 'clarifying the goals and values of the society' are rather specific goals, which could be subsumed, more or less, under those quoted. It is in any event proposed to use the list given above as a framework for this study, more particularly the first, third and fourth items.

The values listed are in most instances similar to or identical with the objectively defined, broad functions of the media. These are for the most part things that the media do, but as values they are more than that, they are things which the media ought to do, according to the social philosophy underlying their operation. (See Schramm, op. cit. for a useful discussion of different philosophies of the Press; the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet Communist theories: it is the second and third of these that are most relevant to the current discussion.) Mass media communicators do, in fact, claim that they maintain - certainly they recognize the duty to maintain - these socio-ethical values even at the expense of the economic values, and independent of the views of any other body, governmental or private, including proprietors.

In short, while the mass media do to a greater or lesser degree reflect the interests and views of the interests that control them, and consequently have the functions listed above - (1) to (7) but especially (5) to (7) - these effects are mitigated, sometimes dramatically, by the existence of the independent professional ethos in which the above values are embodied. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to point out that this ethos itself derives from a particular tradition and a particular history, broadly that of Western Europe and the United States in the last three centuries, and that it is shared only in a considerably modified form by countries which have a different tradition and history, particularly the Communist countries. The choice of these particular values for the purpose of this study does involve an explicit value judgement on the part of the writer. If defence be needed for doing so, he would plead, with Myrdal, in his '<u>American Dilemma</u>' (Myrdal, op. cit.):

(a) that it is impossible to be value-free in sociology and
(b) that these values are held by a large body of people in Western society.

The application of the values is meant to throw light on the sociological significance of the phenomena to be studied. The fact that these values - like all others - do not exist in a social vacuum implies that they are both modified or moulded by the environment in which they operate and in turn modify their environment.

Although the values quoted are familiar ones it is desirable to elaborate somewhat on them.

1. Provision of information. The importance of an adequate supply of information for the working of the economy - an instrumental need - has already been touched on. More important for present purposes is the need of members of the society for information on which to base intelligent decisions on matters of public concern - this implies a liberal, democratic polity. The Indian Press Commission in its discussion of the subject remarked that 'significant' news was that news which a citizen 'needs for the discharge of his responsibilities to society' (Meyer, 1964, Ch. 7). The citizen has both a right and a duty to obtain such information, and the media have a right and a duty to supply it. Obviously, information may be needed for a variety of other purposes, but these are the most important, from the normative point of view.

Clearly the information (news) as supplied must be accurate. It must also be objective. Both (or all) sides of any story should be given, the reporting should not be 'slanted' by reportorial or editorial bias, whether in commission or omission. However, it is now widely recognized (a) that complete objectivity is possible only to an archangel or a 'man from Mars' and (b) that some degree of interpretation, and/or contextual information is required for many news items. As the editors of the Swiss Neue Zurcher Zeitung have put it (quoted in Merrill, 1968, p.8) a newspaper should offer 'a picture of events, not a blurred mosaic'.

Interpretation of the news may, then, be given in the news report itself, but feature articles, or 'backgrounding' (provided they are not partisan) also fall into this category.

2. The expression of public opinion is in practice a rather limited function of the mass media. As the Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the U.S. Government and Press says (Twentieth Century Fund Task Force, 1972, p.8) 'it must be acknowledged that, although the path to the Press is open through letters-to-the-editor columns, it is a very narrow path.

For the broadcast media it is practically a closed path for a multitude of reasons including libel considerations, physical necessibility and cost'. This value receives comparatively slight treatment in this study.

3. Advocacy. While the first value is applicable equally to the Press and the electronic media, in Britain, South Africa and many other countries where radio and television are public utilities and, therefore at least in principle, 'neutral' this value is confined to the Press. The advocate, or partisan role is, of course, found in various degrees; local and 'community' newspapers (see, e.g. Janowitz, op. cit.) tend to eschew controversy and therefore the enunciation of policy but metropolitan or major 'provincial' newspapers almost always have a fairly well defined policy on major public issues. Theoretically, policy statements are confined to the newspaper's editorial columns, but usually inform the news columns to a greater or lesser degree, by omission if not by actual bias in what is reported.

4. Social criticism. This value inevitably overlaps in practice with the third one - it is natural to seek and to find suitable sticks with which to beat one's political opponents - one South African journalist replying to the writer's questionnaire remarked indignantly that the headline 'Limehill Scandal a Blow to Nats' should have read 'Limehill Scandal a Blow to Endorsed out Africans'. The first is, of course, the partisan use of this story of the removal of some thousands of Africans to an area with grossly inadequate housing, sanitary and health facilities, the second displays a purer concern for the social injustice committed. The Press has traditionally sought to uncover and if possible rectify administrative abuses, corruption and injustice, for the sake of social justice or humanity, not necessarily for political gain. As Joseph Pulitzer (New York World, 1883, quoted in Merrill, 1968) put it The Press is 'an institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice and corruption ... always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor ... never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty'. The journalist has for long been seen as a gadfly to

Government, or to the economic or social 'Establishment'. In general the Press has seen itself more as a critic of Government than of other major social or economic interests, but these have quite frequently been attacked, cf. the recent campaign by the (British) Sunday Times against the Distillers Company in connection with awards to thalidomide children. In general the social critic is concerned with a particular injustice or social evil but qua social critic has no ideology or long-term programme: the partisan does.

5. Education. The Press and electronic media do act as an agent of adult socialization, hence as educative forces. As far as the Press is concerned this is done most directly through various feature articles, from how to make a surf board to courting etiquette, and to a lesser extent in replies to 'letters to Aunt Sally' asking for advice usually on affairs of the heart. It is also, however, done in the news columns. Gerson has, indeed, suggested that Negro adolescents in American society, who tend to drop out of school early, and often come from 'broken' homes, often receive their primary socialization not through the family or school, as whites do, but through the media (Gerson, 1966). In countries undergoing modernization the educative function of the media - especially in this case the radio - is heavily stressed. It is striking that African journalists in South Africa tended to emphasise this function much more than did their white counterparts, when replying to the writer's questionnaire.

6. Entertainment. This would seem to be the least normatively-oriented 'value' of the six. Nevertheless, a strong case can be made out for the value of entertainment, through the mass media as in other ways. Stephenson, in The Ludenic Function of Newspaper Reading (Stephenson, 1967) has argued forcibly for its importance. 'Story-telling' in print or television or radio plays may not only provide valuable education but, at its best, may form a commentary on some aspect of 'the human condition'. Not only stories, features or plays, but the news columns themselves can, as Stephenson points out, provide for a form of play activity - hence 'ludenic'.

These six values are general to the Press in the Western world. The present study seeks to apply them to the African Press in South Africa. How far does that Press actualise these values - in particular the Information-giving, the Partisan and the Social Critic values - in the context of South African society? Such an examination is directly relevant to the study of the conflictual and pluralistic aspects of South African society; from a slightly different point of view it also leads inevitably to consideration of the wider aspects of the African Press as a social institution, to the functions it does in fact fulfil - especially the seven functions listed above as relating to social conflict - and to the reciprocal interaction between it and other institutions in the society. The primary focus, however, remains on Press performance as elicited from a content analysis of its news columns, features, letters and more particularly editorials.

The manner in and the extent to which the African Press in South Africa meets the social responsibilities towards which its professional ethos impels it and more broadly, what its social functions in South African society are, is influenced by a number of factors, both external and internal to the Press. These factors, which are common to the Press and the mass media in all societies, include:

(1) External factors:

(a) The political context, including the legal provisions affecting the Press. The political context includes the political institutions of the country and the place of the Press within or in relation to these, the attitudes of Government or political parties at any given time, and public opinion. Low esteem of the Press by the public, for example, may facilitate or even encourage legislation curbing the Press.

(b) Economic factors, including technological ones - the invention of the high speed rotary press at the end of the nineteenth century made possible the rise of the 'mass press' with all its implications for the social role of the

Press - provision of capital, factor costs, such as the cost of newsprint and the wage and salary bill, and advertising, which is in turn closely related to the general level of economic activity. For the Press itself competition with the other media, especially television, is of course of major importance.

(c) Social factors, in particular the socio-cultural attributes and attitudes of the readership or potential readership. The social stratification system of the society, its degree of urbanization, the extent and type of education, the values, attitudes and tastes of the people, are all relevant.

(2) Internal factors:

(a) The organization, formal and informal, of the Press, in particular the distribution of power within the newspaper enterprise and the nature of the decision-making process. In general ultimate control rests with the proprietors of newspapers (or, of course, in some cases, with their business or political 'masters') but there is nevertheless considerable scope, more particularly in relation to purely 'professional' matters, as opposed to business, for variation in the influence exerted by persons at different points in the newspaper hierarchy. The importance of employee bodies, such as journalists' trade unions or professional associations (there is often ambiguity as to whether a journalists' association is one or the other of the above) should not be overlooked though it can easily be overemphasized, especially, perhaps, in the South African context.

(b) The professional values embodied in the Press, and the attitudes and values of journalists. The manner in which the professional values are integrated into the subculture of a particular newspaper will vary considerably, as for example, between Die Burger and Die Transvaler to take examples from a set of newspapers of a broadly similar political background. Similarly, the attitudes, professional, political and social, of individual journalists, especially

but not only, editors and news editors, will affect to some extent how a newspaper gives effect to these values in any given case. This fact has been one of the foci of the various 'gatekeeper' studies (e.g. White, 1950; Gieber, 1956 and 1964), and has given rise to a number of other studies of the characteristics and opinions of journalists (e.g. Stone, 1953; Jones and Swanson, 1954; Shulman and Pool, 1959; and Rosten's old but classic study of The Washington Correspondents (Rosten, 1937)). The evidence tends to show that journalists' own attitudes and beliefs generally count for less, even in the case of the news editor, selecting news, than the overall policy of the newspaper, the bureaucratic pressures within the organization, what the readership are believed to want, and the sources of news. Breed's well-known study of newsroom socialization (Breed, 1955) shows how the journalist is brought to accept in practice if not always in principle, the values of the newspaper for which he works. Nevertheless, this variable should not entirely be ignored, while the strain between journalists' values and those of their newspapers is relevant to the total functioning of the institution. This aspect, originally a focal part of the thesis, is examined briefly in Chapter XIII below.

CHAPTER III
METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter is inevitably detailed and technical, but it probably does deserve a place in the body of the thesis rather than relegated to an appendix.

The research on which this thesis is based was divided into three parts:

1. Content analysis, quantitative and qualitative of certain newspapers, primarily for the year 1968, secondarily for part of 1959 and for other dates.
2. A study of journalists on both the African and the White Press, by means of interviews, observation and questionnaires.
3. A survey of readership and of attitudes carried out in Port Elizabeth.

The third part was in fact first in point of time, the first and second contemporaneous, except that as the main thrust of the thesis shifted to content analysis, a considerable amount of this was done after the field work under 2. had been completed.

1. Content Analysis

This may also be divided into three parts:

i. Subject matter categories of editorial and advertising content (quantitative).

ii. Subject matter of editorials, front page leads and to a lesser extent features (quantitative).

iii. Expression of the partisan and social critic roles mainly through editorials and news columns (predominantly qualitative).

A table summarizes the main contant analysis work done.

As indicated in the text the coverage in some instances was less than perfect, as certain (few) issues were missing from the

Content Analysis: Table of Work Done

Type of Analysis	Newspaper					
	World	Post	Rand Daily Mail	Ilanga	Imvo Zabant-sundu	Other
Subject matter:	1968	1968	1968	1968	1968	Nil
Editorials subject:	1968, April-Sept. 1959	1968, 1959-1967	1968	1968 (1 in 2 sample)	Nil	Nil
Front page leads, subject:	Jan-June 1968 April-Sept. 1959	1959-1967	1968	Nil	Nil	New Age Jan-March 1960 Our Own Mirror May-Dec. 1965
Social critic:	Jan-March 1968 Jan-June 1959	Jan-June 1968 Jan-Dec. 1959	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

runs available to the author. Further, although where feasible the same edition of each newspaper was used throughout, in some instances due to work being carried out at different times in different libraries this was not possible. These defects are comparatively small and not such as to invalidate or seriously affect the results reached.

Although analysis of the subject matter of editorials and front page leads extended in some instances over a much longer period and analysis of social criticism usually over a shorter one, for most purposes - in particular for general subject analysis - a calendar year seemed the appropriate unit. Resources did not permit much beyond this - at least for a daily newspaper - and a period less than a year would not reflect seasonal trends. The shorter periods chosen for 1959 and for social criticism reflect exigencies of time - and money.

Subject Matter Analysis

The analysis by categories of subject matter raised problems both of sampling and of categorization. Sampling had to be multi-stage, to take into account edition, month, week, page and item on each page.

The edition chosen was normally that with the largest circulation, and, in the case of Rand Daily Mail, the Townships edition (i.e. that directed to Africans, though usually only 3-4 pages were different). From all issues of that edition for the year twenty-four (in one case twenty-five) issues were chosen by the use of random numbers, but in such a way that each month was represented by two issues. In respect of the two daily newspapers each day of the week was sampled (Rand Daily Mail publishes on six, World on five days a week), as far as possibly equally and also, where possible, the same days were chosen on the two dailies. Within each issue one item was taken from each page; sampling within the page was done by means of random numbers which gave the values of the co-ordinates of a point. The article in, or nearest to which, this point fell was selected for analysis. Thus two successive random numbers 80 and 56 would give a point four-fifths of the way from the bottom to the top of the print area of the page (taken as standard, though there were in fact some minor changes from page to page), and 56/100th of the distance from the left-hand to the right-hand margin.

The items were then classified according to the scheme given below, and percentages calculated for each category. According to Budd, Donohew and Thorp (Budd et alii, 1967), from whom the procedure described above was taken, measurement of items in square or column inches has no greater statistical validity than a simple count of the items, as is done here.

The Classification of items was as follows:

A. Advertisements

(a) Display and other, excluding smalls:

1. Food and food products, including beverages (including cakes, sweets, etc.)
2. Patent foods, drinks and baby foods.
3. Drink: a) Soft; b) Alcoholic: i) Beer and wine ii) Spirits iii) other or unclassified.
4. Beauty preparations, perfume and hygiene.
5. Soaps, shampoos, cleaners and hair preparations, dental products and shaving requisites (not electric razors, but others).
6. Drugs: a) Medicine b) Herbalist and 'quack' preparations c) unclassifiable between a) and b).
7. Cigarettes, cigars, tobacco.
8. Clothing: a) Women's and girls' fabrics and wool, etc., bathing suits for both sexes b) Men's and boys' c) shoes.
9. Non-durable household requisites, e.g. polish, disinfectants, insecticides.
10. Durable household requisites, e.g. cutlery, china, pots, pans, curtaining, carpets, brooms, irons (not electric).
11. Electric household equipment, e.g. electric iron, washing machine, electric stove, etc. but excluding 12 below.
12. Furniture.
13. Musical instruments, radios, gramophone records, cameras, films, cigarette lighters, etc.
14. Clocks, watches and branded jewellery.
15. Newspapers, books, pens, stationery etc. a) own newspaper advert b) all others.
16. Films, shows, restaurants, entertainments.
17. Travel and hotels.
18. Motor-vehicles and accessories, petrol and oil, tyres,
19. including car hire, etc.
19. Education (correspondence colleges etc.)
20. Financial (banks, building societies, insurance etc.)
21. a) Paints, building materials, industrial implements and machinery, freight lines etc. b) Agricultural requisites, e.g. vetinerary, fertilisers, implements.
22. Toys.
23. Employment: a) Agencies e.g. Christmas Clubs b) Specific jobs, including official.
24. Fixed property for sale, to buy, to let or to rent.
25. Official notices.
26. Other and miscellaneous.

(b) Smalls:

1. a) Personal (births, deaths etc.) b) Personal (other).
2. Employment.
3. Houses, land, etc. for sale or to buy.
4. Accommodation, houses, flats etc. to let, etc. or sell. Any moveables whatsoever for sale or to buy - classify in terms of list for display advertisements Nos. 1-15, 21, 22.
5. Services (e.g. education, recreation, insurance, etc. - specify)
6. Miscellaneous and unclassifiable.

B. News: National or International. Within each of these two categories it is sub-divided as follows:

(a) Political.
(b) Economic i) Farming ii) Labour iii) other.
(c) Education.
(d) Religion.
(e) Social Welfare, social problems, science and other 'serious' news or that of a general nature, dealing with society or human affairs.
(f) Court and crime.
(g) 'Social' plus personalities.
(h) Accidents.
(i) Sport.
(j) General interest, 'human interest' or of localised interest.
(k) Other and unclassifiable.

Note: 'International' referred to news dealing with international events or relations e.g. a meeting of an international body, even if occurring in one's own country, and to events occurring outside one's own country. 'National' refers to all others. At the analysis stage the national/international breakdown was only made in respect of (a); except for sport nearly all the other material in any case referred to South Africa.

C. Editorials

D. Letters to the Editor

E. Features:

(a) Fact, historical, biographies, science features etc. but excluding
(b) Political or other current affairs, backgrounding.

(c) 'Talk of the Town' type of column.
(d) Literary, book reviews.
(e) Arts, music, theatre, cinema.
(f) Hobbies and travel.
(g) Women's features.
(h) Children's plus teenage (this was construed rather narrowly, i.e. the article had to be definitely concerned with specific children's or teenage interests, or obviously directed to these groups).
(i) Puzzles and competitions (Note: Competitions for advertising purposes were classified under advertisements).
(j) Fiction i) Prose ii) Poetry.
(k) Comic strips.
(l) Photo stories.
(m) Pen pals and 'Letters to Aunt Sally' (i.e. advice).
(n) Other.

F. Services:
(a) Financial and commercial (e.g. stock exchange prices, shipping movements).
(b) Other (e.g. weather reports, guide to the contents of the paper).

Analysis of Editorials, Features and Front Page Leads

Except, as indicated, for Ilanga, a complete coverage, not a sample, of editorials was aimed at for the periods analysed. Sampling of editorials would not have been adequate because as well as a categorization by subject matter, a more detailed and specific analysis was required.

A full coverage of front page lead articles was less essential, as no detailed analysis was intended, but it did provide a complete, chronological account of the changing interests of newspapers, and leads could in some instances be compared either with those of other newspapers of the same date, or with editorials in the same issue.

The analysis of feature articles was not carried out on the same scale as that of editorials or front page leads, for various reasons. Insofar as it was done (as for Post) a complete coverage was also aimed at, for reasons analogous to those already mentioned, though only one of the main feature articles usually on or adjacent to the editorial page was taken.

Categorization of editorials was necessarily made on a rather different basis from that of editorial matter (especially news) in general, because the focus of editorials is different, in particular, a much more detailed analysis than the simple division into national or international was required. Much the same is true of feature articles. Front page leads, which relate to and highlight news, could, it might be argued, be classified on the same basis was news. However, because a detailed breakdown was required, and because it was desired to compare the subjects of front page leads with those of editorials, the same categories were used as for editorials and feature articles. A detailed list of the categories used in classifying editorials, features and front page leads is given below.

Categorization of Editorials, Features and Front Page Leads

Code

1. South African Internal Politics and Race Relations

100 a) General South African politics (including inter alia the activities and policies of the South African Government, white political parties, elections, apartheid and the Bantustans - as a general issue, not in relation to events within each Bantustan or peculiar to it - but excluding the rest of Category 1 and Category 2).

1002 Sub-category: The South African Press.

101 b) Segregation, legal (including the Group Areas Act, race classification, segregation in education, etc. Also Immorality Act, race discrimination in the law courts, etc).

102 c) Urban Areas legislation (including influx control, resettlement in and 'repatriation' to rural areas or Bantustans, passes etc).

103 d) Transkei and other Bantustans, politics in them (e.g. Matanzima and his government, or debates in the Transkei Assembly).

Code

104 e) Other black political parties, movements and leaders (legal).

105 f) Sabotage, terrorism, espionage, etc. in South Africa or Rhodesia and counter-activity.
Sub-categories: i) Riots (1051) ii) Banning orders etc (1052).

106 g) Race relations and attitudes, and social (not legal) segregation, in South Africa.

1061 Sub-category: Ethnic or inter-tribal relations etc.

107 h) Local government and politics.

108 i) Religion and race or politics.

109 j) Sport and race or politics (this includes relationships with international bodies and other countries).

2. International and Foreign Politics, including South Africa's Foreign Relations

110 a) International and foreign politics, general, excluding the remaining sub-categories of 2.
Subcategories of 2(a):

1101 i) United States, including assassinations.

1102 ii) United States, Negro politics.

112 b) The rest of Africa (excluding Rhodesia) and South Africa's relations with it.

113 c) Relationship between South Africa and the United Nations, other international bodies and the wider world generally (excluding Africa or Britain, and also excluding sport in relation to politics, ordinary economic and trade relations, but including economic boycotts, etc.)

114 d) Rhodesia (and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland up to 31.12.1963) and South African relations with it.

115 e) South Africa - United Kingdom relations and British politics (including race relations in Britain).

3. Economics

120 a) Economics, general (excluding international or foreign economic affairs, except where South Africa is directly concerned) and including transport.
Sub-categories:

1201 i) Transport to and from Soweto

1202 ii) South Africa's gold price policy.

121 b) Labour (including, in South Africa, wages, job reservation, industrial colour bar, Border Areas policies).

122 c) Agriculture (South African, excluding African Reserves).

Code

1221 Sub-category: African agriculture in South Africa.

123 d) International or foreign economic affairs.

124 e) South African economic relations with other countries.

4. Education

130 a) General (excluding segregation issue, salary differentials, etc. see 1(b) above) but in practice mostly school education.

139 b) Universities, students, including students and politics.

135 5. Religion (excluding 1(i) above)

136 6. Social Welfare including social work and social legislation

1361 Sub-category: i) Social problems, other than directly related to social work.

1362 ii) Sports and other facilities in the African urban townships.

137 7. Other 'serious' including societal issues, science, television, space travel, etc.

1372 Sub-category: Culture, including music, art, literature.

8. Police Court and Crime, Accidents

140 a) Police (excluding 1(f) above, but including police brutality).

141 b) Crime and court cases (civil or criminal) excluding other categories under 8.

142 c) Sex crimes (excluding Immorality Act).

143 d) Divorces.

144 e) Liquor offences.

145 f) Accidents (including car, train, air, sea, mine, national calamities, power failures, etc.)

146 g) Suicides.

150 9. Sport (excluding 1(j) above)

160 10. Celebrities, Social, Human Interest

161 Sub-category: Love affairs etc.

11. Health

180 a) General, in South Africa

181 b) General, elsewhere

182 c) Medical Science, including heart transplants

170 12. Other

ADDENDUM SLIP (on page 44, following para. 1)

The construction of the Prominence Index may, however, be briefly elucidated. The following 'prominence' indices were assigned:

Item under 10 column inches	1
Item under ¼ of print space on page	2
Item at least ¼ but under ½ of print space on page	4
Item at least ½ but under ¾ of print space on page	6
Item at least ¾ page	8

For banner headlines and the item being the main one on the page, add: 2 points. If the article concerned is supported by a photograph(s) (of at least 3 column inches) the assigned value is multiplied by 1¼. If it is a front page article, x 1½; if it is a back page article, x 1¼.

'Social Criticism' was subjected mainly to qualitative, rather than quantitative treatment, and when the latter approach was used, categories were few and simple.

It is worth mentioning that some of the quantitative content analysis was done by paid helpers, at Rhodes and in Johannesburg, while translation of newspaper content (or titles) from Xhosa or Zulu into English was done by translators in Grahamstown and Durban. The greater part of the quantitative and all the qualitative analysis with very rare exceptions (one of the analysts at Rhodes, for example drew the writer's attention to the change in the nature of Post cartoons after Sharpeville) was carried out by the writer; at Rhodes on newspapers kindly supplied by the publishers, in the offices of some of the newspapers concerned, on newspapers in various libraries, especially Johannesburg Public Library and the British Museum Newspaper Library, and on microfilm.

With one or two exceptions (see Table 23, Note) the content analysis data was not subjected to statistical tests. This hardly seemed appropriate for most of the data presented.

2. Study of Journalists

This took the form of periods of observation at the offices of World (two weeks) and Post/Drum (two weeks) in December, 1968 and January 1969, as well as return visits ranging from a day or two to a week in April, July and November 1969, May, October and November, 1970 and April, 1971. Visits were also paid for some three days on the first, and ten days on the second occasion to the offices of Ilanga at Durban, and on three occasions for less than a day each time to Imvo Zabantsundu, in Kingwilliamstown. Preliminary visits were paid to Ilanga in January, 1967 and to Post and World in September 1967. Visits were also paid to Republican Publishers in Durban and to the publishers of Bona in Johannesburg. A subsequent visit was paid to World on the writer's visit to South Africa in 1972.

During the time of the visits of observation, the writer several times went out with African journalists on their assignments, and occasionally participated in social activity with African Press journalists, for example, at a farewell party given for one of the World staff in Soweto, at a party given by the writer in Randburg, and on a visit to a journalist's home in Lenasia. Interviews were held with the managers, editors (or editorial directors), advertising managers and other senior staff on the four newspapers studied, except for the advertising manager at Ilanga. The Managing Director and one other member of the Board of World Printing and Publishing Company were interviewed, as was the Proprietor of Post/Drum, Mr Bailey. Visits were paid to outlying branches of Post and Drum at Port Elizabeth and Durban.

Beside the specific activities mentioned the writer's periods at these newspaper offices took the form of non-participant observation to familiarise himself with the work of the office, not on a specific plan, and casual conversation with members of the staff as opportunity offered. Some time was also spent reading World Minutes and at Post runs of that newspaper. Attention was focused throughout, mainly on the editorial side of the newspapers concerned, but some attention was given to the business and works sides as well.

Besides the visits and contacts with African Press newspapers, visits were made to the Eastern Province Herald, Evening Post (both in Port Elizabeth), Rand Daily Mail and Star, and the writer attended the 1969 and 1970 Congresses of the South African Society of Journalists at Durban and Johannesburg respectively, and the Newspaper Press Union Conference at Port Elizabeth in 1969. Visits were also paid to Radio Bantu offices at Kingwilliamstown and Johannesburg, to an advertising agency, to Market Reseach Africa and to Banner News Agency in Johannesburg and Durban.

In February, 1969 and subsequently semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of some dozen journalists, white and black, on the African Press, on the basis of the Long Schedule.

Those interviewed were mainly, but not exclusively senior journalists defined as such in terms of status or length of service. These interviews were sometimes in the journalists' homes (or the writer's rented house), sometimes at the newspaper offices.

In February, 1969 questionnaires (hereinafter called the General Questionnaire) were sent to all journalists and senior business staff on World and Post/Drum, Ilanga, Imvo Zabantsundu and the Townships Edition staff of Rand Daily Mail. Subsequently, the questionnaire was sent to African journalists on some other newspapers and periodicals. In the case of World and Post/Drum's Johannesburg staff, questionnaires were distributed and returned through Management. Although confidentiality was assured by the use of sealed envelopes for return of questionnaires, the routing of questionnaires through Management evidently gave rise to some suspicion, and adversely affected the response rate. So did the word 'Bantu' in the title of the original version of the questionnaire, used in the first round of dispatches. In a few cases, questionnaires were completed at interview, but over 90 per cent of questionnaires were returned through the post or collected from Management by the writer.

The same questionnaire (revised version) was sent to a one-in-three sample of members of the South African Society of Journalists, other than those on the African Press (list kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Society) and subsequently, to a one-in-three sample of non-members of the Society on various newspapers which supplied lists of their staff. Due to the fact that some newspaper Managements declined to supply such lists, the sample was inevitably biased in terms of newspaper affiliation. In particular, only one of the major Afrikaans newspaper groups was prepared to supply a list of staff.

A follow-up letter and questionnaire was sent to all journalists who had not responded to the original questionnaire. This resulted in a number of further returns.

During 1970 an Attitudes Questionnaire based on that of McLeod and Rush (1969) was sent to all African Press journalists and to those journalists on the White Press who had replied to the previous questionnaire. A very brief questionnaire, containing a few 'demographic' questions, was sent at the same time, to those who had not returned the General Questionnaire.

Because the total number of questionnaires (General and Attitudes) completed by Africans was small a second survey, using the same two questionnaires, was commissioned from Market Research Africa in July-August, 1972. They were instructed to administer questionnaires to all African journalists who had not previously completed them; in fact some overlap occurred, but this was allowed for in the subsequent analysis. Two African interviewers (not all questionnaires were completed by interview, some were left with respondents to complete) were employed.

As indicated in the text, it seems reasonable to believe that the second survey elicited rather more accurate, because franker replies than the first, but there is no 'hard' evidence on which to base this belief.

To summarize, a complete coverage of African Press journalists on the main newspapers was attempted, and a one-in-three sample of other journalists. Table 1, below, gives a breakdown of questionnaires sent out and returned by newspaper or newspaper group.

The figures in Table 1 give an indication of the approximate orders of magnitude involved, and of the relative proportions of respondents from different newspapers. It will be seen, for example, that on the Rand Daily Mail a large majority, on World only about half of the African journalists completed the General Questionnaire. It seems unlikely that the characteristics of journalists on those newspapers which are over-represented are

TABLE 1 - Return of Questionnaires

Newspaper	Total Editorial Staff			No. General Questionnaires Received						No. Attitudes Questionnaires Received		
				Full Version			Short Version					
	Eur.	Col./As.	African	Eur.	Col./As.	African	Eur.	Col./As.	African	Eur.	Col./As.	African
AFRICAN PRESS												
World	13	0	50	8	0	15(+8)	1	0	1	3	0	7
Post	12	18	15	6	5	5(+1)	0	3	4	2	5	4
Drum	4	1	3	0	0	1(+1)	1	0	1	1	0	1
Ilanga	1	0	11	1	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	5
Imve Zabantsundu ..	3	0	9	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rand Daily Mail (Township edition) and other S.A.A.N. ..	0	2	13	0	0	6(+5)	0	0	0	0	1	3
Star	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Daily Dispatch ..	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Bona	1	0	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other African ..	1	0	4	1	0	0(+1)	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total, African Press	35	20	114(+8)	19	5	39(+16)	2	3	9	6	6	22
WHITE PRESS												
Argus Group	340			41						25		
South African Associated Newspapers ..	281			25						18		
English-language 'independents' ..	195			25						12		
Afrikaans Newspapers	124			13						0		
Other and miscellaneous	41			3						2		
Total, White Press	981			107						57		

Note: These figures are approximate, the African figures are complicated by the fact that the second sample was drawn in 1972, after the change of ownership of Post. The figures for the second sample are somewhat defective: they are given in brackets under the column: General Questionnaires, Full Version, African.

likely to be radically different from those of journalists on the other papers, so that the variations in response shown in Table 1 are probably unlikely to result in serious bias. There is, however, clear evidence of over-representation of higher-ranking journalists among the responses received. This is calculated to lead to obvious biases in terms of age, income, years of service, etc. and probably also in terms of some of the attitudes expressed (see St. Leger, 1974, Table 6). Table 2 below gives an indication of the over-representation for certain white newspapers where breakdowns of the total staff by status were available. Though similar data on the African newspapers is not quoted here, the imbalance would appear to be much less marked on them, with at least half of senior staff but some third to two-fifths of junior staff completing questionnaires.

Failure to answer specific questions, especially in the latter part of the questionnaire, or to answer them adequately, was not uncommon, among African journalists in particular. Comment has been made on this in the text, at appropriate points. The reasons for non-response are not clear.

The long interview varied both in completeness and in degree of structure. The impression gained in these interviews, and in other contacts was that respondents were, in most cases at least, speaking frankly and truthfully as far as what they did say was concerned; nevertheless, the depth of the contacts established was less than might have been hoped for.

The historical questionnaires, which have been used mainly in relation to Chapters V and XII were completed mainly on a postal basis, though some information was obtained by interview, or in 'casual conversation'. In a few cases, information was sought in letter form though covering most of the points in the questionnaire. One respondent replied in a seven-page typed letter! Historical questionnaires were sent only to persons who had either left the African Press altogether, or had left the newspaper about which information was sought. This was to avoid embarrassing respondents.

TABLE 2 - Comparison between Universe (i.e. all journalists) for certain newspapers and Sample, in terms of jobs

	Editor	Asst. Editor	Sub-Editor	Feature Writer	Reporter	Photo-grapher	Other	No Answer	Total
Universe	12	76	55	26	148	23	6	-	351
Sample	3	11	2	5	8	0	2	1	32
% Sample of Universe	25	14	4	19	6	0	33	-	9

Note: It will be noted that the data in this table represents under a third of the total sample and rather over a third of the universe.

Copies of the General Questionnaire, in its (revised) English and its Afrikaans forms, of the covering letter, of the Attitudes Questionnaire, are given in the Appendix, as is a copy of the Long Interview Schedule.

The data derived from the General and the Attitudes Questionnaires was subjected to statistical analysis (as indicated in the text) mainly by simple cross-tabulation and by factor analysis using a computer.

3. Readership of and Attitudes towards the Press

This study has provided comparatively little of the data presented in the thesis, but nevertheless merits a brief description.

The field study was carried out by means of a questionnaire (copies of the English version of each form of the questionnaire and field worker's instructions are attached - relatively few interviews were carried out using the Xhosa version). The questionnaire was made up of three sections, Section A which was common to all interviews, was centred round questions on socio-economic characteristics and media use, Section B on politics, and Section C on marriage and the family. The two latter were to be used in alternative interviews. In the end Section A and B were completed in 44 interviews, A and C in 35 and A by itself in two.

The Port Elizabeth Survey was preceded by a pre-test in Grahamstown, where the writer then lived, and some fairly minor changes were made in the questionnaire as a result.

The 81 respondents consisted of 57 drawn on the basis of a random 1 in 62 sample of dwellings in McNamee Township and 24

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chosen more or less 'ad hoc' from among the main professional and business groups in New Brighton and Kwazakele, the two main African townships in Port Elizabeth. Though not a random sample, the latter group was chosen in order to provide a large enough number of 'elites' (and better educated persons) to make comparisons between those and the 'non-elites' possible. Men were deliberately over-represented in the random sample (45 men as opposed to 12 women) but the sexes were equal in numbers in the 'elite' sample. Within each house selected for the random sample, the adult (for the appropriate sex) to be interviewed was chosen by random means.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting efficient and productive interviewers, so that the field work dragged on for some three months, July to October 1968. In the end most of the work was done by two African interviewers, Messrs V. Luwaka and B. Zondani, both of whom had had previous interviewing experience, and the quality of their work was good. A certain amount of resistance was encountered, but few refusals to be interviewed (except among teachers); rather this took the form of refusal to answer certain questions (especially political ones) or evasive answers. On the whole, respondents' co-operation in answering a long and complicated questionnaire was surprisingly good.

The data from this survey was analyzed partly by hand, partly by computer. Various statistical tests were used on the data especially Chi Square.

CHAPTER IV
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The African Press in South Africa, defined in Chapter I as those newspapers and periodicals mainly directed to Africans, is 'African' in this sense, and in that the great majority of its editorial staff are African (though mainly those on the lower levels), but not in the sense that it is either owned or controlled by Africans. With few exceptions - mainly religious newspapers - it is closely linked with major white economic interest groups, especially the vast mining interests, and in some cases to a white political group. In no case is control, either managerial or editorial, effectively in African hands. In both these respects the African Press contrasts with the Indian Press in South Africa which, though operating on a much smaller scale, is based largely on Indian capital and controlled by Indians. The reasons for this situation will be discussed in more detail later, but basically they are, firstly, that Africans - unlike Indians - have very seldom had adequate capital to finance newspapers, that as Africans have become steadily more integrated into the economy the market which can be reached by advertising through African newspapers has become much more important and that African public opinion had more and more become a force to be reckoned with, which must be wooed to prevent it flowing in revolutionary channels. The effects of this situation on the policy and characteristics of the African Press newspapers and on the motivation and morale of their staffs are very considerable. The links with white economic interests and the provision of white managerial 'know-how' have meant relative stability and economic viability.

The African Press cannot fully be understood except in relation to the South African Press as a whole, with which it is closely linked organizationally and economically, whose ethos inspires it in part, and from which it draws nearly all the white journalists who work for it. Hence the structure of the South

African Press as a whole must be described briefly.[1]

As in Britain, the United States and other Western industrialized countries, the Press field is largely covered by a few major companies. The largest of these is the Argus Company, followed by South African Associated Newspapers, Nasionale Pers, Afrikaanse Pers and Voortrekkerpers. There are also three independent dailies, various magazine publishers (apart from the newspaper groups, which also publish a number of magazines) and the country, trade and specialist press.

The financial strength of the main newspaper groups as measured by share capital (at market prices) in March 1970 and their average (newspaper) circulation for the latter half of 1969 (Sunday newspapers' circulation was divided by six) were as follows (from Streek's lecture) in percentage form:

	Capitalization	Circulation
Argus	54	35
S.A.A.N.	17	21
Independents	12	19
Afrikaanse Pers and Voortrekkerpers	10	13
Nasionale Pers	7	12
	100	100

The Argus Company directly owns four daily and one Sunday newspaper (Argus, Star, Natal Daily News, Diamond Fields Advertiser and Sunday Tribune) and has a controlling interest in seven other newspapers and several magazines. Of the latter group of papers three are African, World, Week-end World and Ilanga and one, the Cape Herald is addressed mainly to Coloured readers. Though no

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1. Sources on the structure of the South African Press include a lecture given by Mr. F.E. Streek, General Manager of the East London Daily Dispatch to journalism students at Rhodes University in May 1970, Veg magazine, January 1969, annual reports of the Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers respectively, both for 1969.

longer (since 1969) holding a controlling interest Argus is associated with the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, which controls the two dailies and two white weeklies published in Rhodesia. The Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers together have a controlling interest in the Central News Agency, which is the main distributor of newspapers and magazines in South Africa.

The main shareholders in the Argus Company are Central Mining Company, Rand Mines and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, which together held 13.2% of the share capital in November 1968, Argus provident, pension and savings funds together with the associated Rhodesian company which together hold a like percentage, and Syfret's nominees, 10.2%. Standard Bank, Barclays Bank and other groups hold lesser packets of shares (Financial Mail, 15.11.1968). Rand Mines and Johannesburg Consolidated Investments each appoint two directors, while three are Argus Company executives and one a former executive. (See Veg, 1969 for a rather more detailed account and a chart showing relationships between the various companies.) There is, therefore, substantial representation of mining and financial interests on Argus.

South African Associated Newspapers owns the Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Times and Sunday Express, and has a controlling interest in Evening Post and Eastern Province Herald through Eastern Province newspapers.[1] It has a 50% share in the Financial Mail. The Sunday Times has a circulation of 440,000 and a readership of close on 2,000,000, in both respects until recently by far the largest newspaper in South Africa. Read widely across both race and linguistic lines[2] it is the nearest approach to a national newspaper that South Africa has. The major shareholders in South African Associated Newspapers are the Bailey interests, which

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1. In 1973 it acquired a controlling interest in the Cape Times, one of the former independent newspapers.

2. At the beginning of 1968 approximately a third of the white readership was Afrikaans-speaking and of the total readership 8% was Coloured, 7% Asiatic and 22% was African (Market Research Africa, 1968). By 1973 the last proportion had risen to something like a quarter (Market Research Africa, 1973).

are linked with mining interests and with Syfret's Trust Company (finance and real estate).

In 1968 a merger between Argus and Associated Newspapers was being negotiated, when the Government stepped in to prevent this, warning that if the merger went through retrospective legislation would be passed to make it illegal. Hence no further move towards amalgamation took place, although the two companies came to an agreement to share printing facilities in Johannesburg, and Argus Company has since (1970) acquired a 31% shareholding in South African Associated Newspapers.

Besides these two major companies there are several independent newspapers in the English-language field, namely the Daily Dispatch, Mercury and Natal Witness. These newspapers, the Cape Times and the Rand Daily Mail co-operate in a loose organization called the 'Morning Group' - all are morning newspapers - for the collection of news, and maintain an office for this purpose in London. However, none of the three papers is actually controlled by outside interests. The Daily Dispatch is controlled by the Crewe Trust, a welfare and charitable body, while the Mercury and Witness are owned by the Robinson and Craib families respectively.

In the Afrikaans Press field Nasionale Pers, whose headquarters is in Cape Town and which represents the more 'verligte' Cape orientation within Nationalist politics, owns Die Burger, Die Volksblad (both dailies), and Die Oosterlig (twice weekly) as well as several magazines, some of them in English. It also produced the very successful Sunday newspaper Beeld, but late in 1970 this was merged with Afrikaanse Pers Dagbreek en Sondagnuus in a new newspaper, Rapport, published by a new company, a subsidiary of the parent companies. This merger seems to have been in effect, and as far as policy is concerned, a takeover by Beeld and Nasionale Pers, and a victory for the 'verligtes'. Rapport is printed in Johannesburg. Rapport has achieved an astonishing rise in circulation: by the time (September, 1974) when the final

draft of this chapter was written it had passed the Sunday Times, with a circulation of over half a million; its total readership is, however, apparently still smaller than that of the Sunday Times (1,610,000 plus as opposed to 1,948,000 plus in the first half of 1973 - Market Research Africa, 1973) and its African readership is much smaller than that of the latter newspaper.

Afrikaanse Pers, based on Johannesburg produces two dailies, Die Vaderland and Hoofstad, and an African weekly newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu. It also publishes some four magazines, one of which, Bonn, is for Africans, and one, the Financial Gazette is in English. Voortrekkerpers, also based on Johannesburg, publishes Die Transvaler. At the beginning of 1971 Afrikaanse Pers and Voortrekkerpers initiated much closer mutual co-operation - the next best thing to a merger.

Besides the three major companies the Afrikaans Press also contains two smaller companies publishing weekly newspapers and/or magazines, Landstem and Drakensbergpers. Republican Publishers, of Durban, is a major publisher of magazines both in English and in Afrikaans and especially of photo magazines.

While the two major English-language newspaper groups have fairly close links with the gold mining interests and the English Press as a whole is very broadly aligned with commercial and industrial interests, the Afrikaans Press has from the beginning been, and to a large extent still is, closely linked with political interest groups, especially, of course, the Nationalist Party. The implications of these differences for newspaper policy and tradition are not without indirect relevance for the African Press, insofar as the majority of its main units are under the aegis of either the English or the Afrikaans Press, and more direct relevance insofar as the White newspapers strive - and at least some of them are being increasingly successful[1] - to obtain African readership.

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1. See Chapter VII and especially Table 10, p.145 below.

A most important body in the structure of the South African Press is S.A.P.A. - the South African Press Association. Apart from the newspapers' own staff and correspondents, S.A.P.A. is the main source of news for its members, that is, for nearly all South African newspapers. It supplies its members with internal news, in which it has a monopoly, and obtains external news direct and through contracts with Reuters and Associated Press. Some South African newspapers also take the services of other agencies, such as United Press International, for external news, but taking both internal and external news together, it is virtually impossible to run a daily newspaper - or a metropolitan weekly - unless one receives the S.A.P.A. service. Hence the extent to which S.A.P.A. hinders or facilitates new members joining it is a measure of monopolistic power in the South African Press field. The most important rule governing this is the 'franchise' one. (A 'franchise' is the right to receive the S.A.P.A. news service.) Each newspaper is granted a 'franchise' for any given area, for one of the two official languages, and for either the morning or the afternoon - though some companies have 'double franchises'. No newspaper will be allowed to become a S.A.P.A. member in the same franchise area and category as another, except under very stringent conditions. Voting, further, on the admission of new members is not by majority but by three-quarters majority vote. These rules help to create partial local monopoly for all South African daily newspapers as morning and evening, English and Afrikaans newspapers, are only very partially in competition.

The near monopoly of the Central News Agency in distribution - there is a subsidiary, Banner News Agency, which caters for Black newspapers - is also important in relation to the founding of new papers.

Discussion of the structure of the Press in South Africa would not be complete without mention of the organized bodies of employers and employees respectively, which together make up the National Industrial Council of the Printing and Newspaper Industry. As far as the editorial side is concerned these are the Newspaper Press Union and the South African Society of Journalists. The Newspaper Press Union was formed as early as 1883 to represent

the interests of newspaper proprietors in South Africa. It now represents nearly all the white newspapers in the country and some of the black ones. The South African Society of Journalists was founded in 1920. With some 600 members (at the time of the field-work) it covers about two-thirds of the English-language Press in South Africa, but has very few, if any, members on Afrikaans newspapers and a few on black newspapers. Because of the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, which controls Industrial Councils and Trade Unions, no Africans may belong to it. There are a few Coloured and Asian members, but they have to form separate branches (at Cape Town and Durban respectively). The Society of Journalists is not entirely clear whether it is in the first place a professional association or a trade union. Unlike the (British) National Union of Journalists (Boyd-Barrett, 1970, pp.183-4) the Society on balance lays greater stress on the former aspect of its role.

The South African Journalists Association (S.A.J.A.) was founded in 1962 as a non-racial body potentially inclusive of all South African journalists. For some two years the Association prospered at least to the extent of enrolling not only a considerable number of African journalists but a number of white ones as well. In 1963-64, due to extensive police activity against subversion - some of it involving journalists - and the authorities' frown on multi-racial associations S.A.J.A. lost most of its white membership. African members, who had always been a large majority on the Association, continued active until about 1967, after which S.A.J.A. became dormant. At the time of the field work attempts were being made to revive it.[1] Not surprisingly, it was not effective in obtaining higher salaries for its members. It was affiliated to the International Federation of Journalists and had a liaison committee with the S.A.S.J. The former affiliation has lapsed and the latter is dormant. More recently there has been considerable discussion about a move to form a joint non-racial union. Such a union (unlike the S.A.S.J.) would no longer be recognised under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

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1. Subsequently a separate organization for blacks only, the Union of Black Journalists, was founded.

The structure of the South African Press and its links with economic and political interests have, of course, considerable implications for policy. These will be discussed further on in Chapter XIII.

There are several newspapers for Coloureds and Indians in South Africa - as well as for various other, much smaller, minority groups. None of these papers are dailies. They include (approximate circulation in January-June, 1973 in brackets): Cape Herald, published in Cape Town (85,000), The Leader (12,000) and Graphic (no circulation figures available to author) published for Indians in Durban. These are all weeklies. Cape Herald is owned by the Argus Company, the other two are Indian-owned. Besides these there are a few other, minor, Non-European newspapers.

The African Press consisted at the time of the field work (circulation figures as of that time) of the following newspapers:

World	(103,000)
Week-end World	(96,000)
Post	(219,000)
Ilanga	(41,000)
Imvo Zabantsundu	(33,000)

as well as a number of less important weekly, bi-weekly or monthly newspapers and magazines published by religious, Governmental, trade union and other bodies. This thesis will be concerned with the five listed above, as well as the major magazines Drum, and to a lesser extent Bona and True Africa.

World and Week-end World are produced by the World Printing and Publishing Company at Industria, Johannesburg. This company also owns Ilanga, in Durban, and The Times of Swaziland, in Mbabane, a paper aimed principally at the white community in Swaziland. As already mentioned these newspapers are controlled by the Argus Company, which has a 76% share holding if one includes the Argus-controlled Press Trust and N.C.P. holdings, in the World Printing and Publishing Company. Anglo-American has 12% and Sterling Investments (into which Charles Maggs Investments has

been transmuted) 10%. The Board consists of four representatives of the Argus Company, two of Anglo-American Corporation, one of Sterling Investments and Mr E. O'C. Maggs, one of the original sponsors of the Bantu Press, who is on the Board in his own right.

World is published daily, from Monday to Friday. It consists of 12-16 pages, depending on the volume of advertising. Like Week-end World, it is in English. There are five editions daily. A specimen front page of World is reproduced below. The paper sells for 2 cents.[1] The great bulk of World's 100,000 plus circulation is on the Reef, Vaal area and Pretoria.

Week-end World, which was started in June 1968, consists of some 16 pages. Specimen front and middle pages are reproduced below. Its format, except for the larger size (25" x 17" as against 17" x 12½" of daily World) is much the same as that of the daily; the content includes many more feature articles and features than the daily edition. Week-end World sells for four cents. There are six editions, East Cape, West Cape and Natal, all of which go to press on Wednesday, and three Reef editions, on Saturday from 7.30 to 11.00 p.m. The great majority of copies are sold on the Reef.

World and Week-end World have a staff of some 95, excluding those employed in the works. On the business, as on the editorial side, the daily and weekly newspapers are under one control, with a common manager and editorial director respectively. The details of the business staff, who are all white, are not relevant, but the organization on the editorial side comprises an editorial director, editor, two assistant editors (for World and Week-end World respectively), news editor and sports editor. There are three sub-editors, a woman writer, two photographers and several reporters on Week-end World. World has a chief- and four other sub-editors, four photographers and some 26 reporters, including sports reporters. Besides all these there is a cartoonist

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1. The price has been raised to 3 cents since the time of the field work, and the paper now (1973) has up to 24 pages.

SHERPHINE
FOR QUICK RELIEF FROM MOST ACHES AND PAINS HEART AND LIVER, GALL AND BLADDER, STOMACH, RHEUMATISM, BODY SORES, SLUGGISHNESS, HEALTH SERENCIN
Ask for ROBINSON'S by name from your Chemist or Medicine shop
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EXTRA LATE.

WORLD

OUR OWN BUSINESS PAPER

ALEX ROBINSON'S
FRESHEN
cleans and purifies the system

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1968

Price 2c

SPECIAL SERVICES FOR BOBBY IN SOWETO

By Percy Qoboza

MEMORIAL services are to be held all over Johannesburg for Senator Robert Kennedy.

The first of these will be held tonight at the Roman Catholic Church in Rockville.

The service will start at 6.30 p.m. and will be attended, among others, by members of the Urban Bantu Council of Soweto in their official gowns.

SPEAKERS

It will be led by Rev. Father Gerard Coleman O.M.I. A number of prominent speakers have been invited to pay tributes to Robert Kennedy.

The biggest service, which will be attended by people of all races, is to be held tomorrow.

(Continued on back Page)



Michael Tiger Sheke Chirowodza, the Rhodesian featherweight champion, who takes on our South African Bantamweight champion, Anthony Morodi, at the Kwa-Thema Civic Centre tonight, poses shortly after arriving at the Jan Smuts Airport last night.

'TIGER' FLIES IN WITHOUT A PENNY

MICHAEL "TIGER" SHEKE Chirowodza, the Rhodesian featherweight champion, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday for his fight against Anthony "Blue Jaguar" Morodi after weeks of suspens on for the Springs promoters, Benseli promotions.

The promoter had already given up hope of his arrival. They had been disappointed on several occasions before time from the Rhodesian at the airport.

CHIROWODZA

Yesterday Chirowodza arrived. The promoters were not there to meet him. He was penniless and had to be assisted by newsmen to pay R2 necessary for an entry and through the airport control.

He told THE WORLD: "I was delayed by several problems. But the major one was my knee. I had been receiving treatment at the Harari hospital in Salisbury."

PROBLEM

He had a perceptible limp as he moved off the plane. Asked if he was fit he said: "Rather, to go and you will see the proof of this tonight."

Undefeated as a featherweight champion of his country he said: "No one will ever take that title away from me. He has hopes to fight in Italy in the near future.

Mum's head bashed to pulp: witness

NELSPRUIT. — **With tears streaming from his eyes, a 13-year-old lad told a judge this week how he watched helplessly while a man battered his sister and her seven-month-old baby to death with a four feet pole.**

Alpheus Nyoni (20) was appearing before Mr. Justice J. H. Kroon in the Transvaal Supreme Court in Pretoria on a murder charge. He has pleaded not guilty.

The lad told the court that he and his sister were [illegible] shortly after midnight on a morning during May last year. When they spoke the door flew open and Nyoni's brother-in-law entered.

DRESS

"Nyoni was dressed in [illegible] and he drew a knife from the inside [illegible] to be pressed under while allowing him and my sister to pass. Then I ran out to the house where I [illegible] Mr. Barnard [illegible] was staying with us," the boy said.

HORROR

The boy told Mr. Panda [illegible] and him [illegible] to the house where [illegible] they saw Nyoni [illegible] boy's sister and baby with a [illegible]. He said [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ROTARY
FINE SWISS WATCHES "the Sportsmen watch"

OVER 1,000,000 SOLD IN SOUTH AFRICA

WEEKEND WORLD
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 1968 * * 4c

SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE USE

AMBI
63
THE BEST SKIN LIGHTENING CREAMS IN THE WORLD

'Knife law' spreads terror in Natal

DURBAN—THERE HAS BEEN ANOTHER UPSWING IN NATAL'S NON-WHITE CRIME RATE. STABBINGS ARE RIFE AND THE "LAW OF THE KNIFE" HAS STRUCK TERROR INTO THE HEARTS OF THE TOWNSHIP'S LAW ABIDING RESIDENTS.

Only a few weeks ago WEEKEND WORLD reported that gangsters had started attacking women. Now they have become so bold that even the police are not safe.

Only last weekend two African policemen were brutally murdered while a White policeman was stabbed by an African.

The knife first flashed when Constable N. A. Mtalane, aged 28, was on his way to his home. He was stabbed in the chest during an argument.

TIPPED OFF

Later the police were tipped off that the alleged killer was hiding in a house in Umlazi. They surrounded the house and when the suspect tried to escape he was brought down by five police dogs.

The second killing took place in Chesterville Township where Constable I. Xaba, aged 24, was fatally stabbed while walking in the street with three other policemen.

It was dark and they were on their way to visit Mr. Xaba's aunt when a man who had been walking with another group of people suddenly rushed up to Mr. Xaba and stabbed him in the chest.

STONED

There has been violence in the Indian townships too. An Indian motorist was stoned to death in Greenwood Park and an Indian taxi driver of Verulam was allegedly murdered by two Indians. The driver was shot through the neck.

This week an African wanted on a murder charge was arrested in bush near Westville and an African suspect in a theft case was shot in the back by the Overport police. His spine was smashed.

Another shooting took place on the banks of the Tugela River where a suspect wanted for questioning in connection with an attempted burglary was shot while he was roasting some mutton.

Miss Nxaphavi said that Michael had stepped in when his friend quarrelled with another youth.

Meanwhile in Durban, Mr. Percy Nzuza, a well known salesman, who was paralysed after being stabbed in the spine, is improving in hospital.

His right leg has completely regained nervous feeling, and his left leg is steadily improving.

The hospital spokesman said that Mr. Nzuza was likely to be discharged from hospital in a few weeks.

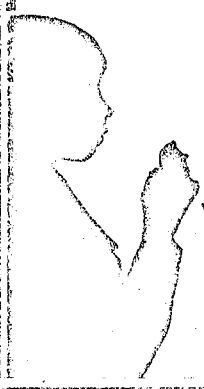
GANG'S BLOODY TRAIL OF DEATH



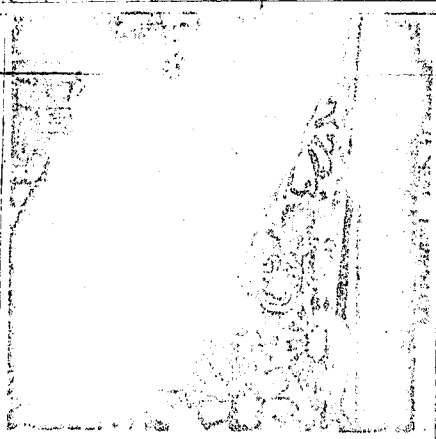
Kids see mum raped, dad killed

DREADED "RUSSIAN" GANGSTERS, WHO FOR YEARS NOW HAVE SPREAD TERROR AMONG RESIDENTS IN REEF TOWNSHIPS AND ELSEWHERE, HAVE WRITTEN ANOTHER BLOODY CHAPTER IN THEIR LONG HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

The big sex racket Dolls who sell their bodies.



Read of the sex for sale girls on Page 9



Sunny is the day and sunny is the smile for you from Sarah Khaas. It is visions like Sarah that inspire poets and make taxi-drivers take their eyes off the road For the record she is a showgirl and has returned from a tour of Australia with Harry Mekela's "Negro A-Go-Go" troupe.

Chief's denial

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi of Mahlabathini has denied a report in the WEEKEND WORLD that he was "surprised" at not having been on the recent delegation headed by the Zulu King, Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhekuzulu, to Pretoria for discussions on the establishment of a Zulustan.

In a statement, the Chief said:

"I wish to make it clear that I do not in any way resent the fact that I was not one of the members of the King's delegation to Pretoria. It is the King's prerogative to choose who accompanies him if and when he goes for such interviews".

● Obed Musi, WEEKEND WORLD Chief Reporter writes: "I stand by my story as being a true and accurate reflection of my conversation with Chief Buthelezi.

Their latest outrage, which has shocked the people of Soweto, was the cold blooded shooting of a father of three, and the raping of his wife and another woman, while his children watched helplessly.

The incident took place in Soweto's Mapetla Township, where a dozen of these "Russians" — recognisable by the balaclava caps and blankets they wear — stormed through the township, brandishing guns and pangas.

SHOT FIVE TIMES

Centre of their violence was the home of 57-year-old Mr. Philip Moloko, of 817 Mapetla, whom they shot five times, twice through the head.

They stormed the Moloko home, breaking windows and smashing in the front door.

Mrs. Moloko and her kids took refuge under the bed in her bedroom as the gang burst into the house looking for Mr. Moloko.

FACE TO WALL

The gang forced the screaming kids to face the wall as they ransacked the house. One of the men took the children's aunt out of the house and raped her on the veranda.

Mrs. Moloko offered the gangsters her husband's pay. Nevertheless the men took her out by force, and raped her outside the house.

PRAYED

The gang then hacked Mr. Moloko before they forced him outside, too. Five shots were fired, two striking Mr. Moloko through the head.

Meanwhile "Russian" gangsters are also reported to have been active on the East Rand at Daveyton where cops have launched a round-the-clock manhunt for 30 of the gangsters, who raided 10 houses in the township, operating an extortion racket.

Residents are forced to pay sums of R20 and R30, it is reported, or face being beaten up and having their homes wrecked by the "Russians".

BEAT BROTHER TO DEATH—CONFESSION

MASERU. — Tshela Mphahane beat his 10-year-old brother to death with a belt after he found him eating eggs in their home, it was alleged in a confession read in court here when Mphahane appeared charged with his brother's murder. A Police witness said he found the boy's body covered with bruises.

The case is proceeding.

TWO SPIKED TO DEATH AS CRIME ROCKS E.L.

From W. SANGOTSHA

EAST LONDON.—THREE PEOPLE DIED VIOLENTLY IN A WAVE OF CRIME IN THE AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS HERE AT THE WEEKEND. TWO MEN — ONE AN EX-BOXER — WERE KILLED BY "INTSHUMENTSHU" OR SHARPENED SPIKES.

The naked body of Mr. Siponono Fatu, 37, an ex-boxer was discovered by passers by near a bush at Mdantsane Township. The blood had drained from him, and it is believed he was stabbed with a sharp instrument which had penetrated his spine.

WEEKEND WORLD was told that he was attacked and robbed by unknown assailants. Mr. Fatu, who lived at Duncan Village, I was told, had visited a Mr. Tomi, a friend. Mr. Fatu was an ex-boxer.

STABBED

Details of the third death were not immediately available.

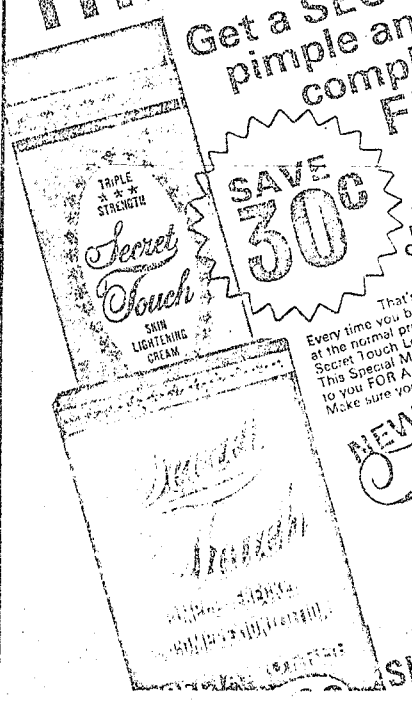
A 23-year-old Kimberley-born youth, Michael Yabo of Mnqqibisa Street, was also stabbed to death with an "intshumentshu" at Duncan

White was father of servant's baby

RUSTENBURG. — A 28-year-old farmer, Hermanus Lambertus Erasmus, of the farm Rooiwal in Swartruggens, was ordered to pay his African servant eight cattle and R20 cash, for fathering her child and was also sentenced to nine months imprisonment (suspended for three years), when he appeared in the Regional Magistrate's Court here.

Erasmus pleaded guilty to Mr. R. T .A. Muller on a charge under the Immorality Act.

Evidence was that the servant, Evelyn Maragele, had relations with Erasmus two years ago. A child was born and "Erasmus is the father", she said. The child is now 15 months old.

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That's Right! Every time you buy a Tube of Secret Touch Cream at the normal price of 79c, you get a Bottle of Secret Touch Lotion FREE! This Special Money-Saving Offer is Available to you FOR A LIMITED PERIOD ONLY. Make sure you get your supply now!
NEW Secret Touch
SKIN LIGHTENING CREAM

INSIDE

Cops hunt tribesmen

Kei election candidates

E.L. Rugby row

WORLD — The Editor speaks out

FIRST SIGNS OF DISUNITY

FOR 20 years the Nationalists have ruled South Africa with a firm hand. In fact they have just finished celebrating their 20 years in office.

During this time they have presented a solid front, with little sign of any real disunity in their ranks.

But events in the past week or two seem to indicate that the first chinks in the solid Nationalist front are beginning to appear.

We refer, of course, to the so-called struggle going on between the "Verligte" (un-going, "enlightened" group and the "Verkramptе" (right wing extremists) in the Nationalist ranks.

Till last week it was difficult to assess just how serious the cleavage was.

But the matter has now been brought out into the open with Prime Minister Vorster's expulsion of Dr. Albert Hertzog, reputed spiritual leader of the "Verkramptes", from the Cabinet, and the reprimand Mr. Vorster delivered to those who fight his policies and ways in the party.

Mr. Vorster has certainly shown that he is a man to be reckoned with. It is obvious that his patience has become exhausted and he are determined to stop the rot.

But what will happen now?

The ball is now squarely on the court of his right wing opponents. It seems hardly possible that they will take Mr. Vorster's actions lying down, even if they work within the party to start with.

All thinking South Africans, White and Black, will be watching—with keen interest—the struggle between the "verligtes" and the "verkramptes" which is now being brought to a head; with, who knows, what consequences?

Mr Coetzee: Correction and apology

IN bidding "Goodbye" in these columns last week to Mr. Blaar Coetzee, former Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, who is now the new Minister of Community Development and Public Works, we feel we were perhaps unfair to Mr. Coetzee.

We spoke of his "removal" from the post of Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and referred to his "short-lived ministerial career." On reflection, we realise that was an incorrect and untrue presentation of the facts.

Mr. Coetzee was not "removed" but, in fact, promoted from Deputy Minister to his new post which carries full ministerial ranking. And his ministerial career is by no means short-lived; he has been a member of the Cabinet for some years.

The Editor, proprietor and publisher take this first opportunity, therefore, to put these facts in their true perspective and apologise to Mr. Coetzee for any wrong impression that we may have created among our readers.

KING'S 'ZULUSTAN' PLANS -- WILL THE PEOPLE FALL IN LINE?

AFTER a long, uneasy lull, Zululand hit the headlines last week with the news that King Cyprian was seeking self rule for his people in Natal and Zululand and the first step was to ask for a Territorial Authority to be established in Zululand.

by The Editor M.T. Moerane

The road to a Zulustan had been a very slow, reluctant affair. Whereas King Cyprian had earlier accepted the proposal to establish a Bantustan, his right-hand man and Zulustan Chief Minister "designate" University-educated Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, submitted that the change envisaged was such a fundamental historical development that, according to African custom and procedure, the people themselves had to be consulted and give their consent.

ASKED GOVERNMENT

He and those who supported his view, asked the Republican Government to conduct such a referendum among the Zulus.

The Government did not accept this recommendation but proceeded to constitute Tribal authorities where individual chiefs took the initiative, in response to suggestions and encouragement by the Government's spokesmen.

To date, it is reported that 12 Regional Authorities have been established out of such Tribal Authorities and four are in the process of being formed.

It is expected, therefore, that a possible 16 or 17 will be in a position to answer the roll when the Territorial Authority is established — the maximum possible is 28.

It is reported that Chief Gatsha's own district's Regional Authority of Mahlabathini was established by the Government and not by application by the tribe.

Whatever the true facts about this situation, the fact is that Chief Gatsha's area also has a Regional Authority, and even though he was not at the talks with Minister M. C. Botha when King Cyprian made the application for a Territorial Authority last week, not much significance is attached to the incident, regarding his role in the future Territorial Authority.

The key question is the siting of the capital of the Territorial Authority-to-be.

The Paramount Chief regards it as a foregone conclusion that the capital of Zulustan will be Nongoma.

SEAT

He pointed out that it is the seat of the Paramountcy as well as the Commissioner-General's headquarters.

He pooh-poohed the suggestion that Eshowe, with its railway service and other conveniences, could ever be an alternative to Nongoma.

At this point it is not clear how enthusiastic the Zulu people are about launching a Bantustan. In the past they had adopted a policy of "wait and see". It is not certain whether they are now satisfied that it is good to open up a new chapter of history and become a Bantustan.

Some of the well-known leaders in Natal, like Mr. A. W. Champion, have urged the sooner self-government is sought, the better.

NEXT STEPS

The Paramount Chief believes that when the Authority is established, all the districts will come up to join and prepare for the next steps to self-government and Zulu Parliament.

All our people, beyond the borders of Natal and Zululand as well, will watch developments in that area with interest in the days that lie ahead.

ACCEPTED IN THE BIBLE

Circumcision — does it make any difference to manhood

SIR,—IS THE CUSTOM OF SENDING PEOPLE TO SCHOOL TO BE CIRCUMCISED A JUST ONE? I AM COMPELLED TO ASK THIS QUESTION BECAUSE OF A REPORT I RECENTLY READ IN THE WEEKEND WORLD BY A RESPECTABLE MAN, WHO PRAISED INITIATION SCHOOLS AND SAID THAT ANY ONE WHO HAS NOT BEEN TO AN INITIATION SCHOOL REMAINS A BOY AND CAN NEVER BE A MAN.

SCHOOL HAS NO DESKS

SIR,—Allow me to say a few words about the new secondary school which was opened in Rustenburg this year.

The school is very poor. We have no desks, no teachers and also no laboratory.

It has only two teachers. A lady and a gentleman.

WORRIED STUDENT
Rustenburg.

How many Black nations support this custom or does he direct his statement to his particular tribe? I am, however, not starting a controversy by writing this. I merely want to test the readers' opinion on this matter.

OBJECT

If you are a Christian is it acceptable in the Bible to practise this custom. What I object to is the statement that even the married men who are uncircumcised will find it virtually impossible to be part of that society, particularly when we trek to the homelands.

The boys born in urban areas — except for the staunch Ndebele and Pedi — are not accustomed to this practice.

ARTHUR GAWE.
Lynnville.

Letters to the Editor

The mini fans are wrong, he says

SIR,—I would like to point out a few things to Mr. Simon N. Nkohla in connection with his letter in which he attacks ministers over mini skirts.

I am not a minister, but I think, Mr. Nkohla, you are wrong when you speak about Xhosa custom, instead of Xhosa fashion.

A custom is a custom; it won't change. A fashion is something in life which may be bad or good and it lasts only for a couple of months.

PROGRESS

You must also realise that we are now living in a modern civilisation and we want progress. We do not want obstacles in our way.

You speak about the Bible in connection with mini skirts. Minis are against Bible teachings.

I am sure many people will take only what is good and reject minis. Ladies, I ask you to wear dresses of a reasonable length and stop wearing mini skirts.

STEPHENS MOETAPELE.
Attridgeville.

Why all the Zulu chiefs?

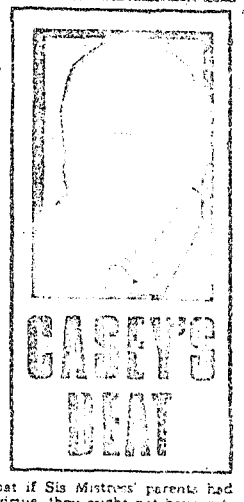
SIR,—Can anyone explain to me why Zulus address their minor chiefs as "Inkosi"?

I am Swazi by origin, but have now settled in Nongoma, Natal. It seems every little village in Zululand has its own "Inkosi", and recognises no other tribal authority. The tribe's Paramount Chief, King Cyprian, is practically unknown to the younger generation.

I do not understand this as we Swazis all recognise Sobhuza II as above all the other minor chiefs. How we address as "Inkosi".

P. S. M. HLEZA.
Vosloorus.

Moonshine is no good for taking wedding pictures



I'M willing to lay odds that if Sis Mistress' parents had heard that patience is virtue, they might not have gotten themselves into this financial contortion and nearly getting me beaten up. All they had to do was wait another two weeks for the girl's uncle to come out of the clink before going on with the wedding.

Kid Shutterbug, who likes taking pictures at weddings, invites me to this wedding taking place somewhere in the bundu so's we can take pictures for what he calls "the papers".

It so happens that I'm tired of these weddings which always leave me with such a juicy hangover. I now and then confuse Monday mornings with Sunday evenings and take my beauty sleep instead of rushing to work, and this is getting me into trouble with my boss.

A wedding song

But then I agree ... Kid Shutterbug outs with a bottle of moonshine and the driver has hardly engaged third gear when Kid Shutterbug begins singing: "Abuti ole o apre suitu, maoto ko tlase ke manga feela", which is a popular wedding song.

I'm beginning to wonder whether this moonshine is the real thing or whether it is "doctored". I take a wee sip and conclude it's not what the doctor ordered on account I begin joining Kid Shutterbug who has gone an octave higher. I refuse all other offers.

The trouble starts

When we get to the wedding our troubles start with Kid Shutterbug who refuses to get out of the car for the simple reason that he is snoring peacefully. But somehow I manage to convince these angry non-voters that he will come around at the precise moment to take pictures.

Kid Shutterbug fails to come around. And as we drive back to Jossie these other guys are giving me such a mean look I think they are going to throw me out of the car.

Naturally, with our kind of weddings, this wedding again takes place at the groom's place in Mapetla. Kid Shutterbug was there too, and although he was singing "abuti ole . . ." at least he was on his feet taking pictures with a flash in broad daylight to impress these yokels who keep remarking "eyabenya" each time the flash goes off.

No pictures

Everybody is happy and we promise them that the pictures will appear in "the papers". But the pictures never appear for the simple reason that Kid Shutterbug had forgotten to put film in the camera.

Every time I meet these characters in the train I try to explain how the adverts took up all the space but they insist that the least that can be done is give them copies of these ghost prints.

Well, Kid Mistress' uncle saves the day by coming out of the clink and insisting that the marriage should be re-staged all over again for his benefit.

His dream

After all, he says, Sis Mistress is the apple of his eye and his dream has always been to see her dressed in a white gown and him giving the bride away.

This time we manage to get pictures on account I go with another shutterbug who is such a non-drinker he won't even touch ginger beer. As they say, all's well that ends well.

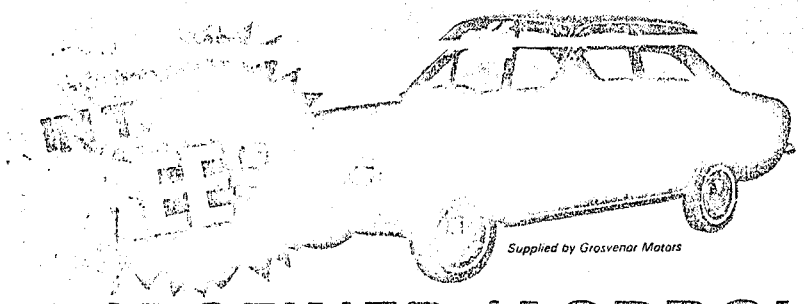
Uyawuzwa umoya . . .

—CASEY MOTSISI.

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Weekend World,
P.O. Box 6663,
Johannesburg.

Remember to sign all letters — even if written

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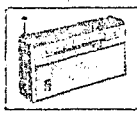


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A COLD ☐ TOOTHACHE [A]

2. Then complete this sentence in your own words, using no more than 15 extra words:

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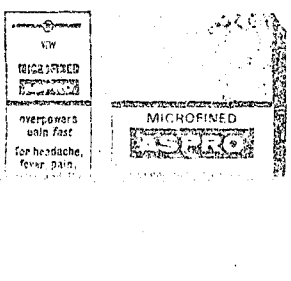
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3. Put your name and address here, and post this coupon to: CAR COMPETITION, BOX 19, PINETOWN, NATAL. Post early, to reach Pinetown before the COMPETITION CLOSING DATE, 30th NOVEMBER, 1968

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ADDRESS.....



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1. Send as many entries as you like – but with each entry you must send an empty pack of Microfined 'Aspro', *or* a good drawing of the pack. 2. Use the entry form shown here – or make a reasonable copy of the form yourself. Extra forms are free at your local store. 3. Judges will award prizes to entrants who, in their opinion send the most accurate, best and neatest entry and the decision of the judges will be final, and no correspondence can be entered into. 4. Employees of Nicholas Products (Pty) Ltd., their Advertising Agents, and their immediate families, may not enter. 5. Results will appear in this publication, and winners will also be informed by letter.



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If it's by BORDEN ...it's got to be good

(employed about 90% by World), two columnists and a number of detached reporters in Pretoria, other Reef towns and in Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban. The editorial director, assistant editors, cartoonist and all the sub-editors are white, the other editor and all other staff African.

The position of the editor is somewhat ambiguous, insofar as, while he does exercise some editorial functions, such as leader writing and vetting letters and copy, he has only limited power over the subordinate staff, who are ultimately responsible to the editorial director. In short, he serves the roles of advisor and figurehead; his picture in fact used at one time to appear above all editorials, though some of these were and are written by the editorial director or the news editor. The origins of this system go far back in the history of the World, and will be discussed in terms of that history, in Chapter VI. Hiring, promotion and dismissal of editorial staff is in the hands of the editorial director, in the first place, with a right of appeal (in the case of dismissal) to the manager. Some of the white staff come from other Argus Company newspapers on transfer.

African cub reporters start at 18 on R15.00 per week rising by R2.50 per six months (or per annum, at the longest) to R32.50. The news editor gets R35.00 per week, the editor (African) R430.00 per month (including R50.00 car allowance). The World Printing and Publishing Company has recently become a member of the Industrial Council for the Newspaper Industry and pays at least the rates laid down in the 1970 agreement to its white staff, that is: R150 per month after one year's experience x R25 to R350, after which increases are at the employer's discretion. There is thus a ratio of between 2 and 3:1 between White and African salaries. As far as promotion is concerned it is clear that opportunities would in any case be somewhat limited by the size of the newspaper. The editorial director said that he was quite prepared to promote Africans as they became ready for it, but upward movement is slow. When one assistant editor (white) left recently, for example, he was replaced by another white man from another Argus paper. Similarly, no Africans have been promoted to sub-editor rank. The reasons for this, in a situation where the

African reporters appear on the average to be older than the white sub-editors, and to have longer service in journalism, appear to be firstly a policy of festina lente, and, secondly, lack of training to fit them for sub-editorial or senior positions. Reactions to this position are discussed later (see Chapter XIII) but the reply of one of the senior African journalists when asked what he had liked least about his service on the World may be quoted here: 'Under-paid and not getting promotion as fitting experience and years of service, but this has since been improved - after years of struggle'.

The Works staff is headed by a white, but includes both white and African skilled workers. The fact that Africans are not promoted in the Works, and that a number of white artisans have been appointed within the last few years, appears to have been a source of some dissatisfaction not only in the Works itself, but among the African journalists. The Manager says that he could not get skilled African linotype operators, and that those who were there, admittedly with long service, could not be promoted because of low educational qualifications. Further, their productivity was much lower than that of their white counterparts, and with circulation increasing rapidly, but more particularly with the founding of Week-end World the need for high productivity was acute. As with the journalists there is a wage differential in the Works, the whites being paid according to the Industrial Council agreement, the Africans at a much lower rate, ranging from 30% of the (white) journeyman's rate for a trainee printing operative in his first year, to 60% in his sixth year, and 70% when qualified. There is a pension scheme, applying to all employees, white or black, editorial, business or works.

Post, a weekly and Drum, a monthly magazine, were both published by Mr Jim Bailey's organization, comprising five different companies altogether. These were Post Publications and Drum Publications, which published Post and Drum respectively, Patricia and Trinity Printing Company, which did the printing of both publications, and Newspaper Enterprises, a holding company controlling the four others. Mr Bailey held all (or most) of the

shares in the holding company. Through Bailey's Trustees (trustees of the estate of the late Sir Abe Bailey, Jim Bailey's father), Mr Jim Bailey has a share in the control of South African Associated Newspapers. The management of the four subsidiary companies was common, but Post and Drum had separate editorial structures. Editorial staff were, however, transferred freely between the two companies, sometimes shared and sometimes lent temporarily by the one to the other.

Post was a tabloid, measuring 17 by 11½ inches. There was considerable variation in lay-out, but basically the page consisted of seven columns of 11½ ems. The number of pages varied between 24 and 32. A specimen front page is reproduced below. There was a fortnightly colour supplement called Home Post of 16 pages. Post sold for 5 cents. There were six editions of Post, as follows:

Western Cape, printed on Tuesday afternoons
Eastern Cape, printed on Wednesday afternoon
Natal, printed Wednesday afternoon
First Reef (1), printed Thursday afternoon
First Reef (2), printed Friday morning
Late Reef (1), printed Saturday at 6 p.m.
Late Reef (2), printed Saturday at 9.30 p.m.

The two later Reef editions, which contained Saturday sport, constituted a large part of the total circulation, all four Reef editions totalling about 118,000 sales, while the two Cape editions together and the Natal edition sold about 50,000 copies each. Post, like other black newspapers and periodicals, was distributed by Banner News Agency, in much the same way as Week-end World (described above), except at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London, where distribution was by Central News Agency.

The present Drum, which is the direct descendant of the magazine so vividly described in the pages of Anthony Sampson and Tom Hopkinson, was 'reborn' as an independent publication in January 1968, after a period of three years, when its only existence was as an insert in Post every second week. The new Drum is, as before, a monthly, published usually on the second-last Friday in the month, with the following month's title. A

★ LATE REEF

POST

5c Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper September 1, 1968

MY LIFE OF SIN & SEX

AS TOLD TO POST REPORTER DOC BIKITSHA

IT HAS BEEN a fantastic life of sex, liquor-swilling with men of all races, graft and all the seamy side of it for pretty, 26-year-old Sheila X, of Payneville, Springs. A qualified teacher, she has now repented from peddling sex.



Sheila X . . . "Everything is different now, I have repented."

Her incredible adventures in the sex racket, as she told them to POST, sounded like an African version of the explosive Profumo scandal which featured bombshells like Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice Davies.

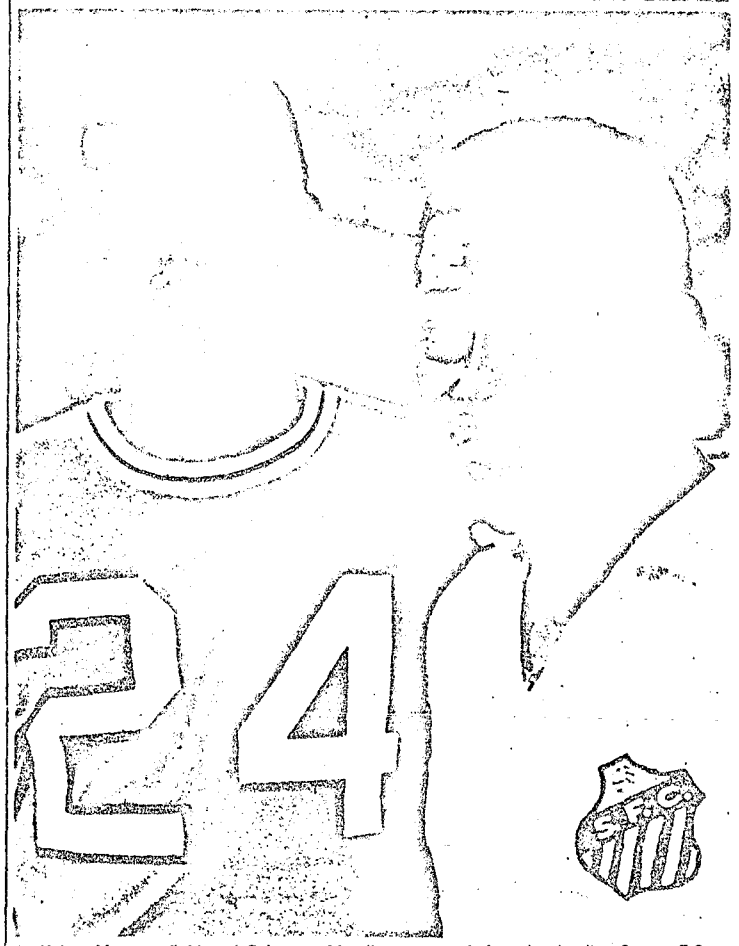
"I have given it all up now. I am a staunch Anglican church member and attend services regularly. I'm sick and tired of smuggling men from all walks of life into my boudoir," she said in eloquent English.

Witty

Punctuating her life history with witty remarks, she told POST she was born in Buitengracht Street near the Botanical Gardens in Cape Town. She was educated at Preswyck Primary School for Coloureds and Tiger Kloof Institution. She qualified as an S.P.P. teacher.

To page 10.

BUDDIES — THAT'S KAIZER & PELE!



Kaiser Motaung (left) and Pele in a friendly pose just before the dazzling Santos F.C. v Atlanta Chiefs match at Atlanta, U.S.A. this week. Santos won 6-2. More pictures in this great POST scoop on Pages 14 and 15.

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MEMBER SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGES

PNR7/51-1(38)

varying portion (usually 32 pages) is in photogravure and common to all the different editions, the rest, in litho, is different. The quality of paper, printing and editorial matter are alike high. A copy of one page is reproduced below. There are Cape, Natal and Reef editions published from the Johannesburg office, as well as East and West African editions published from London. The Rhodesian edition has recently been discontinued, due to lack of advertising support, though a few thousand copies of Drum are sold in Rhodesia.

Post had a journalistic staff of some 42, Drum of 8. Twenty-four of Post's staff and six of Drum's were at the Johannesburg office, while Post had four men at Cape Town, two at Port Elizabeth, one at East London and five at Durban. All staff figures are approximate, for this as for other newspapers, as there were quite frequent changes. Drum has one each at Cape Town and Durban. Post's Johannesburg staff consisted of an editor, assistant editor who was also chief sub-editor, a news editor, sports editor, editor of Home Post, four sub-editors, five general, two crime and four sports reporters (one on the regular staff, three working in the Post office, but paid on a piece-work basis), two photographers, two darkroom assistants and a librarian. All the senior staff were white, as were two of the sub-editors. The rest of the staff, including all the reporters were African. The staff at Cape Town were mostly Coloured, those at Durban Indian. A white was in charge at Port Elizabeth, with one African journalist, and there was one African reporter at East London.

Post was not a member of the National Press Union, so salaries of white staff were not covered by the relevant Industrial Council Agreement. Details of salary scales could not be obtained; however, from individual questionnaires and from other sources it was evident that salaries were considerably higher than the scales laid down. Only one out of five white staff for whom details were available had less than R400 per month. Salaries ranged from R370 to R1,000 per month. These salaries compare very well not only with those paid at World, but with those of staff on white newspapers in South Africa. The importance of this in terms of recruitment of staff is obvious. Salaries of African, Indian and

Coloured staff were very much lower; the Indian and Coloured staff for whom details are available earned around R200, as did a senior African reporter, another earned R100 and a third R60. The pay of the two African sub-editors was, however, comparable to that of their white colleagues.

Drum's Johannesburg staff included an editor (white, male), assistant editor (white, female), news editor (African, male), one woman reporter (African) and two photographers (male, African).

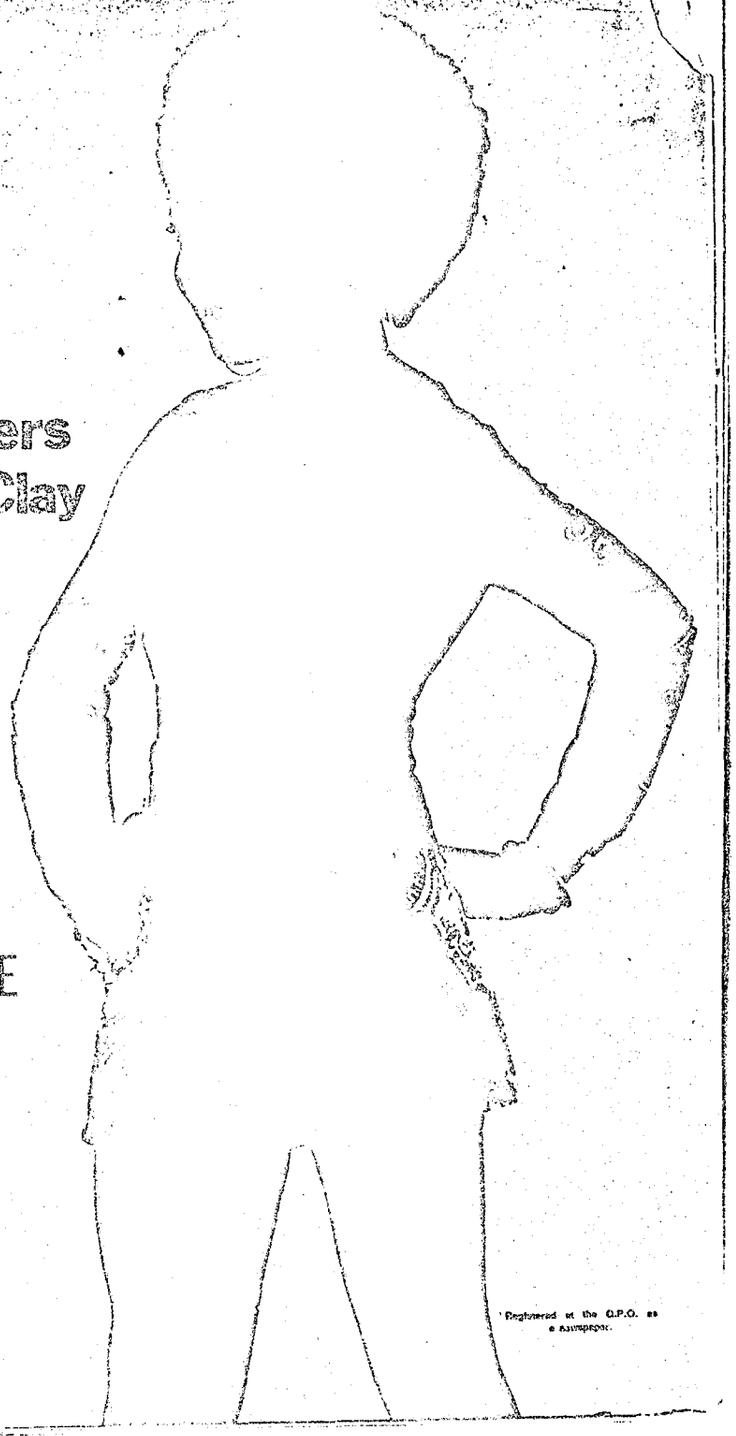
Ilanga, as mentioned above, is owned by the World Printing and Publishing Company. It is published from an office in Umgeni Road, Durban, twice a week, in a City and a Week-end edition, which are both dated Saturday, but come out on Wednesday and Saturday respectively. The City and Week-end editions are each divided into main (or Natal) and Transvaal editions. For some years a Transkei edition was also printed, partly in Xhosa, but this was discontinued in 1968. The paper is published predominantly in Zulu, with sports and social news in English, as well as most advertisements. It consists of eight to twelve pages and sells for five cents. A specimen front page is reproduced below. Circulation is mainly in Durban and the rural areas and small towns of Natal, but with an appreciable sale in the Witwatersrand-Pretoria-Vereeniging conurbation. Distribution is by Banner News Agency and Central News Agency through their shops in the central business districts of cities.

Ilanga has a white Manager, Advertising Manager and Editorial Director. All the other editorial staff (some 12) including the assistant editor, sub-editors, reporters and photographers are African. There is also a white, fluent in Zulu, who checks all copy for libel and other contraventions of the law, as the Manager and Editorial Director are not Zulu linguists.

Details of salaries of white staff are not available, but that of African staff members who furnished information ranged

DRUM

FEBRUARY 1971 10c



4m. DRUM readers say: Don't quit Clay

I DON'T WANT PEARL BACK SAYS EX-FIANCÉ

Is there life after marriage?

THE FLAME - EXCLUSIVE STORY AND PICTURES

Eusebio colour pin-up

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper.

from R80 per month (two years' journalistic experience) to R143 (sub-editor, with 14 years' experience). According to a letter dated 28.1.1971 from the Manager of Ilanga editorial salaries range from R20.50 to R46.00 per week.

Imvo Zabantsundu is published weekly, on Mondays (dated Saturday) at Kingwilliamstown, by Tanda Pers, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Afrikaanse Pers. There are two editions, Eastern Province and Border-cum-Transkei. The paper varies between six and twelve pages, and is mainly in Xhosa, the balance, sports and social news, in English. Since the present editor took over, a little Afrikaans has been introduced. A copy of the front page is reproduced below. Readership is concentrated in the Eastern Province, Border and Transkei, though there are appreciable sales in Cape Town.

The staff consists of the Manager (white), who also handles advertising, the Editor, who is the Manager's wife, and three African reporters, one of whom doubles as a photographer in Kingwilliamstown, besides two full-time reporters and some four or five stringers in other centres.

Bona, a monthly magazine, is produced by Educom, a subsidiary of Afrikaanse Pers, in Johannesburg. It is published in English, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho editions. It consists largely of photo and other picture stories, and tends to eschew political issues. Varying from some 50-75 pages it sells for 7½ cents.

Staff consists of a white manager/editor and four African editors or assistant editors, one for each of the four editions. There are no full-time reporters, but many outside contributors or stringers, and one of the editors also functions as a photographer.

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Isibindi esingandile sowesifazane

USINDISE UMNTWANA ETHATHWE YIMFENE

Yamjamela wayigema ngokhuni

KUDEBUDUZE NASEDUNDFE ESIFUNDENI SASEMALONDI NJALAPHA KWAZULU, INGANE YOMFANA UJABULANI DANIEL NGOBESE ENEMINYAKA EMINE UBUDALA ITHATHWE IMFENE YAHAMBA NAYO NGENKATHI UNINA UMAMSIMANGA E FILE ZA IZINKUNI EBLATHINI ENGABONI.

Lengozi yenzeke ngoMgqibelo odlule sekhantubahle ezinkonzala zase Mahonjwni ngase Dundee.

Unina uMalsinanga uzwe ingane yakhe ikhala sengathi ihanchela ngezansi kwakhe iva ngesezibosheni zehlathi. Ngovalo waphuthuma kolunguza loko osukhalayo. Kanti uzolumelana nekhonde lilengise ingane yakhe lihamba nayo.

Ithe ukuba imbone eza imfene yema imilamela, kodwa wezo kuvora nokuba esezidl le yasuka yabaleka nayo ingane [illegible]

Ize yalahla phansi lapho sev khw[illegible] moya kuphela ayilinxilanga. Umra wathath[illegible] naka nokuthatha luyanda yakhe yema[illegible]

Unksz Khoti Ndlovu

Kuginqike ibhasi kwafa abane

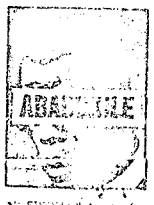
EMADITZBURG. [illegible]

SILENGISA IPHUTHA

Isithombe sikaNksk Betty Buthelezi wase-Clermont Township esiphume ekhasini lokuqala-kwi-*Ilanga* nd. sibike ukuthi indodana yabo uDoctor Buthelezi yakwazi yibhasi eze esitolweni Amaphiloyeni eMpetitown ezifundela *ILANGA* ukuthi umuh watawuka yimvelo wafela esibengcila kwaKhangelani Siyazonke kuleno nkosikazi ukuphathuka kabi ilo mahlungahlungabezeka nyalezeka nyalombiko.

Bakhe indlu

EPORT SHEPSTONE.— In[illegible]



NOFEKELWA ekuntshe[illegible] ondala umnca[illegible] kwakhe ezinkonzala [illegible] Vryheid Ukuthatwa [illegible] Natal basewZulu[illegible] ukuhlangano [illegible] ngaka Ntombela [illegible] Ntombela [illegible] Ntombela [illegible]

NATIONAL Saturday, July 7, 1973

Ubuyiselwe UMnu. L. L. Mtshizana

MDANTSANE — Ubuyiselwe ebugqwethene uMnu. L. L. Mtshizana emveni kokukhutshwa kulubhu lobugqwetha lainyaka elishumi. Olu buyiselo lwenziwe ngokusesikweni ngudaji Justice Jennet eKhuni ngokwesibiri kwveki iphelileyo.

Isigaelo ngokukhatshwa kwakho ihambisa ithi lo kaMtshizana wayenele abafundi bakwa Nokhelen eDikeni ngengqawuba waza wasuleleka kwithwa nyahatshonisheleka kuFingo.

Uye wayalelwa intsuku engamashumi ethoba engagatalle kwesaphulelo waza wabekwa ityala. Indevo ebevalelwe kuzo kuse Dikeni, Bhetolo, Mpofu nangMonti.

Wagwetywa kwiNkonisa yeNtsa yelihoda eyasuhleli ebekeni ngoclila we 28 ku Novemba 1963 waza wagwetywa nomvaka onabini, waza wanikwa nayvalelo ebahuni yoxuba ezwela uvalelo lomvalela enikwini nomvaka enabikna. Ngelo xesha wayehlala eMontt nofisi yakhe me 161 Bantu Sabalelo ehlala kwa-99 Federiki Ndalatu.

Uye wabhenela wabhenela kwiNkundla ephakamileyo ellisiti ngomvaka wa 1964 ngeMeyi ezinyangeni. Indlelweno eso siye samsiwa inyanga kaSeptemba apho wathi wamkwa imvume yokuba abuyele kwyezikhalazo ezibomfonwein.

Ngomhla wambalwa Amabhulu yaNkonisa ka 196[illegible] ngeNyanga ka 196[illegible] emigidi [illegible] ehegwa ngeMonti [illegible] okhuseko. Wabegwa ngwayelenge ezi [illegible] so esinga kuzo kuse.

UMTHETHO

Wayelelwa ebekwa kunye nolwa [illegible] ezayegemwe [illegible] ngethi ndlwaba e[illegible] okuyeni kuse [illegible]. Bekalelwa kwakhe [illegible] leni zenqaku [illegible] zaza kunduswa yena wayeka [illegible] omaye kuKwani kwa-Jelwe ngelo.

Wayo wabelwa kwyhelo nokwaphula umthetho we-

BAXHIMFENE KWAKUBI KWIDIVOSI KAMAVUSO

QONCE — Ubuhlobo bokwendiselana ebabubethelelwe ngoNozakuzaku phakathi kemzi wakwaMavuso nowakwaNokele bungcwatyiwe. Akuba oHloniphekileyo uMhle uJustice E. J. Yates ewupopole unomvungulo umtshato obu phakathi kuka Horatio noJoana Mavuso uye wawuzathuza esiqwini ewushunqula wafumbathisa unina uZingisa.

Kwinkundla yoqhawulo-mtshato yalapha, kuye kwavela unakhwekhwetha wetitshala uMnu. Horatio Mavuso nowaye sakuba yinkosikazi yakhe uJoan Mavuso osisigaxa-mabhanti somongikazi, incutshe kwezokonga nengcaphephe kwezokubelekisa.

Ebhecia inkundla uMnu. Mavuso ngokwamabuza umtshato wabo, athe wathetha izu esenqaqeni ngesemi sakhe eFort Jackson apho ahlokita khona, ukuba ngakuqala ekhala ngaphantsi kuNdola wakhe kuba wankreqeza ekhaqeni.

Weva evile waymdlela ngedakayo ngoko nangoko. Akuba egalelekile ekhayeni ngemuli zolanuka. watheza konke ahantikwabo kwayiwa kuvingewa.

Bakuba beyirawule indlu leyo wankqenkqeza. Akuba eqonda ukuba uza kudumba amaxhwele emi apho indlathi zidumba yinggyle engayuleiwa, wangomba ifestile ngenquli wataho phakathi.

Akuba engenile, wagilaze nemiqinqinqini somfo sibhayiza sigqiba zonke izindlu. Sasinxithe umutla wejijima yenkosikazi yakhe ngayenele ekeneyu.

Bambalwa ko nto bazaza kuyo kuqeqesha ngelo xesha wayeyiphi ngayo ekuseni ngelo xesha wayeyiphi ngayo ekuseni ngelo xesha wayeyiphi ngayo ekuseni

Other African publications are of less importance and/or lower circulation than those listed, and will not be discussed in detail. Um-Africa, the Roman Catholic weekly founded in 1911, is published by the Mariannhill Fathers at the monastery of that name, near Pinetown, Natal. It is in Zulu and is concerned mainly with religious and with social news, although it contains political news and occasionally comment. Its appeal is mainly, but not exclusively to Roman Catholics.

The South African Outlook, established as Kaffir Express as far back as 1870, is a monthly missionary journal of considerable repute. It has long served as a forum for liberal, but more particularly liberal church opinion.

Via Afrika, which publishes and sells school books for African schools, also publishes a monthly journal, Wamba, primarily for school children, in Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu editions. Via Afrika, which operates from Bellville, Cape, is a subsidiary of Nasionale Pers. Wamba which consists of some 32 pages, contains children's stories, general knowledge, social news, cooking hints, etc.

The Government publish not only various Departmental 'House Journals' such as the Bantu Education Journal, the official organ of the Bantu Education Department, but also Ikhwezi and Bantu as general information journals published by the Department of Information.

Besides the above the most important group of periodical publications meant primarily for Africans are photo books. The development of this type of publication in South Africa, not only for Africans but for all races, has been phenomenal over the last few years. These photo books which probably to a considerable extent fill the place 'comics' once held, stem originally primarily from France and Italy. Republican Publishers, in Durban, is

probably the main producer of these books in South Africa, both for the white and the black market, though many competitors, often short-lived, have entered the field. The photo book or magazine is concerned mainly with romance or crime. Unfortunately, with a few exceptions (in the 1968 Readership Survey See, Kyk, True Afrika and Great) readership surveys do not usually include photo magazines, so that readership figures are not available. Annual sales run into many hundreds of thousands, though apparently sales are now falling.

Production of these books gives employment not only to managerial staff and script writers - who, at least at Republican Publishers, are white, even in the case of photo books for Africans - but also a considerable number of models usually, of course, employed on an ad hoc basis. Republican Publishers employs over a hundred white and African staff altogether. It also produces such white magazines as Scope, which supported the Herstigte National Party.

This brief survey of the African Press in South Africa has been designed to provide the framework within which the economic, political and social forces operating on the Press can be understood. The next chapter takes up the study of the economic factors influencing the African Press.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMICS OF THE AFRICAN PRESS

Economic factors bulk large in the running of modern mass-circulation daily or weekly newspapers. The implications of this for newspaper policy and for freedom of the press have often been debated (see for a recent discussion, Williams, 1969, especially Chapter 14, also the 1949 and 1962 British Royal Commissions on the Press; U.S. Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; and the South African Press Commission, 1962 and 1964). The two major economic problems of any newspaper in a capitalist society are provision of capital and the obtaining of advertising revenue - in most newspapers in the Western world the greater part of revenue is derived from this source, actual newspaper sales hardly covering the cost of newsprint. The amount of capital required to launch a new daily paper, even in South Africa, would run into several hundred thousand Rand. The natural result in most Western countries, including South Africa, has tended to be the concentration of newspaper ownership and control in relatively few hands, while at the same time the financial importance of advertising implies the possibility of influence by advertisers on newspaper policies. Advertising may also be of great social importance in terms of the values implicit in it, which help to mould the attitudes of those exposed to it (Williams, 1968). This latter theme is a most interesting one, and very relevant to a society in the process of modernization, like South Africa. The influences reaching Africans through these channels are those of the consumer society, not those of the 'Protestant ethic'. Unfortunately this question, which deserves a full-scale study in itself, cannot be followed up here.

The African Press in South Africa has faced a long, hard struggle, both to obtain sufficient capital for growth or even for viability and to attract sufficient advertising to keep its units solvent, let alone profitable. The means by which at least partial success has been attained in finding sufficient capital has relevance for newspaper policy, as well as for the spirit, or 'personality' of the newspapers concerned.

The problem of capital must have been a limiting but not a crippling one for the early missionary journals, which formed the beginnings of the African Press in South Africa as early as 1837. (Shepherd, 1955, p.34). These were small-scale ventures, often monthly, with a limited circulation, and could hardly be compared with the modern commercial newspaper. Towards the end of the century the missionary papers began to be supplemented or superceded by secular newspapers, edited and/or owned by Africans, of which Jabavu's Imvo Zabantsundu (founded 1884) and Dube's Ilanga Lase Natal (1903) were the most famous. The half-century ending about 1930 saw a plethora of such papers established, especially in the period shortly before the First World War. Some of these papers were founded as the mouthpiece of a political or economic movement, for example, Abantu-Batho, the organ of the African National Congress, Umsebenzi, that of the South African Communist Party (Roux, 1972), and Clements Kadalie's Workers' Herald, and were presumably able to draw to some extent on the funds (limited though these might be) of the movements to which they gave a voice. Some, like Imvo, did attract some white capital, but the majority were financed by Africans. The short life of many of these newspapers, and the often precarious situation of many others, was due in large part to lack of capital, as well, sometimes as lack of managerial skill, among other reasons (Hemson, 1969, Chs. II and III). Rosalynde Ainslie makes the interesting though undocumented point that, while at the turn of the century African newspapers had been subsidised by wealthy African families, Government policy since Union had ruined them, hence (she implies) prevented the continued foundation of newspapers by Africans themselves (Ainslie, 1966, p.81).

It was only when white capital - and managerial skills - began to enter the African newspaper field on a considerable scale that this picture changed. This period can be taken as commencing with the launching of the Bantu Press by Paver and others in 1931. The process was taken a large step further when Bailey took over Drum in 1951, when he founded Post in 1955, and again when the Argus Company took over the Bantu Press in 1962. The latter organization, as the Minute books of its Board only too clearly show, struggled long and hard to raise the necessary capital for expansion and to remain financially viable. It did receive repeated injections of capital from various sources, including the

Argus Company, a shareholder since 1933, Charles Maggs Investments, the Bantu Press Trust, Anglo-American Corporation (from 1952) and the Chamber of Mines, through the Argus Comapny, which enabled it to 'weather the storm' and to grow. (See Press Commission, 1962 and 1964, Appendic VII for the history up to 1956.) The largest proportionate increase in investment capital was in 1952, when the issued share capital was almost doubled, Charles Maggs interests, Argus and Anglo-American interests each holding just on 29% of the increased shareholding. This was followed some two years later by a £65,000 loan from Argus and Anglo-American, and Argus has subsequently increased its shareholding considerably. The present shareholdings were given in Chapter IV, above.

Bantu Press (later World Printing and Publishing Company) has generally made either rather modest profits or actual losses, and appears only once to have paid a dividend to its shareholders, any profits made being otherwise ploughed back into the firm. It is noteworthy that World itself has been much less successful financially than several of the other newspapers in the Bantu Press group. Substantial profits made in the middle '60s have given way since to losses due to the costs incurred in launching Week-end World and its rather slow growth, as well as difficulty in obtaining advertising revenue.

Details of capital provision for Post and Drum are not available, except in the Report of the Press Commission (Press Commission, 1962 and 1964, Appendix VII), which gives the situation as of 1956. As stated in Chapter IV, the various companies involved are private ones, and publish no reports. Post for several years made a profit, though again details are not available. Like other African newspapers, it was quite hard hit by recent changes in advertisement revenue in 1970 - discussed further below - as well as by the competition of Week-end World, and in October, 1971 it was taken over by the Argus Company.

Of the other newspapers mentioned Ilanga is part of the World Printing and Publishing Company. Imvo Zabantsundu has had

a chequered history, owned first by Jabavu, for part of which period it was financed by various Cape (white) politicians, then by Jabavu's son, subsequently by the Bantu Press, next by the Ginsberg's of Kingwilliamstown (though Mr Ginsberg, senior, was apparently involved with Imvo before the Bantu Press take-over - information from his grandson) and finally, from 1963, by Tanda Pers, a subsidiary of Afrikaanse Pers. Imvo's machinery is old, and it does not give much indication of heavy capitalization by any of its owners. Its incorporation by Afrikaanse Pers should, however, ensure it a reasonably adequate supply of capital for its relatively small-scale operations. Bona should be financially secure, for the same reason.

In brief, then, it appears that the problems of capital provision for the main African newspapers and periodicals have been very largely met, or are capable of being met. Three out of the four main newspapers concerned are owned by major newspaper publishing firms. The implications of all this for policy will be dealt with in Chapter XIV.

The other major economic problem, the obtaining of sufficient advertising, remains a severe one for the African Press. The importance of advertising had not been entirely neglected by early African newspapers such as Imvo Zabantsundu, and Paver had the possibilities of reaching a large new market in mind when he and Le Grange founded Bantu World, although political reasons evidently weighed heavier than economic (Friedgut, 1949, p.493). The rather curious story of the Tea Supplement (more precisely The Children's Newspaper and Family Supplement) which was inserted in several of the Bantu Press newspapers during the 1940s, and was designed, not only to popularise the drinking of tea by Africans but in general to be educative on the basis that education led to 'civilized wants', shows an early appreciation by at least one advertiser of the value of Press advertising in the African market. The Minutes of the Bantu Press provide evidence of the gradually increasing emphasis on the employment of efficient advertising personnel, a sign of a general increase of interest in the field. Friedgut, writing about 1947, noted that 'Far-sighted industrialists and men of commerce, including cigarette

and patent medicine manufacturers, have come to see the value of exploiting the Non-European consumer market. Some of them ... have given advertising support to the Non-European Press.' (Friedgut, 1949). Advertising revenue did gradually increase over the years, with a rapid upswing in the 1960s - it increased by nearly two-and-half times between 1963 and 1966, to over a third-of-a-million, for example.

World has done a good deal to popularise the African market, for example by arranging two symposia for advertising personnel and others in 1968.

Advertising revenue also rose very fast on Post and Drum, reaching a figure of close on R1,000,000 in 1969, after a somewhat more than two-and-a-half fold rise from 1965. As mentioned, a cold wind subsequently began to blow over the field.

Adindex figures (compiled by a market research firm by multiplying advertisement areas by the known rates - a fairly accurate measure) showed the following percentage of all expenditure on display advertising in the main Non-European papers and Radio Bantu in September 1969 and September 1970 respectively:

	September 1969	September 1970
Cape Herald	2.11	2.10
Imvo	0.85	0.45
Ilanga	3.62	1.81
Post	16.38	8.69
Home Post	7.22	3.63
World	11.11	6.25
Women's World	1.78	1.90
Weekend World	0.90	0.58
Bona	5.55	3.34
Drum	1.93	1.54
Radio Bantu	48.55	69.71
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

The most remarkable thing about this table is, of course, the great increase in the proportion of advertising revenue taken by Radio Bantu in September 1970. This is because the advertising rates of Radio Bantu went up by an average of about 120% from the beginning of 1970, and as the demand for radio time by advertisers is very inelastic, expenditure naturally rose almost in proportion. The result was a very serious fall (at least in relative terms) in advertising expenditure in the Press.

Due to efforts by World and Post, especially in the direction of increasing their smalls advertising, which is not in competition with radio advertising, both papers evidently suffered a stoppage of growth rather than an absolute drop in their advertising revenue. The relatively slow rate of growth of Black Press advertising in 1968-1972 is probably, at least in part, a reflection of this.

Total advertising expenditure in the Black Press remains an extremely small proportion of all Press advertising in South Africa. The following table gives an indication of the proportionate share of the Black Press and of Radio Bantu in advertising expenditure.

TABLE 3 - Division of Advertising Expenditure between White and Black Media (% and amounts (R '000s))

		Radio		Press		Total		
		White Stations	Radio Bantu	White	Black	White	Black	Grand Total
1968	%	73.4	26.6	96.1	3.9	92.8	7.2	100.0
1968	Amount	5,772	2,091	45,218	1,860	50,990	3,951	54,941
1972	%	70.1	29.9	96.3	3.7	91.7	8.3	100.0
1972	Amount	10,633	4,535	68,955	2,630	79,588	7,165	86,758
Increase, 1968-72	%	84.2	116.9	52.3	30.7	55.6	81.3	57.9

Source: Advertising and Press Annual, 1969 and 1973 issues.

Note: There are some differences in geographical coverage between the two dates in terms of the inclusion of countries or territories outside the Republic. These are not of great consequence in terms of volume of advertising.

Advertising directed to the black market (or more accurately, on Radio Bantu and in the Black Press, which is not quite, but nearly synonymous) has increased only slightly as a proportion, though it has increased very greatly absolutely, over the four year period. As indicated, the sets of figures for the Press are not quite comparable for the two periods, but this should not greatly affect the conclusions to be drawn.

The proportion of advertising in the Black media is much smaller than the relative share of personal incomes accruing to Non-Europeans in South Africa, namely about one-third (Africans one-fifth).[1] There would, therefore, seem to be considerable scope for an increase in the amount of advertising revenue devoted to Black media, even allowing for the fact that there is considerable African readership of white publications - for example, according to the 1968 Readership Survey 24% of Africans who read African publications also read English-language daily newspapers and 29% English-language weeklies - and some Africans listen to Springbok Radio and Lourenco Marques Radio.

One reason for this 'under-advertising' is, of course, the fact that in a population the majority of which is very poor, the market for other than basic necessities, or certain types of 'minor luxuries', like alcoholic drinks or sweets, is very limited. Many of the items even of a poverty line or near poverty line budget are, however, branded, hence advertised, for example, tea, soap, cigarettes, cold drinks and various kinds of medicine. A few examples of comparative use or ownership of certain goods and use of certain institutions are given below in Table 4.

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1. The figures on which this was based were derived from Readership Survey, 1968, and are as follows (in R millions): Europeans: 4,143, Coloureds: 306, Asiatics: 136, Africans: 1063. 62% of the R1063 million went to Urban Africans (Stats, 1969). Naturally, such figures are only very rough approximations.

TABLE 4 - Usage or Possession of Certain Goods and Usage of Certain Institutions

	Percentage of all users, etc. who are:		
	White	Coloured/Asian	African
Beer	29.4	8.9	61.6
Brandy	28.6	6.3	65.1
Cool drinks	22.4	12.8	64.8
Cigarettes	32.5	16.4	51.2
Tinned/Powdered Milk	16.3	14.9	68.8
Packaged Soups	51.4	11.0	37.6
Cold and 'Flu Remedies	15.3	13.7	71.0
Hairdressing preparations	51.8	24.2	24.0
Face powders	60.3	14.0	25.7
Face creams	44.4	14.6	41.0
Radiogram/Record player	61.9	13.8	24.3
Motor vehicles	76.2	7.6	16.2
Banks	53.5	7.6	38.9
Life Insurance	74.8	15.0	10.2
Total Population (aged 16+)	21.7	11.8	66.5

Source: 1968 Readership Survey

Note: The figures on which these percentages were based refer in most cases to all respondents, in some cases to women only and in others to households. Where individuals (not households) are concerned, the data refer to adults. Source: Readership Survey 1968, which see for further methodological details. Within the limits of the methodology employed in collecting the data, the table gives a clear picture of the differences in consumption patterns among the different racial groups in respect of certain semi-necessities and 'luxuries'.

It is now worthwhile to give some data on advertising expenditures for different kinds of products advertised to Africans, or blacks. Only the more important categories are distinguished. The data are not directly comparable with those in Table 4, and the categories are in most cases different, but comparison of some items in the two tables is suggestive.

Table 5 throws light on various aspects of the subject. It gives some indication of the different emphases in white and black

TABLE 5 - Comparative Advertising Expenditure, White and Black Press and Radio, South Africa and South West Africa, 1968
(R '000s)

Product Groups	Radio Bantu		White Radio		Black Press		White Press		Total Advertising Press and Radio			
									Black		White	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
Non-alcoholic beverages ..	448	21.5	721	12.5	121	6.5	1,060	2.3	569	14.4	1,781	3.5
Medicines	305	14.6	620	10.7	232	12.5	2,408	5.3	537	13.6	3,028	5.9
Household stores and services	323	15.4	755	13.1	166	8.9	2,191	4.8	489	12.4	2,946	5.8
Alcoholic beverages	70	3.3	132	2.3	249	13.4	2,119	4.7	319	8.1	2,251	4.4
Beauty preparations	127	6.1	194	3.4	185	9.9	1,614	3.6	312	7.9	1,808	3.5
Tobacco, cigarettes, etc.	190	9.1	538	9.3	58	3.1	1,180	2.6	248	6.3	1,718	3.4
Toiletries and personal care	85	4.1	345	6.0	114	6.1	1,620	3.6	199	5.0	1,965	3.9
Food products	124	6.0	378	6.5	69	3.7	1,322	2.9	193	4.9	1,700	3.3
Chain stores and retailers	17	0.8	45	0.8	145	7.8	4,631	10.2	162	4.1	4,676	9.2
Canned foods	114	5.5	60	1.0	34	1.8	170	0.4	147	3.7	230	0.5
Clothing	22	1.0	140	2.4	126	6.8	4,133	9.1	148	3.7	4,273	8.4
Financial institutions ..	69	3.3	274	4.8	55	3.0	2,858	6.3	124	3.1	3,132	6.1
Other items	197	9.4	1,570	27.2	306	16.5	19,912	44.0	504	12.8	21,482	42.1
TOTAL	2,091	100.0	5,772	100.0	1,860	100.0	45,218	100.0	3,951	100.0	50,990	100.0

Note: Totals do not always add up because of rounding.

Sources: Stats, 1969 and Advertising and Press Annual, 1969.

advertising, on the differential use of radio and press advertising in the white and black fields, and on the most important product groups in black advertising. Because the main focus is upon black advertising, and in order to prevent an already rather formidable table from becoming even more unwieldy, several product groups important in the white but not in the black market have been excluded. These include motor vehicles, petrol and oil (12.8% of all Press and 6.7% of Springbok Radio advertising but not more than about 2% of all black Press and radio advertising), engineering and industrial, including aircraft (5.6% of all Press advertising) and travel and tourism, including shippers. The latter three groups are not separately calculable for the Black Press, though they are given for Radio Bantu, where they are either nil or negligible.

The main product groups advertised to blacks are non-alcoholic beverages, including tea, coffee, milk, presumably cool drinks, etc., medicines, household stores and services, alcoholic beverages, beauty preparations and tobacco and tobacco products, which are together responsible for over three-fifths of all black advertising expenditure. For all these the proportion of white advertising is much less than that of black. Reference to Table 4 suggests a reason for this, in that such products are relatively more popular among blacks, especially Africans, than among whites. However, this explanation certainly does not fit all the product groups - blacks own just on a quarter of all privately-owned motor vehicles in the country, yet the proportion of advertising directed at this segment of the market is, as has been shown, almost negligible. Further, absolute, as well as relative figures must be taken into account, in considering the apparent 'shortfall' in advertising to blacks. A few examples may be mentioned. Although the percentage of beer or brandy drinkers who are African is more than double the white percentage - though the amount spent per capita is probably less - the ratio of advertising expenditure is approximately 1:7. Again, a considerably larger share of the market for cigarettes in terms of persons, is held by Africans than by whites, but the ratio of advertising for tobacco, cigarettes, etc. is nearly 7:1 in favour of white-directed advertising. With food the ratio is nearly 9:1 (though for canned foods it is only about 3:2). These comparisons, based on different units, are of course very inexact, they do suggest

strongly that there is far less advertising to blacks, particularly Africans, than is warranted by their present, let alone their potential share of the market.

Other reasons for the low allocation of advertising funds to black media are various, and can only be touched on here. Partly, it is perhaps a matter of conservatism, of sheer ignoring of the black market. There is also considerable (bona fide) ignorance of the social and psychological characteristics of Africans as consumers or as readers of advertisements, though research is gradually accumulating knowledge in this field. Often, of course, the research findings are confidential, so their diffusion is prevented. Advertisers have sometimes been scared off African newspapers and periodicals in the past because of their instability and short life: Zonk, Izimbuya, Hi-Note, to mention a few were relatively ephemeral.

Besides the reluctance to advertise in the black media at all, there is the question whether to do so on the radio or in the Press. Radio advertising outlay was greater in 1968 than that on Press advertising in the black field and, as indicated, subsequently greatly increased its lead, because of higher rates. There are also marked differences in relative (and absolute) expenditure for different types of product or service, as Table 5 clearly shows. For example, more than three times as much proportionately and nearly four times as much absolutely was spent on advertising non-alcoholic beverages on Radio Bantu as in the Black Press, but the picture for alcoholic drinks was approximately the reverse. There appears to be a slight tendency, as this example illustrates, to advertise luxury and semi-luxury goods in the Press, and everyday necessities or items bought by the broad mass of the public, on the radio. The following table illustrates this further:

	Relatively higher advertising allocation in	
	Radio	Press
'Luxuries' or semi-luxuries	Financial institutions	Alcoholic drinks Musical equipment Petrol and oil Radiograms Correspondence colleges
Intermediate	Tobacco, cigarettes Toiletries Biscuits and confectionery	Clothing and shoes
'Necessities' or widely-used	Non-alcoholic beverages Remedies Household stores and services	

In the case of clothing and shoes the importance of visual presentation is probably a major reason for the Press's advantage. Beauty preparations may also benefit to some extent by visual presentation. Chain stores and retailers, whose need to get their message to a mainly local market is met much more by the newspaper, with its regional editions, than by the radio, with its national coverage, show the greatest differential in Table 5, between Press and radio advertising.

The main reason for the differences in advertising allocations between the two media would, however, appear to be the economic one. Table 6 below gives a comparison of income distribution, urbanism, and usage or possession of certain types of goods for Radio Bantu listeners and readers of certain types of African publications, as well as of English-language dailies and weeklies (as very few Africans read Afrikaans newspapers 'English-language' and 'white) are almost synonymous - English-language African newspapers are classified as 'African', not as 'English-language).

The table portrays the 'profiles' of the different types of vehicle rather clearly. There is a descending scale of income

TABLE 6 - Comparison of Users of various Types of Media in Terms of Income, Urbanism, and Possession or Use of certain Goods and Services

	African daily World		African weeklies		African magazines		Radio Bantu		English language dailies		English language weeklies	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Total 'users' (readers or listeners) (000s)	357	4.9	997	13.7	983	13.5	1522	20.9	430	5.9	524	7.2
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
Users with household income of R80.00 p.m. plus	41.7		28.3		19.8		16.1		36.0		33.2	
" " " " " R20 - R79 p.m.	54.9		56.3		53.6		54.3		54.0		56.3	
" " " " " under R20 p.m.	3.4		15.4		26.6		29.4		9.5		10.5	
Dwellers in cities	80.7		53.1		46.6		49.8		70.7		67.0	
Dwellers in towns	11.5		14.0		15.5		12.6		11.2		13.2	
Villages or rural	7.6		32.9		37.9		37.5		48.1		19.8	
Own radiogram/record player	51.1		39.9		33.2		35.6		44.2		43.5	
Drink brandy	31.9		31.8		30.1		25.1		36.7		32.4	
Use cold and 'flu remedies	64.3		68.7		68.0		66.3		71.6		69.5	
Have personal life insurance	10.6		6.6		6.2		3.9		12.1		10.1	
Own motor car	12.9		8.8		5.8		5.4		9.3		10.9	
Use hairdressing preparations	14.8		17.3		17.4		11.5		20.5		21.0	

Notes: 1) The percentage for radiogram/record player ownership are based on households, in all other cases the units are individuals.
2) The percentages in the first row of the table, in the top right-hand corner of each block, are the percentages that users of each medium form of the total adult population, e.g. 357,000 World readers constitute 4.9% of the total adult African population. Other percentages are based on the former figures, in this case 357,000 = 100.0%.

Source: 1968 Readership Survey.

from the African daily (World), through African weeklies and African magazines, to Radio Bantu, which, however, is fairly close to the magazines in its income profile. English-language dailies and weeklies come between African dailies and weeklies. The same sort of picture holds for urbanism, except that Radio Bantu has a slightly higher proportion of urban listeners than African magazines have readers (the time span, however, is different, in the former case 'listened yesterday', in the latter 'read in the last month'), so that Radio Bantu probably has a slightly less urban listenership than the magazines have readership. A smaller percentage of Radio Bantu listeners than of the readers of the African Press drink brandy, and far fewer have life insurance, or own a motor car, both 'luxury' items. The importance of economic factors appears to be borne out. The Press, because it reaches a better-off, more urbanised and therefore, one might presume, better educated and more sophisticated audience than Radio Bantu, tends to receive advertising directed proportionately more at these groups.

As suggested by Table 19 (p.157, below) African newspapers have both relatively and absolutely much less smalls advertising than white newspapers. As mentioned, Post and World, at least, have tried to increase their smalls advertising to make up for the drop, or at least cessation of growth, in display advertising. The small quantity of smalls advertising is due partly to the poverty of the readership, who not only provide a less adequate market but also are themselves rather unlikely to advertise. The 'quality' newspapers in Britain, whose readership enjoy a higher standard of living than those of the 'popular' papers, have more smalls advertising than the latter (Williams, 1969, p.310) and the study of the Daily Dispatch showed a positive correlation between occupation (which tends to reflect income levels) and placement of smalls advertising (Irving and St Leger, 1967, p.67).

To sum up the discussion, African Press advertising is heavily concentrated on a narrow range of products some, not all, of which may be described as 'necessities'. It follows that the total number of firms advertising in the African Press is

considerably smaller than those in the White Press. This concentration tends to make the African Press rather more vulnerable than the White.

Further, although no analysis of the size of the firms advertising in the African Press has been made, it seems possible, at least, that the few larger advertisers contribute a greater share of expenditure than they do in the White Press. On both Post and World the largest advertiser was Lever Bros., through its agency, Lintas. In 1969 Lintas was responsible for almost 8% of Post's total advertisement revenue. South African Breweries must also come high on the list. Firms manufacturing food products generally tend to be larger than those in industry as a whole (Streek, 1968, pp.21-22; see also p.40 re the dairy products section, which advertises extensively in the African Press). On the other hand, the motor companies, whose advertising is so important in the White Press, are very large. The evidence quoted is, of course, quite inadequate to prove the point; it is suggestive. Insofar as advertisers each contribute a large part of advertising revenue they are, in theory at least, in a position to exercise a powerful influence upon the newspapers concerned. The question of the possible influence of advertisers on policy is taken up in Chapter XIV.

The effect on African newspapers' advertising revenue of the coming of television is likely to be less than that on the White Press, insofar as access to television will, for a long time to come, be much less for Africans than for whites, because of its high cost, even allowing for a considerable amount of viewing in beerhalls and other public places. (See, for example, a newspaper report of an unpublished study by an overseas firm, Sunday Tribune, 31.1.1971.) Apart from this major change in the country's communication and advertising system one could reasonably expect a steady increase in advertising revenue for the African Press. As Streek (Streek, 1968) has pointed out, advertising as a whole tends to increase faster than per capita national income, which is steadily rising in South Africa, and the percentage directed to Africans is likely to increase as their incomes rise and semi-luxury items therefore figure more in their budgets, and as

advertisers become more willing to enter the field. Problematic factors are the competition with Radio Bantu for advertisements, and competition with white newspapers and magazines for circulation (this topic is dealt with in detail in Chapter VII). As indicated, the rapid rise in advertising revenue has showed down and has clearly been a factor in Post's demise as an independent newspaper.

The other aspects of the economics of the African Press are of less importance than those mentioned. The biggest single item in a newspaper's expenditure account is usually newsprint. In South Africa the price of newsprint is fixed by negotiation by the industry as a whole, through the National Press Union, which also allocates it, so that this is not a particular problem for the African Press, even though some of its papers, for example Post, are not members of the N.P.U. Newsprint is supplied largely by South African Paper and Pulp Company, but about a third is imported. The current agreement on newsprint prices lasts until 1978.

Besides newsprint, wages and salaries are the most important item. Their importance from the employee's point of view is obvious. Some information on journalists' salaries has been given in Chapter IV, for individual newspapers. Here it is proposed to discuss the matter rather more broadly. Because of the great gulf separating them, and the fact that for some, not all, papers minimum salary scales for whites are laid down by National Industrial Council agreement, it is appropriate to discuss white and African salaries separately.

The composition of the National Industrial Council for the Press has been outlined in Chapter IV. It is difficult to assess, in the absence of detailed historical research just how effective the South African Society of Journalists has been in obtaining higher salaries for its members. Its influence must, however, have been appreciable. The South African Journalists' Association, which represents mainly Africans - though it has a few white

members and is nominally affiliated to the Society of Journalists - is not a registered trade union, and has probably had little, if any, effect on the salaries of its members.

White salaries, in the South African newspaper field generally, have been fair rather than good in relation to average journalistic standards and the education level of journalists, but inadequate in terms of professional aspirations. The new salary scales negotiated late in 1970 were very much more favourable, and are calculated to avoid the flattening of the salary curve that tended to occur about half-way through an employee's working life. These salaries are now (1973) being re-negotiated.

The salary changes need to be coupled with much improved training facilities for journalists if the standard of the profession is to be raised. At present, according to a survey of journalists undertaken by the writer (see Chapters XIII and III), 67 out of 109 white journalists polled had had no training other than 'on the job', 11 had taken part in the Argus Company or South African Associated Newspaper training schemes, five had taken correspondence courses, and three had university degrees in journalism; the rest had various other types of training or did not reply.

At present Potchefstroom, the University of the Orange Free State and Rhodes are the only universities offering internal courses in journalism, the two former in Afrikaans, the latter in English, both at undergraduate level. The University of South Africa gives external courses in journalism at undergraduate as well as post-graduate level, and Rand Afrikaans University has a course in Mass Communication, which includes much that is relevant to journalism, while some other institutions appear to be about to follow suit.[1] The Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers have until recently been running in-service training courses for their staff, and the South African Society of

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1. See Giffard, 1971 and Scotton, 1972, for information on journalism training in South Africa.

Journalists is planning to set up an in-service course, based on the British model, in collaboration with the employers. There are, in addition, various correspondence colleges, in South Africa and overseas, which give courses in journalism.

It would seem from the survey already quoted, that all these educational schemes, none of which are very long-established and some very recent (the Rhodes course started in 1970, Rand Afrikaans University in 1971), do not as yet appear to have made very much impression on journalism training in South Africa.

In the black field the position is worse. Of the educational facilities listed above only the University of South Africa, the correspondence colleges and the South African Society of Journalists' projected scheme do or will take black students. Of 32 blacks on the African Press giving information on this point only six reported any form of journalism training, plus two who had had training in photography. The six had all done correspondence courses. The writer knows of a few African journalists who have attended the Thomson Foundation School in Cardiff, Wales, for a few weeks' course, and others have had Nieman Scholarships to the United States.

Black journalists' salaries were given in Chapter IV for different newspapers. These are generally higher for Coloureds and Indians but still considerably lower than white salaries, and much lower still for Africans. Some senior African journalists are paid considerable salaries, though still less than their white counterparts. One is paid R400 per month, which is what white journalists reached on the old scale by about middle age. African journalists employed on white newspapers tend to be rather better paid than their colleagues on African papers, and in at least one case on the same scale as the white journalists on the paper concerned. It is evident that African journalists are more likely to be paid equally with whites where, as on white newspapers, they work with white colleagues of equal rank; on the African newspapers this is hardly ever so, as almost all reportorial staff are African.

In considering the effects of African salary levels and the difference from white pay levels one must bear in mind salary levels in competing occupations and the differentia in pay between white and black that are found almost throughout the society. Even in the medical profession, for example, there is a considerable salary discrepancy. On the other hand, it is ironical that African newspapers should be guilty of this discrimination against Africans. As regards salaries in other occupations, African teachers' pay scales may be cited (1971):

	Men	Women
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate (i.e. Std. VIII plus two years teacher training)	R534 p.a. x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1,320	R408 p.a. x 42 - 660 x 60 - 900
Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate (Matriculation plus two years training)	R618 - 660 x 60 - 1,440	R492 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1,200
Unqualified, Matriculation	R576 (fixed)	R408 (fixed)
Degree plus professional qualification	R1200 x 60 - 1800 x 90 - 2520	R1080 x 60 - 1800 x 90 - 2070

It is obvious, from comparison of these figures with journalists' salaries quoted in Chapter IV, that any movement on salary grounds alone is likely to be from teaching to journalism rather than the other way round. Several African Press journalists have, in fact, been teachers. The small differential between journalists' salaries and those of unskilled labourers in industry is not unusual in South Africa as far as Africans are concerned. The average African annual wage in industry and construction in 1968-69 was R566, or just on R11 per week, as compared with the starting salary of R15 per week of an African journalist on World. The relatively few skilled African manual workers earn as a rule considerably more than R15 per week. The effects of the present wage levels on the job satisfaction of African journalists will be dealt with in Chapter XIII.

Apart from salary, promotion opportunities are of importance to any employee. As the job structure outlined in Chapter IV implies, promotion for Africans tends to be rather slow, and their likelihood of rising to the top positions is small. On

Post, though not on World promotion prospects for Africans were at the time of the fieldwork probably, if anything, worse than they were ten years before.

The question of staff turnover is, of course, very relevant to the economics of the Press. The figures derived from the questionnaire survey are too small, as far as Africans are concerned, to form the basis of any definite conclusions; though there is a slight tendency for Africans' turnover to be greater than that of white journalists on the White Press, though not white journalists on the African Press. See Table 7, below.

TABLE 7 - 'Turnover' among Journalists

Average length of job in full-time journalism	African Press			White Press Sample
	Whites	Coloureds/ Asians	Africans	
Under 2 years	5	1	6	21
2 and under 4 years	4	2	7	28
4 " " 6 "	0	1	1	15
6 " " 8 "	1	0	2	5
8 " " 12 "	0	0	0	7
12 years or more	0	0	1	8
Total	10	4	17	84

During a period of 21 months (according to information supplied by management) 13 African and 11 white editorial staff left one of the newspapers concerned, and nine Africans and 14 whites joined the paper. These figures are in relation to a total staff strength of some 46 Africans and 12 whites, which indicates a much higher white staff turnover.

Because part of the African Press is fairly recently established it is less likely than in the White Press that one will

find journalists with long periods of unbroken service, as in the last row of the table. Of course, African journalists have a much narrower range of choice of employers within journalism than do whites, which should tend to reduce mobility. The above table moreover gives data only for those who are still in journalism, so that it does not provide a complete picture of turnover.

As regards recruitment to journalism, it is World's policy to require that applicants have at least matriculation standard. Post generally aimed to employ older, more experienced journalists whereas World will take them straight from school. Other than this, on these - as on other African newspapers - there are few objective criteria: choice is based on 'intuition'. Recruitment on Post, at least, was largely 'through the grapevine', that is, of persons recommended by present staff members. There is a very considerable demand for journalistic jobs by Africans (as by whites); one editor spoke of 36 applications in the last 36 months, another - on a smaller paper - of 'hundreds'.

Departure from journalism as a whole is probably more common amongst white than amongst black journalists. As in Britain or America there is a considerable drain of white journalists to public relations, to radio, etc., but apparently little to advertising.[1] These channels are gradually opening up for Africans, but the change is a slow one, and at present few African journalists are likely to leave the field for this reason. The writer knows of two or three Africans, who were previously journalists, in public relations or acting as market research consultants, etc., but the total number of professional posts of this kind must be very small. African journalists, like other Africans, are hampered in their careers by the Urban Areas legislation, which often prevents them from moving to other centres from that in which they are registered.

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1. Letters from the Public Relations Institute of South Africa and the Association of Accredited Practitioners in Advertising; the former stated that a recent survey showed 26% of public relations men polled to be ex-journalists.

Another important aspect of newspaper economics is distribution. As has been indicated (Chapter IV, above), circulation is something of a problem in African townships and a fortiori in the rural areas. The main difficulty in the former instance is the poverty of the population, which militates against regular subscriptions, the low cost of the daily newspaper (World) in relation to costs of regular house-to-house distribution and the danger of newsboys being robbed due to the lawlessness of the townships. As far as rural distribution is concerned, transport must be added to the extreme poverty of the population as a major distribution problem. A newspaper may not be worth a walk of three or four miles or more to the nearest trading store, except when its purchase can be combined with that of other goods. These difficulties obviously affect a daily paper much more than a weekly, as will the much greater 'perishability' of news in the daily paper. It is not surprising that only 7.6% of World's readership is to be found in village or rural areas, compared to 22.2% of African weekly newspaper readership. Morning newspapers, especially in a big city like Johannesburg, are at a disadvantage in comparison with afternoon papers, as a large proportion of Africans leave home very early in the morning for work, and travel in crowded trains in conditions far from conducive to newspaper reading. There is a nation-wide trend to afternoon rather than morning papers among all race groups.

As mentioned, Banner News Agency is the main distribution agency for African newspapers, though Central News Agency undertakes some of the work.

Facsimile printing in different centres, as is done in several major nations, such as Britain and Japan, and has recently been started by South African Associated Newspapers in conjunction with Afrikaanse Pers (Sunday Times, 24.5.1970, Business Supplement, p.9) would, of course, not only decrease distribution time and costs but would open up a nearly nation-wide market for a daily paper, let alone benefiting a weekly. Given further linkages between African newspapers and the major white companies this might be possible for them at some stage in the future. The capital cost of different printing establishments would, of course, be very considerable.

The economics of the African Press are now in a relatively healthy state, as far as capital provision is concerned, as compared with 10 or 15 years ago, but at the expense of amalgamation with the White Press giants. As far as advertising is concerned, the position is gradually improving, save for the competition with the radio. With regard to circulation, on which advertising largely depends, the competition of white newspapers constitutes a question mark. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII. For the long - if not the short-term - progress of the African, as of the White Press, better training facilities as well as better salaries and promotion prospects are essential, as is improvement in African education at the high school and post school levels.

The relationship of the economic factors to newspaper policy and performance is taken up in Chapter XIV. The effect of such factors on the morale and attitudes of journalists - which in turn affects performance - is also taken up in that chapter.

CHAPTER VI
POLITICS AND THE AFRICAN PRESS

The discussion of the organization and economic structure of the African Press in Chapters IV and V has shown that it is both owned and controlled by whites, and that it has a number of links with the White Press, and with certain economic and political interests which in turn are linked with that Press. In this Chapter an attempt is made to examine the political context of the African Press, and the way in which these political forces influence its policies and performance. These political forces include both Government and the Parliamentary (mainly white) and extra-Parliamentary (mainly black) Opposition, in particular African Nationalist movements of the '50s and earlier. The political context includes also the political attitudes of the readership, and of journalists themselves. Of considerable importance, too, is the body of law, both Common and statute, which has a profound effect on how the Press carries out its functions.

In order to understand the political context of the African Press at the time of this study it is necessary to provide a brief sketch of the historical development of the African Press, which must be set against the background of general historical development in the country, and of the history of the South African Press as a whole.[1]

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1. There are some useful accounts of the relevant periods of South African history, in particular the New Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson, 1969 and 1971), Marquard (1963) and De Kiewiet (1966), while on the more recent period, Carter (1963), Hepple (1966), Feit (1962) and Sampson (1958) give a useful account, the latter two with particular reference to African Nationalist movements. There are few general books on the development of the South African Press, but the following may be mentioned: Ainslie, The Press in Africa (1966), Chapters 3 and 5, Cutten (1935), Smith (1946), Press Commission (1962 and 1964), Williams (1969). Most useful of all is an excellent recent study by Potter, The Press as Opposition in South Africa 1948-1970 (1974). On the Argus Company see Neame (1956), while Broughton (1961) though not a history but rather idiosyncratic commentary provides some useful insights amid much quasi-philosophical padding. (continued over)

The development of the Press in South Africa has paralleled that of the Press in other English-speaking countries in its initial subordination to Government - 'a mastiff to His Excellency' as an early Australian newspaper was described (Williams, 1969, p.45) - its relatively early clash with the authorities and final victory, its gradual growth in circulation and in political and economic importance during the nineteenth century and, roughly from the turn of the century, its development as 'big business', with a high degree of concentration and saturation, or near-saturation, of the market. In South Africa the first stage commenced with the establishment of the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser in 1800, the second comprised the struggle of Pringle and Fairbairn with Lord Charles Somerset, ending in the passing of the Press Ordinance in 1829, the third lasted for most of the nineteenth century and the fourth coincided approximately with the transformation of South African society heralded by the discovery of diamonds and then gold at Kimberley and on the Rand in 1867 and 1886 respectively, the symbolic beginning of this stage being marked by the foundation of the Argus Company in 1889.

The development of the South African Press during this fourth stage was, however, neither as rapid nor as dramatic as that in Britain or the United States during the same period. Saturation point, even so far as white English-language readers were concerned, was reached probably only after the Second World War, and saturation point for the whole population is very far from being reached. The period was marked by little of the bitter competition which raged in Britain and to a somewhat lesser extent in the United States, though the Argus Company, in particular, gradually built up its empire by purchase or absorption of individual newspapers, and did defeat its one major challenger, the Schlesinger Company, in the 1930s.

(continued from p.99)

1. The African Press has received even less attention than the Press as a whole. In writing this chapter reliance has been placed chiefly on Friedgut (1949), Ainslie's book (op. cit.) and a very useful unpublished Honours essay by David Hemson on The African Press (1969) as well as the files of the newspapers themselves, minute books of the Bantu Press, historical questionnaires sent to various journalists and ex-journalists, correspondence and interview material.

The broad similarities that have been noted were due to broadly similar political and more particularly economic forces, and technological developments such as the telegraph and the rotary press. The differences are as important. In South Africa, as Williams notes, the Press developed originally as a partner of the major mining interests; the Argus Company was founded partly with Cecil Rhodes' money, and that of other 'Randlords' such as Barney Barnato and Solly Joel. In Britain, America and Australia the Press was not linked to major industrial interests during the time of its greatest expansion.

In South Africa, however, at the time of the Press Commission's investigations, the Press had extensive links with mining and industrial interests (Press Commission, 1962 and 1964) and as shown in Chapter IV, there are still substantial financial links between these interests and at least some of the Press. It is probable that such linkages count for considerably less than they once did, in terms of their effect on policy, as with time the newspapers have established their independent status in society (Williams, 1969, pp.49-50).

Secondly, the South African Press has been and still is in the main a White Press, in terms of ownership, control, personnel and readership. As such it has naturally looked at events mainly through the eyes of the white ruling group; it has been a sectional, not a national Press, unlike its twentieth century counterparts in other Anglo-Saxon countries. This, of course, is a broad sociological generalization; much of the White Press has, in fact been, and still is, appreciably ahead of its readers politically, and has in fact been important in publicizing black grievances. Nevertheless as a generalization this is a true one. It means that in racial politics as well as economic theory, the White Press in South Africa is unlikely to espouse radical or 'leftist' solutions to the country's problems. A further implication is that, because white society in South Africa is predominantly a middle class one, the values of the White Press are middle class ones. This is the main reason for the absence of a 'yellow press' in South Africa, that is, among white newspapers.

Thirdly, though it has so far been discussed as if it were an undifferentiated whole the White Press in South Africa is deeply divided on ethnic lines, between a larger English and a smaller Afrikaans section. Much of what has been said above on the links between the Press and mining and commercial interests applied to the English, not the Afrikaans Press. The Afrikaans newspapers, on the other hand, from the first daily, Die Burger (founded 1915) have all been closely linked with political interests. With very few exceptions such as Die Suiderstem and more recently, Die Afrikaner they have supported the Nationalist Party, have in fact been party political organs, though recent years have seen a spirit of independence astir in the Afrikaans Press. The 'English' Press has opposed the Nationalist Government since 1948. There is in fact no Government-supporting English-language newspaper, though S. E. D. Brown's periodical The South African Observer did fulfil this role for some years. Mrs Potter's book (op. cit.) gives a most interesting account of how the English-language Press - but more recently, also, parts of the Afrikaans Press - has played the role of opposition - more so than the Parliamentary Opposition. While the links with Britain - particularly in terms of staffing - and general British orientation are now considerably less than they were before World War II the 'English' Press, much more than the Afrikaans Press, reflects British - indeed, 'Western' - newspaper traditions of independent criticism and of the 'watchdog' role and is comparatively cosmopolitan.

There are other differences, stemming largely from the different socio-economic characteristics of the readership of papers in each language group - though there is a large Afrikaans, as well as black readership, of English-language papers.

It follows from what has been said that the English-language Press adopts a relatively liberal attitude on race issues, while it is conservative on economic ones. It has been responsible for frequent exposure of abuses and mistreatment suffered by blacks in South Africa, and - related to this - it has compaigned vigorously over the years against the successive measures taken by the Nationalist Government restricting individual - as well as

Press - freedom. The Limehill disclosures and the protest at the Dean of Johannesburg's detention are only two fairly recent examples of its performance of the 'watchdog' role. In nearby Rhodesia, with fundamentally the same political problems of a 'plural society', the struggle of the Press against the Smith regime and specifically against the censorship imposed by it serve to emphasise, in the most dramatic form, the role played by the English-language Press in Southern Africa. The writer returns to the role of the English-language Press in South Africa when considering the relationships between political developments and the history of the African Press, particularly since 1948.

but 6 stages are designated

Somewhat arbitrarily, the history of the African Press in South Africa can be divided into five? stages. As with most categorizations of history there are considerable overlaps between these stages. The first can be called the Missionary stage. The first African newspaper (as defined in Chapter I, above) was published by Wesleyan missionaries in the Eastern Cape in 1837 (Shepherd, 1955). This, and subsequent newspapers published by the missionaries, were designed to follow up conversion and education by providing suitable reading matter for their newly-literate flock. These papers (weekly or monthly) provided a training ground for African printers and journalistic writers, and so prepared the ground for the first truly African newspapers. The missionaries, of course, created written languages out of the various African vernaculars and drew up rules of writing, spelling and typography, all of which were essential prerequisites to the starting of a vernacular Press, as the greater part of the African Press was at that time. Some of the most famous of these newspapers were the Kaffir Express (founded 1870 at Lovedale), later the South African Outlook, and Izwi la Bantu (Nov 1897 ~~1886~~), now Um-Afrika, no! published by the Roman Catholic Mariannhill Fathers. Much was done by missionary bodies to encourage African writers (Hemson, 1969, p.10).

two separate newspapers
Um-Afrika was formerly
Izindaba za Bantu (1910)

The second stage can be said to begin with the foundation of John Tengo Jabavu's Imvo Zabantsundu (The Voice of the Brown People) in 1884 at Kingwilliamstown, to be followed by numerous

other newspapers, best known of which were Rubusana's Izwi la Bantu, probably founded just after the end of this period, in 1912 (Hemson, 1969, bibliography, p.vi) but properly belonging to it and Dube's Ilanga lase Natal, published from 1903 at Ohlange, near Durban. This period might be termed the stage of 'indigenous protest'. Editors were African, management and ownership woften African. Editorial policy was generally directed to fighting for Africans' rights. The political context, at least in the Cape before Union - and to a lesser extent there afterwards, till 1936 - was relatively encouraging to African aspirations. A considerable number of Africans had the Cape Parliamentary franchise and the lines of race conflict were not nearly so sharply drawn as they became later. In short, the African voice could be raised, if not necessarily successfully, yet in dignified advocacy rather than in hopeless, hence embittered protest. Readership of African newspapers was composed to a large extent of a small, literate, middle-class minority, much the same people, in fact, as provided the early support and certainly the leadership, of the African National Congress (see Feit, 1962 and Sampson, 1958). As mentioned in Chapter V, most of the newspapers of the period were in chronic financial difficulties, due to various factors, including probably small readership, lack of capital and poor business management. Most of them were short-lived.

This stage overlaps considerably with the third one, which may be taken as starting with Union in 1910, which, together with the Natives' Land Bill gave the impetus to the founding of the African National Congress, and ending with the publication of the Bantu World in 1932. This stage was marked by a different political climate, with the gradual hardening of race attitudes on both sides of the colour line and the erosion of the Africans' political, economic and social rights. The major landmarks in this process were Union itself, with its freezing of the status quo as far as the African franchise was concerned and its handing over of unfettered political control of the whole of South Africa to whites, the Natives (Land) Act of 1913, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (which, though providing for a successful attack on the problem of urban African slums also laid the foundations for the present system of urban segregation and of influx control) and the Mines and Works Amendment Act (the 'Colour Bar'

Act) of 1926 and the 'White Labour' policy generally. As a result of these developments, of the increasing urbanization of the African - as well as of the white - population, and of international developments, especially the Russian Revolution, with its impetus to Communist activity on a world scale, the temperature of African political protest rose considerably.

As far as the African Press was concerned the founding of Abantu Batho (1912-1936), the organ of the African National Congress, edited in its later days by Selope Thema, who was later to become editor of Bantu World, was an important landmark. Others were the appearance of the Communist Party on the scene, with their journal, Umsebenzi (the Worker) (see Roux, 1970, p.146 and passim on Umsebenzi) and Clement Kadalie's ill-fated I.C.U. and its newspaper The Workers' Herald (1923-1929). The militancy of journals such as these was an important factor in bringing about the formation of the Bantu Press, the publication of whose newspaper, Bantu World in April 1932 marks the beginning of the fourth stage, though B. G. Paver, the main founder of the Bantu Press, has stressed the economic factors - this was, of course, the period of the Great Depression, and Paver realised the need for co-ordination among and good management of African newspapers if they were to survive. On the political side the Bantu World and the other newspapers later taken over or founded by Bantu Press were to provide Africans with a voice and campaign for gradual reforms, in short, guide African opinion into 'moderate' channels. Umteteli wa Bantu was founded in 1921 by the Chamber of Mines as an antidote to the radical forces mentioned and to labour unrest on the mines. It was, however, moderately liberal and had a column by Mrs Ballinger. As Rosalind Ainslie put it (Ainslie, 1966, p.50): it opposed 'the colour bar on the one hand, but (attacked) organised resistance to it on the other'.

During the first decade-and-a-half of its existence the Bantu Press Ltd. expanded from one weekly newspaper in 1932 to eleven weeklies and four monthly publications by 1946. These included Imvo Zabantsundu and Ilanga lase Natal, both taken over in 1934, three small newspapers, Mochochono (the Comet, originally founded by the Tlale's in Basutoland in 1911), Naledi ya Botswana

and Mphatlalatsane in the High Commission territories, and three weeklies and one monthly in Rhodesia, from 1946. In 1947 the Bantu Press reached agreement with all but three vernacular newspapers to handle their advertising for them. In addition, co-operative purchase of newsprint, distribution and syndication of articles benefited the associate newspapers. In 1946 several non-Bantu Press newspapers were being printed by Bantu Press. (Friedgut, 1949, p.49 and Board Minutes). The exceptions were the Communist paper Inkululeko, Inkundla (an African-owned paper) and Umteteli wa Bantu.

The various newspapers published by Bantu Press were mainly in various vernaculars - Bantu World was being published in no less than six languages in 1948 - but some of the papers, including Bantu World had some content in English. By 1947, then, the Bantu Press had formed an African newspaper 'empire' which directly controlled a large proportion of all African newspaper circulation in the country, and indirectly had appreciable influence on most other papers. As the Board Minute Books clearly show by several references to the need to discipline or guide various editors there was general control over editorial policy from the centre. For some years during the period Bantu Press seems to have had considerable financial difficulties, as discussed in Chapter V, above, in particular in raising sufficient capital for expansion. As the Directors' Report on 16th February, 1950 put it: 'We are providing food for the minds of millions, and ... we are failing to do this on anything approaching an adequate scale'.

The political events of the period were stirring ones. They included the 1936 Natives Trust and Land act, the Second World War (1939-1945), the African mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the deadlock over the Native Representative Council, and in 1948 the election of Dr Malan's Nationalist Government. This latter event marks the end of the fourth stage. During these and other events the Bantu Press newspapers evidently attempted to adhere to what a memorandum drawn up at the time of the foundation of the Press called 'a progressive yet moderate policy on political and economic questions' (Friedgut, 1949, p.493). A statement of the paper's policy appearing in a pamphlet Black Gold! A New Market

and its Media, published by the Bantu Press in 1945, and quoted by Friedgut, p.494, runs: 'The Bantu Press at all times guides and counsels the Bantu peoples on lines of sane and steady progress within the commercial system of today and in co-operation with constitutional authority'. The Managing Director's report to the 1946 Annual General Meeting stated, in respect of the 1946 African mineworkers' strike: 'Our policy was as always vigorously opposed to the use of violence. At the same time, we reflected the opinion - and did our share in guiding the opinion - of the moderate and enlightened section of the African people'. Mr Paver told the writer that Bantu World was criticised by the African leaders on this issue, but that he was also rebuked by the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines. A quotation from the Board meeting of the same date gives a similar impression: '... it was obvious from discussions he (the Chairman) had had in Cape Town, and from the interview Mr Paver had had with both the Prime Minister and Mr Hofmeyr, that the Government was unable to move very far to offset anti-European propaganda. This threw a great burden and responsibility on the Company'.

Various incidents reported in the Minute Books indicate that there was at times restiveness by editors (African and white) at the general editorial policy laid upon them, and this appears to have been the reason behind the appointment of white editorial directors to oversee the work of the African editors.

While the Bantu Press was, then, in control of by far the greater part of the African Press during this period there were a number of publications of some importance outside its orbit. Um-Afrika, the Catholic weekly, has already been mentioned. Umthunywa, a weekly, was published by a white in Umtata, mainly at this time to cover local news in the Transkei and eschewing political comment (Smith, 1946, p.102), but in later years apparently playing a vigorous role in opposition to Kaiser Matanzima's Government. It was later taken over by Argus Company. Inkundla ya Bantu (the Bantu Forum) was started in 1938 as a monthly at Verulam, north of Durban. This paper, which was both owned and edited by Africans, became a fortnightly in 1944 and a weekly in 1947. Published in English and Zulu it attained an

appreciable circulation (7,000 in 1946, as opposed to some 80,000 for the weeklies of the whole Bantu Press group) but ceased publication due to financial difficulties in 1952. Under the editorship of Jordan Ngubane (later a leader of the Liberal Party) it supported the African National Congress. The standard of political analysis was high, and it published 'festure articles of a more serious nature than those which are generally found in papers belonging to the Bantu Press Group' (Friedgut, 1949, p.499). Latterly it became more militant and Govan Mbeki, one of the accused at the Rivonia trial in 1964, was one of its editors (Ainslie, 1966, p.81).

Umlindi wa Nganga (the Watchman of the Night), started as a monthly by a commercial form in 1936, closed in 1940, but re-opened in 1946 as the first pictorial magazine for Africans. Though it has since stopped publication Umlindi is of importance as in some respects the prototype of such examples of picture journalism for Africans as Drum, Zonk and Bona.

During the period Communist publications continued active. Inkululeko (Freedom) replaced Umsebenzi in 1940. The Guardian (founded 1937), published in English, and not specifically directed to blacks, was nevertheless read by many of them (15,000 out of an estimated 50,000 circulation just after World War II went to Africans - Smith, op. cit., p.109). It apparently grew fast, so that it was the only South African newspaper to be granted an increase in newsprint allocation during the war (Ainslie, op. cit., p.53). Torch, 'a vituperative, bitter weekly' (Ainslie, p.53), the organ of the Non-European Unity Movement, was founded in 1946.

The ~~fourth~~ stage commences with the election of the Nationalist Government on 26th May, 1948, and may be said to end with the Rivonia trial in 1964, which ended - at least for some years - active underground resistance to the Government. It covers, therefore, the establishment of the Nationalist Government, the rapid development of its 'apartheid' policy, up to 1963 (when the Transkei was given partial self-government) almost

entirely 'negative', the gradually increasing African (and black) resistance to this policy, and to white minority rule generally, which culminated in the banning of the main African political groups after Sharpeville, but was continued 'underground'. It also covers the withdrawal of European colonial rule over most of Asia and Africa, the struggle over the Central African Federation and its demise, and the Congo revolt. World opinion, led by the United Nations, became increasingly critical of South Africa's race policies and South Africa had to leave the Commonwealth for this reason in 1961, after becoming a Republic. On the economic side it was a period of rapid growth, accompanied by increasing urbanisation of the African population - as of other groups - and of their further integration into industrial society. It saw a moderate rise in the standard of living of at least some urban Africans, an increase in literacy and a gradual expansion of the African middle class.

During this period, too, a large part of the legislation now in force curtailing the freedom of the Press - as well as of the individual - was put on the statute book. (The law affecting the Press will be detailed later in this chapter, in this historical section only brief reference will be made to the legislation in chronological order.)

The political, and to a lesser extent, the economic and social history of the period has been relatively well-documented (see references given above, p.99). For the history of the Press there are some printed sources, but much more important are the newspapers themselves as well as the memories of those who served in them. In what follows use has been made of the latter two sources, much more than for previous periods. As before World Minute Books have been used, though they become progressively more laconic, hence less useful. The period is of great importance to an understanding of the present-day African Press; to a large extent it saw the creation of the political and economic circumstances under which the Press now exists. It is therefore dealt with in rather greater detail than earlier periods. What follows, like the rest of the chapter, aims, however, to provide, not a history but only some comments on the relation between

political events and the African Press. Chapter XII below, somewhat amplifies the picture given here, as regards World, Post and Drum.

The English-language Press as a whole fought a dogged rearguard action against the Government's steady advance in political strength - the Nationalists increased their Parliamentary majority in every election from 1953 to 1966 inclusive - and in its legislative programme. The formation of 'splinter' opposition parties, namely the Liberal Party and the Federal Party in 1953 and the Progressive Party in 1959 did not alter the picture appreciably, though the Rand Daily Mail (Potter, 1974) came out in support of the Progressive Party. In general, the English newspapers supported the United Party opposition, but by no means slavishly. In broad terms there was unanimity of opposition to the Government. This opposition did not, however, identify itself with that of the black political movements, nor did it - or does it - give much coverage to black life generally, let alone political life, except where it assumed dramatic or explosive forms. A major example of this is the fact that the Freedom Charter composed at the conference at Kliptown in June 1955 was reproduced by no English-language newspaper (Sampson, op. cit., p.110; Hepple, op. cit., pp.160-161). Ainslie (Ainslie, op. cit., p.78) puts the lack of identification with black aims down to economic interests: 'on the one hand, the Press is anxious to defend "liberal" values ... on the other, it is committed to defend South African capitalism, and in particular the mining industry, which is irretrievably bound up with the colour bar'. A truer picture of the reasons for both lack of identification and lack of interest is to be found in the relationship of a newspaper with its readers - mainly English-speaking whites - in the social background of those who staff the newspapers, and in the practical difficulties and the inevitable blinkers induced by social segregation, customary as well as legal, and by language. No white newspaper employed an African journalist until nearly the end of the period in question, the Evening Post being, to the best of this writer's knowledge, the first to do so, in 1959.

Nevertheless, through its 'watchdog' function, the 'English' Press struck repeatedly at the injustice and unhappiness inflicted by the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act and Suppression of Communism Act (all passed in 1950), at slum conditions, police maltreatment of suspects, job reservation (under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, though the industrial colour bar long pre-dates this Act, in a less thorough-going form), university apartheid (under the Extension of University Education Act, 1959) and other legislation. In its 'partisan' role it opposed the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll and that of the African representatives from Parliament, and the principles, as well as the practice, underlying most of Nationalist race legislation, or that calculated to reduce individual freedom. Though, as mentioned, it did less than it could have done, it gave considerable and not always unfavourable publicity to black political movements and political aspirations. It is true that, like the Conservative newspapers in Britain, it was read by large numbers of its political opponents, without (apparently) having any effects on their political convictions - the analysis of his newspaper's political influence by Joel Mervis, in the Sunday Times of 26.4.1970 is, however, of interest - and that its effect on the Government also seems to have been minimal: as Broughton puts it, rather cynically: 'The sceptre of righteousness and the swords of denunciation and exhortation are wielded in vain. The magnificent watchdog barks; the caravan moves on, unheeding'. Further, the 'English' Press by no means always succeeded in persuading even its English-speaking readers. This was probably one reason for some loss in circulation of the Rand Daily Mail; as Aubrey Sussons (quoted in Goldberg, 1966, p.67) put it: 'Gandar began to give his readers church every day ... his readers ... began to lose interest'. As Goldberg also points out (ibid., p.46) while most English-speaking South Africans supported Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence most of the 'English' Press newspapers were critical of it.

Whatever criticisms are made of the English-language Press, it seems probably that it did do a considerable amount to keep opposition to the Government alive between 1948 and 1964 - as it has done since - not only on the 'white' level but also less directly, on the black level, by ventilation of grievances and

injustice. The effect of Government upon the Press, both English-language and African, will be dealt with later in this chapter.

What of the African Press during this period? The newspapers of the Bantu Press group, of which the most important - hence most discussed in what follows - was the Bantu World, as has been said, were politically 'moderate'. The advent of the Nationalist Party to power was a severe psychological and in due course also an economic blow to the Bantu Press, both because of the new Government's policies in themselves and in terms of the probable African reaction to them. Mr Paver was called in by Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, and asked to support Government policy or lose Government advertising. Paver refused, and the advertising was discontinued. Nevertheless the Minute Books remark that no stone must be left unturned in satisfying the Cabinet 'of the value and sincerity of our work' (Director's Report, 29.9.1949) and the South African Government 'consider our policy to be above party politics and our service to be of value to the country as a whole' (Annual General Meeting, 8.12.1949). Nevertheless there are two references in the Minute Books for the period to too outspoken editors (1951: Bantu World, and 1956: Ilanga)) and to a complaint in November, 1960 by a leading Natal African politician of lack of editorial freedom on Ilanga.

These references, of course, cover a long span of time. While it is not possible, from the sources available, to give a detailed picture of the position at various times it is clear that political pressures were steadily increasing. The attitude of a number of politically-conscious Africans to the Bantu Press had, as mentioned, been somewhat suspicious (see, for example, Hemson, 1969, pp.30-31). In 1951, at an African National Congress meeting at Bloemfontein, a reporter from Bantu World had to leave the hall, as 'our meeting cannot start in the presence of a hostile press' - meaning the Bantu Press. However, as the reporter concerned told the writer, 'We afterwards made friends with the A.N.C. and helped to launch it'. As Feit (Feit, 1962) mentions, much of the controversy between the more conservative and radical wings of the African National Congress (the latter

split off to form the Pan-African Congress in 1959) was conducted through the correspondence columns of Bantu World, but that the paper helped to launch the A.N.C. seems too strong a statement. Bantu World, in fact, in 1959 gave considerable support to the Africanists as against the official A.N.C. (see, e.g. Bunting, 1960, and Chapter XII below). The paper did oppose various Government moves editorially, for example, the Sophiatown removal (1954).

Selope Thema died in semi-retirement in 1952, and was succeeded by Dr Nhlapo, a former university lecturer, in 1953. In the early 1950s there seem to have been only one or two whites on the editorial side of Bantu World, but from 1955, when the paper was published bi-weekly, the number was increased, and appears to have been three or four in the late '50s. There had been a white Editorial Director at least from 1945. For most of the period the present system of a white editorial director with an African editor subordinate to him was maintained. For a couple of years after the editorship of the fairly radical Mr B. Lengene (see Chapter XII below), which ended in June, 1959, until about 1963 there was no African editor. The system of an Editorial Director or editorial adviser was also used on other newspapers, such as Ilanga. One white journalist who worked on Bantu World from about 1955-57 and again from 1963-65 wrote that the former period was a happy and comradely one, with a sense of dedication by both white and African staff. The paper in those days 'drew an enormous affection from its readers'. The Bantu World was in several ways a very different paper in this period from what it later became, as will be shown in Chapter XII (below). At that period the paper contained, besides much political reporting natural in that turbulent time and a certain amount of crime, a considerable amount of 'Social Criticism', for example, of slum conditions.

In January, 1962, the paper became a daily and in the same year the Argus Company, which had for many years held a large interest in the paper, took over direct control.

The writer has rather little detailed knowledge of the Group's other newspapers. A newspaper, Izwe lama Swazi was acquired in Swaziland, but in due course all the other newspapers in the High Commission territories were closed down.

Imvo which had been in Johannesburg from 1940-53, and again from 1956, was from 1957 run in partnership with the Ginsberg's in Kingwilliamstown and the paper was sold to them about a year later. Five years later it was bought by Afrikaanse Pers. For the greater part of the period Bantu World had been partly vernacular and the other publications mainly or entirely so - editorials were frequently one item printed in English - but from 1962 Bantu World was entirely in English.

This period saw the birth and development of the second major newspaper enterprise in the African Press field. Drum was launched by a consortium of three in 1951, but soon taken over by one of them, Jim Bailey, son of Sir Abe Bailey. Mr Bailey told the writer that, although he had not initiated the project originally, in continuing it on his own he 'felt the need for decent Non-European journalism', and that the day of subsidised 'missionary journals' such as published by the Bantu Press was over. The history of Drum in the 1950s is too well known to be retold here. Anthony Sampson's Drum and Tom Hopkinson's In the Fiery Continent give a vivid picture of the magazine at that time. Drum's liveliness, high literary quality and social criticism, gave it an international reputation, and it provided a school for journalistic talent. Its exposé of prison conditions by means of sending a reporter to gaol and of photographing prisoners in the interior of a prison from a neighbouring high building, was part reason for some of the clauses of the Prisons Act, 1959, under which Mr Gandar was subsequently convicted. Drum also gave much attention to African politics, and at one stage at least appears to have favoured the 'nationalists' against the Africanists. Its editorial policy in general was 'moderate', as exemplified by a statement of Drum's political position in July, 1958 signed by Jim Bailey, Tom Hopkinson and Can Themba, and an interesting editorial in October, 1963, replying to the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. It gave an excellent coverage to events in the rest

of Africa, taking a definitely pro-Nationalist though not uncritical line in the Central African Federation. For most of its career Drum has been published in an East and West African edition as well as a South African one. These editions eventually achieved a much larger circulation than the South African one. By 1969 they had reached a combined circulation of 400,000 compared with 70,000 for the South African edition. Drum was published in English, except for a rather short-lived Zulu edition started in 1963.

Post, a weekly, was founded as Drum's running-mate in 1955. Its editorial policy was similar to that of Drum; it also provided a good feature service on developments elsewhere in Africa. Several journalists have described to the writer the happy close-knit society of both Drum and Post, as well as the sense of fulfilment and the excitement of actively campaigning on political issues about which they felt strongly. The level of dedication appears to have been higher than it became in later years, the esprit de corps stronger, especially on Drum. Though no African became editor of either Drum or Post during this period Africans were appointed to the rank of Associate Editor.

Post and Drum were decidedly more outspoken than the Bantu Press newspapers, but as one former employee (African) put it, in connection with the Defiance Campaign and the Treason Trial, 'we could not support (the African political movements) outright - and survive'. The same man, now living in England, said that he was more radical in his political views than the newspaper (Post and Drum): 'however liberal the management was in its outlook, none of its members had my personal experience as a victim', '... policy was decided by discussion on each issue as it arose. The only clear and unchanging policy line was that none of the staff should take an active part in politics, since this could be an excuse for all kinds of official reaction'. It appears, however, that at least one member of Post's staff was arrested on a political charge. At one point a proposed link-up with the Bantu Press group was defeated by the Board of the latter (according to Mr Paver - the minutes only mention proposed joint publication of the two papers in the rural districts (1951)).

Apart from the two main newspaper groups activity in the African Press field was confined largely to the radical left and to the Nationalist-supporting Press, and to the publishers of photo and other magazines. The latter group, is, of course, of little political relevance. The first group has already been mentioned for their activities in stages two and three. Inkululeko and the Guardian were both banned shortly after the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, although the latter paper re-appeared twice and was twice banned, under the names Advance and New Age. The final demise of the latter paper occurred in 1962. Torch was banned in 1963. The latter paper was Trotskyite, and waged a war on several fronts, inter alia against the 'Stalin-line' Communists in South Africa and elsewhere. Just how important the influence of these papers was is impossible to say: their militancy and exposes, probably did serve to increase political consciousness and radical views among blacks. Spark, the organ of the Consultative Committee of Congresses (A.N.C., South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, and Trade Union Congress), established in 1953, originally as the organ of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, had a 'short but spectacular career' (Ainslie, p.53). It was closed down by the Government in 1963, its last editor being Nelson Mandela.

The Africanist, edited by Sobukwe, represented the views of the radical wing of the A.N.C., which broke away to form the Pan-African Congress. It lived only from 1958-1960.

On the other extreme the Nationalist Party and Press had realised the importance of a Press of their own in the African field. Bona (see) was founded by Afrikaanse Pers in 1956 and still appears monthly in four editions, English, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho. It tends to eschew politics, but where it does touch on them, supports the status quo. It does have a certain amount of - largely critical - comment on the African states. Bona includes a good deal of 'traditional material', e.g. stories of pre-conquest African life. Much of each edition is taken up by photo stories. Bona now has a circulation of some 120,000 but some 250,000 copies per annum are bought by the Bantu Education Department for African schools; one journalist however told the writer that any child at the school she attended found reading Bona was thrashed!

Elethu, a weekly newspaper, formerly Our Mirror, was taken over by the Nationalists and run for a time, but its circulation was small, and it soon failed. Some of the journalists who had worked on it told the writer that they had sabotaged it in various minor ways, while employed on it.

Much more important was the take-over of Imvo Zabantsundu from the Kingwilliamstown Printing Company (the Ginsberg's) about 1963, after a couple of years of 50/50 partnership between the Ginsberg's and Tanda Press (a subsidiary of Dagbreekpers, later amalgamated with Afrikaanse Pers). The break-up was apparently due to political differences. Under the Ginsberg's Imvo was designed mainly as a 'domestic' type paper, meant for entertainment, rather than as a political journal, but the editors (African) were given a free hand to comment on Government legislation - provided they did not incite rebellion. At times management 'had words' with the Editor about what they considered his 'rash' editorial actions. After the partnership with Tanda Press started a white was appointed to 'vet' the contents of the paper.

After the Afrikaanse Pers take-over circulation fell drastically - according to A.B.C. figures by about a quarter (1960-1962), but thereafter rose again to higher than the previous peak and has since risen dramatically (see Chapter VII).

The last group, the magazines, especially picture magazines, had, as mentioned Umlindi Wa Nganga as their forerunner. Because of Bona's quasi-political approach and ownership it has been dealt with under the Nationalist African Press. There have been a considerable number of other magazines trying to reap the benefit of this potentially rich market, but most of them have failed. Examples are Zonk, originally started in 1949 by the Bantu Press but subsequently taken over by Afrikaanse Pers, only stopped about 1968; Grace, published by Republican Publishers, Durban (also ceased about 1968); King Kong, Pinda, Izimbuya and Hi Note (established 1954). The development of the photo story

magazines - other magazines often use this method to provide part of their content - both for whites and blacks has been largely due to Republican Publishers, now of Durban, although there have been numerous competitors - according to an executive of Republican Publishers there were, or had been, some 60 photo publications on the market up to 1967 (Republican Publishers produces some 14) but many of them were ephemeral. The first of Republican Publishers' photo magazines, Kyk (Afrikaans captions) came out about 1952. The main magazine produced for Africans is True Africa (founded 1962). Great is produced by Jim Bailey's organisation, and there are a number of others directed at the African market. Although Republican Publishers is controlled by Afrikaans-speaking people, and one of its ordinary magazines Ster contained a fair amount of 'pro-verkrampte' material the photo magazines are generally escapist light entertainment, though it is worthy of note that one of them specialises in 'traditional' themes (it seems to be modelled on Tarzan and on Rider Haggard), while True Africa deals with crime. The vogue of photo magazines in South Africa - they enjoyed a total circulation of around 2,000,000 copies in 1967 - seems now to be passing.

(sixth)

The fifth stage, which commenced with the Rivonia trials and lasted up to the time of this research, can be categorized as one of political tameness but economic advance. There was rapidly rising circulation for at least the two main newspapers in the field, considerable increases in advertising revenue and appreciable increases in capital investment. Though there were some developments as regards the Bantustans - the 1968 General Election in the Transkei, partial self-government for the Tswana's, Ovambo's, Ciskei and Zululand, etc. - and guerilla activity on the borders and in Rhodesia, there was otherwise very little African political activity. Except for the Terrorism Act and the Bureau of State Security legislation the machinery of Government control had been completed by 1964. Many of the best African journalists of the 1950s had either left the country or died. As Mhpahlele said of literary production, 'When (men such as Dhlomo, in the '40s and '50s) wrote oppression provided just a sufficient spur to adult creative writing. The spur is a paralyzing one today'. (Mhpahlele, 1962). The African public, partly because of the destruction of the African opposition, partly because they began to see the half loaf of the Bantustans as better than no

bread of political advancement at all, and partly because of the measure of economic improvement that continued during the period appeared to be politically apathetic - though there is some evidence that their interest in political news had by no means been wholly lost, as witness for example the reaction to Chief Luthuli's death and to Robert Kennedy's and Luther King's assassinations. The white public were possibly in the earlier part of the period still influenced in their attitudes to Africans both by the resistance movements in South Africa and by the news of revolt and upheaval in the African states; in the latter part of the period there were some - not very marked - signs of a thaw in white attitudes, both among Nationalists ('verligtes') and others.

All these factors were calculated to influence both the policy of the African newspapers and the motivations and morale of journalists, white and black, on those newspapers. Organisational changes which were in part a reaction to these forces, especially in terms of the growth in size of the Press, were also calculated to change the social climate of the newspapers. Perhaps the most important of these organisational changes was the Argus take-over of the Bantu Press in 1962, which, though only the final stage of a steady growth of Argus influence and not productive of any immediate or dramatic change yet seems to have effected a subtle change right through the World at least.

The history of the main newspapers from 1964-1971 can be briefly outlined. Umthunywa was sold during this period to the South Coast Herald of Port Shepstone. The three editions of African Echo in the High Commission Territories had been stopped in March, 1964 and though the Company (now World Printing and Publishing Company) continued to own the High Commission Printing and Publishing Company, the latter published only a 'white' or 'general' newspaper, The Times of Swaziland. Apart from this the company's only newspapers in 1971 were World and Ilanga, plus Week-end World, which was founded in June, 1968 in order to counter the inroads of Post in the Transvaal African market, and to get a foothold in the week-end field before other publishers entered it. Week-end World grew rather slowly for a week-end

newspaper, its circulation only touching 100,000 by the end of 1970. World's circulation grew relatively rapidly over the period, and topped 100,000 by 1970 (see Chapter VII, below).

Less attention has been paid by the writer to Ilanga than to World, mainly because it is less important, but also because of the language barrier. There do not, however, seem to have been any very major changes in Ilanga over the period under review, except that from 1968 it became more sensational, with more sex and crime. The staff has evidently increased, but not very markedly. There is still only one white on the editorial side.

Umthunywa appears to have played quite a lively role in Transkei politics during this period,[1] sufficiently so at least to have incurred the ire of the Chief Minister, who described it in 1968 as the 'mongrel puppy' of the East London Daily Dispatch. Umthunywa supports the Democratic Party in the Transkei and in general favours the Progressive Party approach in South Africa, though with reservations on the qualified franchise.

Drum ceased (as an independent magazine in South Africa) in 1965 and became a relatively small fortnightly insert in Post, alternating with Home Post every other week. It was revived, on new machinery, glossy paper and in four colours in 1968, but according to its Editor was deliberately intended as an entertainment magazine rather than as a political or 'social conscience' organ like the old Drum. However the refusal to renew the residence permit of the British Editor in February, 1969 implied that it may have angered the authorities by some of its articles. The May, 1969 issue was banned by the Publications Control Board - not, as the Manager of Drum and Post points out, that Drum is by any means alone in this: some 'white' publications have been banned several times each. Drum was also banned in Rhodesia,

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1. Information on Umthunywa was kindly supplied, in the form of a short paper, by Mr Barry Streek, then a politics student at Rhodes University.

though the High Court subsequently reversed this decision. Drum's growth since it appeared in its new version has been rather disappointing, being still only 74,000 (including 7,000 outside South Africa).

Not so Post. Its circulation soared between 1963 and 1968, though the curve subsequently flattened, probably due, in large part, to the competition of Week-end World (see Chapter VII). The changes in Post's political policies are described in Chapter XII. In general, its basic outlook and tone do not appear to have changed markedly, but the salience and emphasis given to political views changed greatly.

By the fifth stage all the left-wing or radical newspapers had been silenced. Imvo Zabantsundu has gradually gained in readership under the capable direction of the two Mr Wessels's (successively) and the wife of the latter, who has edited the paper since 1968. It makes considerable use of copy derived from Die Vaderland's news columns, as well as its own small staff of reporters and numerous stringers. Nothing further need be said about Bona during this period, except that it has gained appreciably in circulation. The other newspapers and periodicals are of comparatively little importance politically.

A little should, however, be said about the White Press during the period. As is usual, especially at times when 'African politics' is not in the forefront of the political stage, as it was towards the end of the previous period, the news coverage of the White and African Presses were widely divergent. To a lesser extent, the same was true of editorials and features. During the four years up to and including 1971 much of the internal political news was of the 'verligte' - 'verkrampte' struggle among the Nationalists, and of the 1970 electoral battles, neither of which was of much interest to the African Press or its readers. The Gandar trial for publishing reports on prison conditions was one of the major events of the period directly affecting the white newspapers: another was the 'Boss' law and a third the police

intervention to stop publication of a report by Mr Marais on the Bureau of State Security. On the Afrikaans side the main change has been the - at least partial - emancipation of those newspapers from the Nationalist Party line, again the verkrampte-verligte dispute and the recent merger.

More important for the African Press was the tendency for the White Press to move further into the African reader market, with the publication of special African or 'Township' editions (usually only a small proportion of the paper was actually devoted to 'African' news), with a page or two of 'African' news in their ordinary editions, or simply with an increase in the amount of African news published throughout the paper. The Eastern Province Herald, for example, has for some years published a page of 'African' news, while the Daily Dispatch and Rand Daily Mail both ran separate editions for a time, but now run African news throughout the paper, the Daily Dispatch even publishing a photograph of an African wedding couple in the middle of its front page on one occasion. It may be mentioned that when the Eastern Province Herald originally published its portion of African news, it did so in a separate edition, but printed it in the ordinary editions following African National Congress opposition to a 'segregated' edition. This trend has been paralleled by the Cape Times and Burger in respect of Coloured readers and the Mercury (Durban) in respect of Indian ones. The corollary of the endeavour to provide news of interest to blacks is the appointment of blacks as journalists to white newspapers. Several such newspapers now employ at least one black journalist. The majority of these journalists are African. As of 1971 the Rand Daily Mail to the best of the writer's knowledge, employed the most (six),[1] Star and Evening Post (Port Elizabeth) one each, and Daily Dispatch three - this list is not exhaustive. In some cases these journalists serve not only to provide news of African affairs for the benefit of their black readers, but to 'interpret' Africans and their viewpoint to whites, though a column in the paper. The then editor of the Rand Daily Mail mentioned the growing importance of this sort of service in the White Press.

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1. This number had nearly doubled by 1972.

As will be shown - and the implications discussed - in the next chapter the readership of white newspapers by Africans is increasing steadily, though by no means all white newspapers have shared in the increase, and some have lost.

So far something has been said of the attitude of the African newspapers to political events but little of Government attitudes to and the effect of Government pressure on, these newspapers, and on the Press generally. In doing so now a brief outline will be given of the Common Law affecting the Press, as well as of legislation both before and especially after 1948.[1] Since the first existence of regular newspapers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Government has generally tended to be suspicious of the influence of any newspaper which is not directly Government-owned or controlled. Williams, in his Right to Know: the Rise of the World Press (Williams, 1969, Chapter 1), has given a good summary account of the development of Government relations with the Press, and this Government suspicion of the Press or of the allied electronic media is neither a story told of old, unhappy days nor of modern authoritarian societies, but mutual abrasiveness is for much of the time a characteristic of Government-Press relations even in modern, democratic countries such as the United States, where the conflict between President Nixon and the television networks was hardly an abnormality even before Watergate (or Britain - as in the story of Wilson vs. the media during the 1964-70 Labour Government).

In South Africa, also, the relations between Government and Press have often been less than cordial. It is particularly, however, the Afrikaner Nationalist view of the Press that has informed Government approaches to the Press since 1948. In part, this is equivalent to what Siebert calls the 'Authoritarian Theory of the Press' (Siebert, 1956): the Press exists as a servant of the state, with which society - in this case primarily Afrikaner society - is identified. To this must be added the

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1. I have relied here mainly on Hepple (1960), Labuschagne (1969), Blackwell and Bamford (1963) and Strauss, Strydom and Van der Walt (1968).

fact that the 'English Press' was seen by Nationalists as being automatically in opposition to most of their ideals, linked with an economic establishment which they traditionally hated and feared, possessed of a circulation far greater than that of Afrikaans newspapers and, perhaps worst of all, willing and able to influence the already potentially hostile blacks, as well as the outside world, against their policies. Lastly, as in Rhodesia after U.D.I., the Government, and to some extent the white public, began, at least from the late '50s, to see South Africa as in a semi-state of siege, hence nothing must be said or done to render any form of aid to 'the enemy outside the walls' (as a Rhodesian judge phrased it recently), or to aid dissident forces within.

With this background, then, the law relating to the Press may be discussed. South African Common Law, which is based on Roman-Dutch Law, but influenced by English decisions, makes no distinction between the responsibility of a 'legal person', including a newspaper and a natural one. It is an offence both to attempt to commit a crime or to incite someone else to do so; newspapers could obviously transgress under the latter heading. Theoretically, a newspaper could then be guilty, indirectly if not directly, of any crime under the Common Law. However, the offences of which a newspaper is likely to be guilty are those:

(1) Against 'good order and government' and the public peace.
(2) More specifically, against the conduct of the law.
(3) Against public morals.
(4) Against the individual citizen's right to a good reputation and to privacy.

(1) This includes the crimes of high treason, sedition, crimen Laesae Majestatis and crimen laesae venerationis and public violence, which includes unlawful assembly, riot and affray. High treason involves essentially the objective of overthrowing the state power or of warring against it, while sedition is the combination of a number of persons in violent opposition against the state, but without the object of overthrowing it. Crimen laesae majestatis also refers to attacks on the state authority where its complete overthrow is not envisaged or where there is

no hostile intent. Crimen laesae venerationis deals with attacks on the good name and dignity of the state, including the ruler. The latter has been subsumed in part by the statutory offence of attacking the dignity or honour of the State President (Sec. 31 of the 1961 South African Constitution). Of the above sedition itself cannot be committed by a newspaper, but incitement to it can be. The other three offences can be, e.g. treason can take the form of propaganda for the enemy, at least if it takes the form of incitement to action to overthrow the state, while crimen laesae venerationis is akin to the English offence of seditious libel. Public violence means disturbance of the public peace by the violent action of a number of people, without the intention of overthrowing the state, etc. as for the offences mentioned previously. A newspaper cannot commit, but can incite to the commission of such an offence.

A newspaper in South Africa is obviously very unlikely to incite its readers to overthrow or make war on the state but rather more likely to become involved in '(raising) discontent or dissatisfaction among Her Majesty's ... subjects' (English 'seditious libel' - see Stephen: History of the Criminal Law of England, quoted Labuschagne, 1969, p.46) or to incite to violence short of treason. However the state obviously considered these Common Law provisions to be inadequate, and the numerous legislative enactments cover the same ground and much more.

(2) More important in practice is the category of offences against the conduct of the law, which, for the Press, includes only contempt of court. This involves either of two things, firstly, undue criticism of the court, for example 'imputing corrupt or dishonest motives, or conduct, to a judge in the discharge of his judicial office, or reflecting in an improper or ... scandalous manner on the administration of justice' (Justice Kotze, in re Phelan, 1877-1881 S.A.R. 5, p.8, cited in Strauss, Strydom and Van der Walt, p.144) and secondly, any action or words calculated to interfere with or obstruct the course of justice. As far as newspapers are concerned the latter refers to a newspaper's comment on matters which are sub judice, since such comment carries the danger, in particular, of influencing the

minds of the public or of persons connected with the case and so preventing a fair hearing - there is to be no 'trial by newspaper'.

The first type of contempt does not include honest and temperate criticism of the court, for example the criticisms expressed quite frequently by newspapers and by the Institute of Race Relations - sometimes in editorials - of racial discrimination in sentencing. On the other hand the Torch case (Rex vs. Torch Printing and Publishing Co. and others, 1956 (1) S.A. 815 (C.) - cited in Blackwell and Bamford, 1963, pp.18-19) where a newspaper had criticised a 'travesty of justice' (due to racial bias) resulted in a conviction. The contention that a judge was mistaken in his judgement, or that an accused should not have been convicted is, however, not contempt. To allege that the reasons for a decision of the court were 'as flimsy as gossamer' is.

The second type of contempt can take many forms. A case is sub judice as soon as a person has been arrested or summonsed in a criminal case or summonsed (or notice of motion given) in a civil case. Not only comment on the case when sub judice but publication of information likely to prejudice a fair hearing, for example the publication of a petition filed but not yet used in open court, or which has been held by the judge to be inadmissable, of a photograph of an accused before identification parade, or of a letter about the character of a witness constitutes contempt. Publication of the result of a newspaper's independent investigations of a case would also be contempt of court. A bald statement of the essential facts about a sub judice case which has not yet been tried, or an accurate account of court proceedings, is not contempt of court. (See, on contempt of court, Labuschagne, p.p.56-60, Blackwell and Bamford, Chapter 6, and Strauss and others, pp.144-150.)

(3) Offences against public morals include blasphemy and the publication of indecent or obscene material. Blasphemy is the publication of matter which 'slanders, or denies the existence of

the Supreme Being' (Blackwell, p.31), or in a Christian country of Jesus Christ. The matter concerned must be such as to shock the religious sense of a large part of the population, or even such as to lead to a breach of the peace.

As obscenity and indecency in publications has been dealt with by legislation, both pre-Union and later South African, which in the main superceded the Common Law the topic is dealt with in terms of statute laws. Common law experience in this field has, however, had an important influence on the present-day approach.

(4) Offences against an individual's reputation, honour and privacy include libel, crimen injuria and intrusion on privacy, though the latter is hardly to be distinguished in our law from crimen injuria. While all these can be prosecuted criminally they more often form the basis for civil actions, especially the first. From the journalist's point of view these offences and civil wrongs are of great importance as there is constant danger of their commission, but for the purposes of this thesis they are of lesser importance, hence are dealt with briefly. For a detailed exposition see Labuschagne, pp.60-68, Blackwell and Bamford, Chapter 9, and Strauss, Chapter VIII.

Libel is the publication to a third party or parties of statements which are likely to lower the reputation of a person. Corporations may be libelled, but not the Government nor a Government Department. In certain circumstances a group may be libelled, e.g. the senate or a jury. A deceased person can, in general, not be libelled. All who take part in the publishing of a newspaper are liable to an action for libel but not the distributors of it. Libel includes, in South Africa, such statements as that a person is insane, illegitimate, Coloured (if he is accepted as a white person), dishonest, incompetent, criminal, or suffers from venereal disease. Whether a statement is libellous may depend upon the particular context in which it is made.

There are various defences against a prosecution, or a civil action, for libel, in particular justification, privilege and fair comment. Justification implies that the statements were true - or at least substantially true - and that their publication was for the public benefit: truth alone is not a defence. Privilege is 'the protection given to a person who bona fide publishes defamatory matter in the exercise of a right or the performance of a duty or the protection of an interest' (Blackwell and Bamford, p.28) and includes such fields as reports of the proceedings of Parliament or courts of law. Fair comment means that the statements concerned are recognizably comment not statements of fact, that the comment is reasonable and that the facts are true and of public interest.

Crimen injuria is an attack not upon the reputation but upon the dignity, self-respect and privacy of a person, and as such need not be published to a third party. The act of a man watching a woman undressing is an example of crimen injuria. There are, however, many ways in which a newspaper can commit crimen injuria - though Labuschagne (p.66) points out that while civil actions have not been infrequent, there has not been one prosecution of a newspaper in South Africa for this offence. Examples of such civil cases are the publication, without her permission, of a woman's photograph in an advertisement for fire-arms and of a man's photograph next to an article in which he was described as 'one of the men in the life' of an entertainment artiste.

Invasion of privacy is a topic which has much exercised the public mind as well as Press Commissions and journalists themselves, in relation to the Press (see, for example, Williams, 1969, pp.278-279), and has been dealt with in journalistic Codes of Ethics (International Code of Ethics for Information Personnel, Article III, printed in Sommerlad, 1966). However, it appears to be marginal as a criminal offence, to be covered to a large extent under crimen injuria and also by statutory provisions (Labuschagne, pp.66-68).

There is a far-reaching network of legislation governing the actions of the Press in South Africa - one editor described his task, on this account as like 'walking blindfold through a minefield'. Here an account will be given of the main items only. It should be pointed out that there was an appreciable body of legislation bearing on the Press, some of it of a 'political' or 'racial' nature - before 1948, but much the greater volume of legislation was enacted by the Nationalist Government after that date. Besides legislation bearing directly on the Press, there are some measures which affect the Press indirectly, but nevertheless importantly, notably the segregation laws. Legislation on the Press may be divided into four main groups: that affecting

(1) the right to publish newspapers;
(2) the State and its organs, and race relations;
(3) objectionable literature;
(4) miscellaneous.

(1) Anyone wishing to publish a newspaper in South Africa must, in terms of the Newspaper and Imprint Act, 1934 obtain from the Minister of the Interior a certificate of registration. Application for registration must include inter alia the names and addresses of those responsible for publication, such as proprietor, manager and editor and of the chairman and board of any company or association running the paper. The names and addresses of proprietor, publisher and printer must be printed in each copy of the paper. The General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (section 5) provides that unless the Minister certifies that he has no reason to believe that the newspaper is likely to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act a deposit of up to R20,000 must be paid, to be forfeited to the State if the paper is banned. (In a recent case of the founding of a country newspaper of which the writer has heard, the proposed proprietor/editor was also apparently subjected to very thorough police investigation.) Registration lapses if the paper is not produced within one month of the date of registration, or if it ceases publication for more than a month.

(2) The main legislative provisions relating to the 'security of the state' and to race relations - the two are connected - and applying to newspapers are the following:

The Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 provides (section 6) for the banning of any newspaper, periodical or book which propagates the aims of Communism, or which is published by an organisation declared unlawful under the Act, including the Communist Party. Communism is defined so as to include besides Marxian socialism and its developments any doctrine which envisages the bringing about of political or social change by means which include disturbances or disorder. Section 2 of the Act has been used to ban the Guardian (1952), its successors Advance (1956) and New Age (1962), and Torch (1963). The Act also forbids the publication of any statement of anyone prohibited from attending any gathering (section 11) or of any listed Communist.

The Public Safety Act (3 of 1953) was passed after the Defiance Campaign of 1952-53 and presumably to counter this or similar movements in future. The Act gives the Executive power to declare a State of Emergency nationally or in certain areas, if public order is seriously threatened, and that done, to govern by decree.

The extremely wide blanket powers which are given the Government in this situation would seem to include power to censor or ban any newspaper or other publication. A State of Emergency was in fact declared under the Act just after Sharpeville, and continued for some five months. A State of Emergency was declared in the Transkei in 1961 in connection with the Pondoland disturbances, and is still in force.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act (8 of 1953) provided for punishment of anyone who 'uses language ... calculated to cause any person or persons in general to commit an offence by way of protest against a law ...', in other words any editor who supported a passive resistance campaign (like that of 1952-53) or who even criticised any law in a way calculated (i.e. reasonably likely) to cause people to break it in protest would be liable to the severe penalties, including fine, imprisonment up to five

years, and whipping, laid down in the Act. Hepple points out (Hepple, 1960, p.19) the extremely inhibitory effect of this law on much editorial comment.

The Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956 provides for the prohibition of gatherings, and of publishing information about such a gathering. It also provides for the prohibition of any 'documentary information' likely to cause hostility between the races or for publication of any statement made by someone prohibited from attending gatherings. Any person who publishes anything which conduces to public violence is guilty of the Common Law offence of public violence.

The 'Sabotage clause' (section 21) of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 provides for the offence of sabotage, which includes a wide variety of subversive acts, and is punishable as is treason. As with treason a newspaper could presumably be convicted of sabotage. The Terrorism Act, 1967 provides for punishment of any person who inter alia incites anyone to obstruct the maintenance of law and order in South Africa. Logically, again, a newspaper could be convicted of this offence. Both the Sabotage clause and the Terrorism Act also provide for punishment for stirring up feelings of racial animosity.

The Native Administration Act, 1927 'empowers the President' by proclamation to impose virtually unlimited censorship 'in all African reserves (section 25)'. It also penalises the incitement of hostility between Africans and whites (Section 27). In 1950 the Sunday Express was convicted under this section, for printing a cartoon about the incorporation of the then Protectorates, but was acquitted on appeal (Blackwell and Bamford, p.55).

The Prisons Act, 1959 inter alia prohibits publication of photographs of prisons or prisoners and of false information relating to prisons without taking reasonable steps to verify the

information. The relevant sections of the Act were partly the result of exposés of prison conditions by Drum, and were invoked in the recent Gandar trial. The latter case has probably been an effective discouragement to any publication of stories on prison conditions.

(3) 'Objectionable literature' is a category which includes both political and sexual material. It is governed mainly by the Publications and Entertainments Act, 1963, which established the Publications Control Board. The Board may investigate any publication - except newspapers published by the Newspaper Press Union (see below) - on a complaint by a third party, to decide whether it is an undesirable one. If the Board so decides it can ban the book completely or one issue of a newspaper or periodical, or all issues of a paper or periodical until further notice. Such a decision can be contested in the courts, but as one newspaper proprietor pointed out, it might take a considerable time to obtain a court decision, by which time, even if the decision was favourable, the publication would in effect have been destroyed. The definition of 'undesirable' is a wide one (section 5(2)(a)-(f) of Act 26, 1963), and includes both improper treatment of sexual matters and matter damaging to the safety of the state or good race relations. As mentioned above an issue of Drum has been banned under this Act, but other magazines have been banned more often, e.g. Scope. The newspapers of the National Press Union (98 out of 108 published in South Africa or South-West Africa, according to the First Report of the Press Commission in 1962), are not subject to the operation of the Act, but of the African publications Post is not a member, nor can any magazine be. Post and Cape Herald have allegedly both been warned in the past by the Board. The Board has other censorship functions which are not relevant here.

Besides this Act the Post Office Act, 1958 prohibits the sending of any 'indecent or obscene matter' through the post and the Customs Act, 1964 prohibits the importation into South Africa of 'goods which are indecent or obscene or on any ground whatsoever objectionable', with the exception of educational material

imported under licence. These two Acts affect the Press only indirectly, but the latter, at least, is of considerable public importance. There is also pre-Union territorial legislation on 'obscene publications' but this has for the most part been superceded by the Publications and Entertainment Act.

The question of what constitutes an 'obscene' or 'indecent' publication is a vexed and difficult one. It is not intended to discuss the matter in detail here. The usual definition (embodied in the 1963 Act but derived from the (English) Hicklin case in the last century) is that which 'has the tendency to deprave or to corrupt the minds of persons who are likely to be exposed to the effect or influence thereof'. The problem, of course, is that standards of public morality and taste not only change over time, but vary as between different social classes, or different cultural groups. As will be shown later (Chapter XIV) the two related but logically independent questions of the extent to which censorship of this kind - let along political censorship - should be imposed by law and the ethical standards of the Press have been of much concern to journalists as well as others, on the African as well as on the White Press.

(4) Miscellaneous. In terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 as amended, the publication of certain aspects of court proceedings, e.g. identifying material on juveniles appearing in court (even as witnesses), or reports on trials for inducing or extortion (with some exceptions), is prohibited. It should be noted that trials under the Immorality Act, which figure largely in the White Press but much more in the African Press are not included in these prohibitions.

Certain advertisements, particularly those relating to pools or lotteries, cures for sexual ailments or for cancer and in the Transvaal, contraceptives and ecbolic material are prohibited. Many advertisements in the African Press appear to be close to the borderline of this prohibition, as far as sexual vigour is concerned.

The Regulation of Monopolistic Conditions Act (24 of 1955) is relevant in principle to the control of the Press in South Africa but, as Labuschagne points out (pp.116-123), it is not a very effective weapon. The Government, however, recently prevented the proposed Argus - South African Associated Newspapers merger by the threat of the introduction of retrospective legislation. The question of monopolistic conditions in the South African Press has been discussed briefly in Chapter V, and will be discussed further in relation to the Press Commission's report (see below).

The relationship between journalists and the police and courts is of some importance. In terms of an agreement between the Commissioner of Police and the Executive Council of the Newspaper Press Union police passes may be issued to journalists, which enable them to enter an area under police control from which the public is excluded and to interview and obtain telephonic information from senior police officers, subject to certain conditions. All white but by no means all black reporters have been issued with police passes.

The other important matter under this heading is the question of professional privilege. Journalists, unlike lawyers (for example) in fact do not have this privilege, but can legally be forced to disclose the source of information given to them in confidence. The deleterious effect of this on the obtaining of information is obvious. Several journalists, both here and in Britain (where the legal position is similar) have in fact been gaoled for refusing to disclose sources of information for example Mr George Heard (in 1937 - budget disclosures), Patrick Duncan, then editor of Contact and Mr Fred Carneson, editor of New Age (1962).

The work of journalists is also affected by other legislation, particularly that on racial matters. Under the segregation legislation non-Africans are not allowed to enter African Reserves or Homelands without a permit. This is usually granted without

difficulty to white journalists, but is obviously a useful means of control of the reporting of matters in African areas. The same is true of African urban townships. On the other hand African journalists no less than all other Africans are subject to the legislation controlling the lives of Africans generally. An African journalist may be arrested for non-possession of a pass, may not be able to take up employment in other areas or may be 'endorsed out' if he becomes unemployed, and so on.

The Physical Planning Act may inhibit a newspaper's expansion because permission to employ extra staff is not granted - at least one of the newspapers dealt with in this study has been hampered in this way (far fewer new posts than were applied for were permitted) - and from the journalist's point of view employment opportunities - outside the Bantustans, where only one newspaper is published - are restricted.

Not only has the liberty of the Press been curtailed directly or indirectly by the legislation listed above, but threats, open or implied by the Government, against the Press - more particularly, of course, the Opposition Press - has, one may assume operated to reduce the independence of mind of editors and managers. Shortly after the Nationalist Government took office it appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the Press. The Commission's mandate required it to investigate the control of the Press and its effect on editorial policy, the accuracy of the news presented, tendencies towards monopoly in news collection and in the distribution of newspapers, restraints on the establishment of new newspapers, the adequacy of self-discipline in the Press, sensationalism and the extent to which all the above affect the freedom of the Press and the formation of an informed public opinion on political issues. This mandate, taken in conjunction with Governmental utterances about the need for such investigation, in themselves constituted something of a threat to the Press. The Commission's main findings contained in a two-part Report issued in 1962 and 1964, were that there was a considerable degree of monopolistic concentration in the South African Press field (this has been touched on in Chapter V, above), including the news gathering and distribution agencies, that the English-

language Press was connected with important industrial, commercial and mining interests in South Africa and overseas, that the newspapers of each language group were biased, and that news about South Africa sent overseas by South African and foreign journalists was severely biased. The Commission made certain recommendations about the reduction of monopoly conditions, particularly in terms of news-gathering (South African Press Association) and distribution (Central News Agency) and that a Press Board of Reference be set up, with Press and lay representation, to exercise 'self-discipline' over the Press, in particular to ensure accuracy and objectivity in the news reports (Press Commission, 1964, Vol. II).

Flowing from these recommendations certain changes were made in the constitution of S.A.P.A. - there was a redistribution of S.A.P.A.'s shares so as to give Afrikaans newspapers more than a quarter of the voting rights, hence a veto power over certain changes and the privileged relationship of Reuters - as compared with other news agencies - with S.A.P.A. was ended, and, following a Board of Trade investigation in 1965 changes were also made in the Central News Agency's rules. Actually before the 1964 Report with the proposal for a Press Board of Reference was issued, but in line with this proposal, the National Press Union established a Press Council (June, 1962). It is moreover widely accepted (and see Labuschagne, p.158) that this was done under Government pressure, with the threat of subjection of all N.P.U. newspapers to the provisions of the Publications and Entertainments Act.

The Press Council consists of two representatives of the National Press Union and a retired judge as Chairman. The South African Society of Journalists had (up to 1971) refused to appoint representatives, as it disagreed with the provisions of the Council's constitution, particularly the last clause (see below). The Council's objects as stated in its constitution are:

(a) 'To assist in maintaining the character of the South African ... Press in accordance with the highest professional and commercial standards ...'

(b) 'To consider alleged infringements of the Code in respect

of matter appearing in South African publications or matter originating in South Africa ...'

(c) 'To publish periodical reports ...'

Complaints may be made to the Council by any party against any newspaper or periodical, provided he has first unsuccessfully tried to obtain satisfaction from the newspaper. If, after investigation, the Council finds that its Code has been infringed, it may reprimand any proprietor, editor or journalist concerned, cause its findings and reprimand to be published and cause a correction to be published. Adherence to the Code and to the Council's jurisdiction has up to now (1974) been voluntary, but provision has now been made for the infliction of fines up to R6,000 by the Press Council on erring members.

The Code covers accuracy and objectivity in news-reporting, avoidance of obscene, etc. material, and provides that honest comment is to be distinguishable from news. The last clause states '... comment should take cognizance of the complex racial problems of South Africa, the general good and the safety of the country and its peoples' (see South African Press Council, 1962).

The Press Council, like its counterpart in Britain, has no statutory and in particular no punitive powers. Unlike the British Press Council it has had very few complaints made to it - only fifteen up to June, 1968, compared to 466 to the British Council in 1966 alone, of which 79 were taken up (Labuschagne, p.163). Most of the complaints were political ones, and mostly from the Nationalist side.

In short, the Press Council has up to this time represented in practice only a very minor threat - if any at all - to Press freedom, but the recent measures mentioned above throw a decidedly different complexion on the situation. There are from time to time attacks on the Press by cabinet ministers or Nationalist Members of Parliament. There have been from time to time also a considerable number of administrative acts against the Press or

members of it, including the African Press, not only under the legislation listed. Some of these have been mentioned, such as the refusal to renew the residence permit of the editor of Drum and the deportation of one of his staff. The best-known recent example of drastic administrative action was the stopping by the police of publication of an article by the Herstigte leader, Mr Marais, about the Bureau of State Security, after it was already in the presses.

The effect of political factors on the African Press must be traced, lastly, through the political beliefs and motivations of the journalists themselves, particularly, as far as policy is concerned, of those journalistic as well as managerial staff who control the newspapers. As far as the latter is concerned it will be dealt with mainly in Chapter XIV, the former in Chapter XIII. However, a little should be said about the subject now.

Firstly, a journalist, qua journalist, must subordinate his political beliefs to the policy of his newspaper, but where his beliefs conflict with policy role strain is likely to result. If he is an editor he will usually have more scope to express his own views, but at the same time if he is not allowed to do so, the consequent role strain may be very great. A statement of political beliefs was obtained from relatively few journalists. Of the Africans one was a supporter of the Progressive Party - though by the end of the field work he had ceased to be so - another, who was an ex-African National Congress office-holder, was willing to accept limited African representation in Parliament as an interim measure, one was a former member of the Liberal Party, though his present allegiance was not clear, a fourth appeared to be apolitical, if not anarchist, in the sense of rejecting any form of organized political expression, the sentiments of another seemed to be close to those of the former Pan African Congress. Several expressed anger, hurt or bitterness at Government measures - such as the stopping of home ownership outside the Homelands - which affected them personally.

Of the white journalists the modal political viewpoint appeared to be roughly that of the Progressive Party - though none mentioned support for it in so many words. Some were probably to the left of this - Liberal Party, but not Communist - and some, especially those who had come into the African Press during the 1960s, somewhat to the right of the Progressives, or again apolitical. For a white journalist on the African Press to be apolitical would usually mean, psychologically, that his ideology, even if implicit, was comparable to that of the United Party. One man said that he 'saw great need for caution on matters on which readers felt strongly'.

Political labels are to some extent a function of the situation, less so the attitudes underlying them - it is these with which we are concerned here.

Secondly, the political views of management and to a lesser extent editors - and other leader writers - will colour policy and its execution. The political views of the controllers of newspapers have often been implied in discussing the history of the African Press. The Bantu Press, for instance, was run by men who were what one might call 'paternalistically liberal'. They could perhaps be categorised, in today's terms, as left-wing United Party or right-wing Progressive. After the Argus Company take-over the personal stamp on policy was considerably reduced, but insofar as a political viewpoint existed at managerial level it would perhaps have not been very different. The main difference, one would suspect, lies in motivation, rather than personal political belief. Whereas the political beliefs of the original controllers of the Bantu Press were institutionalised in that Press (in a broad sense), the Argus Company - quite naturally - has institutionalised its business norms, the political policy of the newspapers being defined only negatively. One manager indeed told the writer that he had no political views, though, on being pressed, he expressed sentiments which were broadly within the rather wide spectrum indicated above.

Control of Post and Drum can be categorized as left-wing Progressive, though this is probably not true at all levels of the managerial chain. Though the question was not put outright, control of Imvo Zabantsundu, at local as well as at Head Office level, can be taken to lie in Nationalist hands. The other sections of the African Press are unimportant in this respect.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF READERSHIP

The degree to and the manner in which a newspaper fulfills its social responsibilities is related to the number and the sort of people who read it. There is a two-way flow of influence: not only will the 'performance' of a newspaper to a greater or lesser extent affect readership, both quantitatively and qualitatively but the characteristics - real or believed - of the readers will influence editorial policy and practice. The various reciprocal influences at work are many and sometimes subtle. In this chapter it is possible only to outline the wider, more readily measurable aspects of these.

Economically, a newspaper stands or falls by its circulation and readership figures, as explained in Chapter V above. The first two of Tunstall's goals of news organisations (p.14, ibid) both depend on increasing circulation and readership. There is, therefore, a strong pressure on the producers of newspapers to print that which will attract the greatest number of readers. Journalists' judgement of what will do this is usually rather impressionistic; changes in circulation are probably the most widely used guide, letters to the editor, informal 'feed back' or just plain 'hunches' are widely used, but the importance of a knowledge of the characteristics of readers is increasingly recognised by newspapers as well as by advertisers - hence the increased frequency of readership surveys in South Africa: these are now annual instead of only once in five years.

Comparatively little attempt seems to have been made in South Africa to elicit the opinions of African newspaper readers, for example their taste for different types of material, or their image of the newspapers concerned, or to test degree of comprehension of material of different kinds or levels of difficulty (e.g. by the Flesch test). Such research as has been done is mostly market research, and more often than not confidential, hence not available to the writer. The main source of data used

in this chapter has, in fact, been the surveys carried out by the Johannesburg firm, Market Research Africa, together with Audit Bureau of Circulation figures, though some data collected by the writer in a small-scale survey in Port Elizabeth in 1968 has also been used.

The way in which a newspaper fulfills its social responsibilities - or strives to attain its 'non-revenue' goals (Tunstall) - is obviously less closely related to readership characteristics or tastes, or what these are believed to be. Nevertheless, although newspapers generally are far from being the slaves of their readers' prejudices they must to some extent, at least, reflect, as well as lead public opinion. There is evidence that the editorial page is by no means the most often read nor most popular in a newspaper (see e.g. Sunday Times Page Traffic Survey (Market Research Africa, 1966) and Irving and St Leger (1967, p.61) on the Daily Dispatch), nor is political news necessarily so, and it is clear that many who read a given newspaper do not agree with its policies on public affairs. Nonetheless at least a measure of trust, of shared assumptions and values, - not, of course, confined to the strictly political field - is an important ingredient in the relationship of most (regular) readers to their newspaper. Not least important is, probably, the expectation of stability in policy, of knowing what to expect from a newspaper, even where one does not agree with it. Hence, the non-revenue goals - such as political partisanship, or the pursuit of social justice - do interact with the revenue ones affecting circulation. Further, insofar as a journalist does wish to persuade his readers, he must 'start from where they are', must be en rapport, at least to some extent, with them.

The data on which to base a thorough analysis of such a relationship are not available for the African Press - nor, in fact, are they usually available in anything like the detail and sensitivity required (but see, e.g. Curran, 1970, pp.111-112 and the references cited there, in relation to the (British) Daily Herald). Nevertheless, the relatively crude demographic or socio-economic data that are available do provide a useful basis for inference.

This chapter first presents a broad picture of circulation and readership, for newspapers and for magazines, based on A.B.C. figures and the 1968 Readership Survey. For comparison three of the most important white newspapers and three white magazines are included. Circulation figures for the period July-December, 1967 have been quoted, in order to make possible comparison with the readership figures, which are derived from fieldwork carried out towards the end of 1967.

TABLE 8 - Circulation and Readership of African and three White Newspapers (all figures in '000s)

Publication	Circulation (July-Dec 1967)	Readership (from Readership Survey, 1967/1968) White	Coloured /Asian	African	Total
World	82	-	19	357	376
Post	224	-	423	735	1158
Ilanga	24	-	2	189	191
Imvo Zabantsundu	17	-	-	182	182
Any African weekly	-	-	424	997	1421
Rand Daily Mail	108	387	48	182	617
Star	164	470	49	138	657
Any English-language daily	-	1265	337	430	2032
Any 'White' daily	-	1720	NA	NA	NA
Sunday Times	396	1087	276	393	1756
Any English-language weekly	-	1402	630	524	2556
Any 'White' weekly	-	2112	NA	NA	NA
Total population surveyed (age 16+)	-	2373	1289	7281	11943

Notes: 1. 'White' weeklies include two Indian newspapers, the Graphic and The Leader, whose white readership is about 2,000 each.

2. No figures are available, other than those mentioned in Note 1, for white readership of black publications, but except in the case of Post this is likely to be negligible.

3. No figures are available for black readership of 'any white daily' or 'any white weekly' though they are available for 'any English-language daily' or 'weekly' or any Afrikaans Daily' or 'weekly' separately.

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation and 1968 Readership Survey.

TABLE 9 - Circulation and Readership of African and some White Magazines (all figures in '000s)

Publication	Circulation (July-Dec 1967)	Readership about Dec 1967 (from 1968 Readership Survey) White	Coloured /Asian	African	Total
Readers' Digest	104*	963	157	167	1287
See	NA	342	344	204	890
Any English-language magazine	-	1685	477	495	2657
Any English or Afrikaans magazine	-	2117	NA	NA	NA
Kyk	NA	460	286	138	884
Bona	96	-	7	772	779
Great	NA	-	100	226	326
True Africa ..	50	-	145	342	487
Any African magazine	-	-	169	983	1152
Total population surveyed (age 16+)	-	2373	1289	7281	11943

* Circulation figure for whole year only given in Source (208)

Note: The assumption is again made that only a negligible number of whites read African publications.

Source: ABC and 1968 Readership Survey.

The above two tables include only the major African newspapers and magazines. Great and True Africa are both photo magazines. Post easily leads the field among African (or black) weeklies, and is (or was in 1967) second only to the Sunday Times in total readership by all races and in circulation. None of the white English-language dailies has anything like the African readership of World, but the latter circulates mainly on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, so that the total African readership of all English-language dailies is considerably greater than that of World, a fact which may be of some importance for opinion formation, though probably not for advertising.

Historical trends in circulation and readership are interesting and important. Tables 10 and 11 below give a picture of these.

TABLE 10 - Circulation of Main African and of Certain White Newspapers (average per issue over each year)
(figure in '000s)

	World	Post	Ilanga	Imvo Zabantsundu	Drum	Bona	Rand Daily Mail	Sunday Times
1955		42		14	95		113	300
1956		80		13	85	85**	117	302
1957	15	93		12	105	82	120	299
1958	12	62		14	79	95	119	302
1959	11	53		15	63	94	116	302
1960		80		17		102	123	335
1961		80		16*		93	121	338
1962	19	74	28	13*		80	111	346
1963	50	75	26	13		72	111	378
1964	64	100	25	14		78	110	393
1965	76	131	26	15		79	112	393
1966	64	154	26	17		90	112	397
1967	80	207	24	17		96	109	395
1968	90	234	28		57*	99	110	413
1969	100	224	37	18	58	110	116	414
1970	103	219	41	28	73	121	124	440
Jan-Jun 1971	96	55 (new Post)	49	34	100	NA	127	NA
Jan-Jun 1972	101	74 (new Post)	69	38	50	NA	139	NA

* Based on half-year figures only.

** Based on 10 months' figures.

TABLE 11 - Readership of Main African and of Certain White Newspapers, 1962 and 1968
(based on Readership Surveys of those dates)

	African Readership				White Readership			
	1962 Numbers '000s	% of Africans 16 yrs+	1967-8 Numbers '000s	% of Africans 16 yrs+	1962 Numbers '000s	% of all Whites 16 yrs+	1967-8 Numbers '000s	% of all Whites 16 yrs+
Newspapers								
Sunday Times ..	273	4.3	393	5.4	873	42.2	1087	45.8
Sunday Express	110	1.7	167	2.3	532	25.7	605	25.5
Sunday Tribune	53	0.8	66	0.9	296	14.3	332	14.0
Star	178	2.8	138	1.9	394	19.1	470	19.8
Rand Daily Mail	129	2.0	182	2.5	368	17.8	387	16.3
Natal Daily News	42	0.6	36	0.5	135	6.6	166	7.0
Cape Argus ..	17	0.3	36	0.5	164	8.8	204	8.6
Post	239	3.7	735	10.1	-	-	-	-
Ilanga	311	4.8	189	2.6	-	-	-	-
Imvo	207	3.2	182	2.5	-	-	-	-
World	115	1.8	357	4.9	-	-	-	-
Magazines								
Readers' Digest	64	1.0	167	2.3	756	36.5	963	40.6
Bona	911	14.2	772	10.6	-	-	-	-

The phenomenal growth in circulation and in readership of both Post and World during the '60s is the most striking feature of the two tables. Both Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu lost circulation during most of the 1960s, but picked up remarkably towards the end of the decade. As far as the white newspapers are concerned there is a considerable rise in Sunday Times white readership (and in that of certain Afrikaans week-end newspapers, not mentioned above) but little change in percentage of white adult population who are readers among most weeklies and nearly all dailies. African readership of white papers has generally increased appreciably, particularly in the 'Sunday' field, and in some cases it forms quite a large proportion of all readership of that paper: the Rand Daily Mail is a case in point (29% African readership in 1967; in 1973 over a third of all readers were African - Market Research Africa, 1973, based on data for African urban readership).

The probable causes of the trends described and their implications for the future will be analysed later in this chapter. As a preliminary to doing so some analysis of the characteristics of African newspaper readers, their attitudes and social milieu are in order.

The 1968 Readership Survey, like its predecessor, provides information about the sex, age, income, urban or rural residence, home language, geographical area and literacy of the readers and non-readers of various publications, besides an appreciable amount of data on their ownership or use of certain consumer goods and services. Some use of the last type of data, in particular, has been made in Chapter V.

This is much the most comprehensive survey of readership among Africans in South Africa. Unfortunately it contains no cross-tabulations except by sex and women's status (i.e. housewife, single woman, etc.) nor data on education. Data from this survey are supplemented by the World publication, Bantu Market

Data (World, 1967), the research undertaken by the writer in Port Elizabeth, and other sources. The 1968 Survey and other research figures on other races in South Africa, as well as Rhodesia, British, Australian and American market research material and data from research in developing countries are used for comparative purposes where appropriate.

From the rather limited data available it would seem that the most important determinants of newspaper or magazine reading among Africans in South Africa are income (household income in the 1968 Survey) and urban as opposed to rural residence - the 1968 Survey has a fourfold breakdown into cities, towns, villages and rural areas (these terms are defined on p.143 of Vol. 1 of the Survey). Most research has found education to be highly correlated with mass media use and more specifically with newspaper and magazine readership, both in 'developing' countries and, to a lesser extent (because education levels differ less) in 'developed' countries. Together with urbanism, empathy and mass media use itself it figures as one major factor in modernization in Daniel Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society (Lerner, 1958) and in many other studies (see Rogers and Svenning, 1969; Powdermaker, 1962 (re literacy)). A small-scale study in Port Elizabeth by the writer yielded the following data. The media use score used in Table 12 is a composite of newspaper, magazine and book readership, radio listening and cinema attendance. The differences between different educational levels are statistically significant, when the data are grouped. The data are derived from a general sample plus as 'elite' sample, hence the bias towards post-school education.

TABLE 12 - Media Use and Educational Attainment

	Media Use Score			
Educational Attainment	0-4	5-8	9-20	Total
None-Std. VI (Primary)	12	3	1	16
Form I to V (Secondary)	3	6	5	14
Post-school	1	15	9	25
Total	16	24	15	55

Table 13 gives a similar picture as far as newspaper readership is concerned.

TABLE 13 - Readership of Newspapers by Education

Education	One or more newspapers read regularly	No regular newspaper readership	Total
Nil or primary	18	14	32
Secondary	12	4	16
Post-school	31	2	33
Total	61	20	81

The figures in Table 13 are higher than in Table 12 because total media use figures could not be computed for a number of persons.

There is a clear relationship between education and newspaper reading. A breakdown by individual newspapers suggests that readers of white newspapers are on the whole better educated than readers of African newspapers.

Education, occupation and income are, of course, related to each other, though the size of the correlations tend to be depressed as far as Africans in South Africa are concerned, by the industrial colour bar. Dr Malherbe's analysis of the 1960 Census data brought out the latter point clearly as far as occupation and education are concerned (Malherbe, 1969). The Port Elizabeth survey data showed education, occupation and income to be related to mass media use, but education appeared to be the most important of the three. Holding education constant, the relationship between media use and occupation fell away. The same is true of income when education is held constant. On the other hand there was a slight relationship between education and

media use with occupation held constant and a strong one with income held constant. Income and occupation both to a greater or lesser extent, then,sserve to 'mask' the effect of education.

The 1968 Survey shows a strong relationship between income and newspaper reading, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 14 - Household Income and Newspaper Reading: Africans

Total			Household Income per month					
			R80+		R20-R79		Under R20	
No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
642	8.8	Read any daily	229	42.7	363	13.9	50	1.2
357	4.9	Read World	149	27.7	196	7.5	12	0.3
1147	14.4	Read any weekly	306	56.9	663	25.4	178	4.3
992	13.6	Read African weekly	282	52.6	561	21.5	149	3.6
7281	100.0	Total income group	537	100.0	2609	100.0	1947	100.0

Notes: Percentages refer to all in the appropriate income groups.
Numbers of readers in '000s.

On dichotomising the data (R20 and over vs. Under R20) they yield tetrachloric correlation coefficients of 0.83 (daily papers x income) and Chi^2 values are in all cases significant at letter than 0.1% level. There is a marked difference between dailies and weeklies in the extent to which income affects readership; it is considerably more important in relation to dailies. As regular readership of a daily involves a considerably greater outlay than regular readership of a weekly this is not surprising. Further weeklies penetrate the rural areas much more than do dailies, and rural incomes are much lower than urban ones. The difference in income distribution probably masks various other social factors.

'Urbanism' as defined in the 1968 Survey is also highly correlated with newspaper readership as Table 15 shows. There is a consistent 'gradient' from a relatively high percentage readership in the cities down to a very low readership in the rural areas (detailed figures for the latter are somewhat unreliable, due to standard errors which are large in relation to the small numbers involved e.g. the figure for 'any dailies', 1.2% could very between 0.87 and 1.53% at the 5% confidence level). As one would expect, due largely to circulation difficulties, the readership of dailies drops much more sharply as between cities and towns than does that of weeklies. No daily is published other than in a city (i.e. urban centre containing 20,000 or more whites). The same is true at the transition from villages to rural areas. It is clear from the total numbers that by far the greater proportion of African newspaper readership lives in cities, though these contain only 27.4% of all Africans aged 16 and over. Precise percentages are:

	Percentage of African readers of different types of newspapers who live in cities
Dailies	74
World	76
Weeklies	62
African weeklies	63

The correlation between age and newspaper reading not only among Africans but among whites in America as well as South Africa, is curvilinear. For the United States see The Daily Newspaper and its Reading Public (Audits and Survey, 1961), p.20. For both daily and weekly newspapers the old in South Africa read less than the young or middle-aged; adolescents and those in early manhood read less than those in the middle span, as far as daily newspapers are concerned. Other than this general characteristic the curve tends to vary considerably in shape. The relationships are best expressed by a bar diagram (Figure 1, p.153).

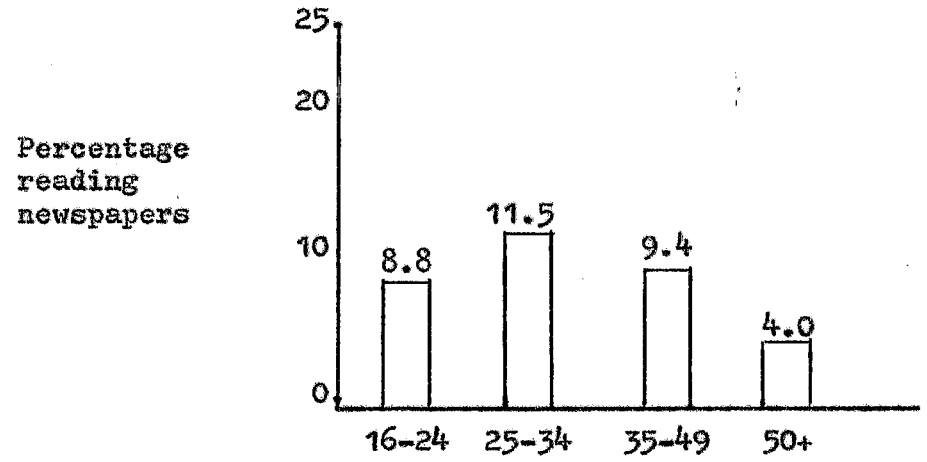
TABLE 15 - 'Urbanism' x Readership of Newspapers, Persons ('000s) Resident in:

	Cities		Towns		Villages		Rural		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Read any daily	476	24.0	73	12.9	36	10.2	52	1.2	641	8.8
Read World	288	14.5	41	7.2	10	2.9	17	0.4	357	4.9
Read any weekly	708	35.7	162	28.5	58	16.2	219	5.0	1143	15.7
Read any African weekly	629	31.7	140	24.6	48	13.4	179	4.1	997	13.7
Total No. persons in each type of community	1984	100.0	568	100.0	356	100.0	4373	100.0	7281	100.0

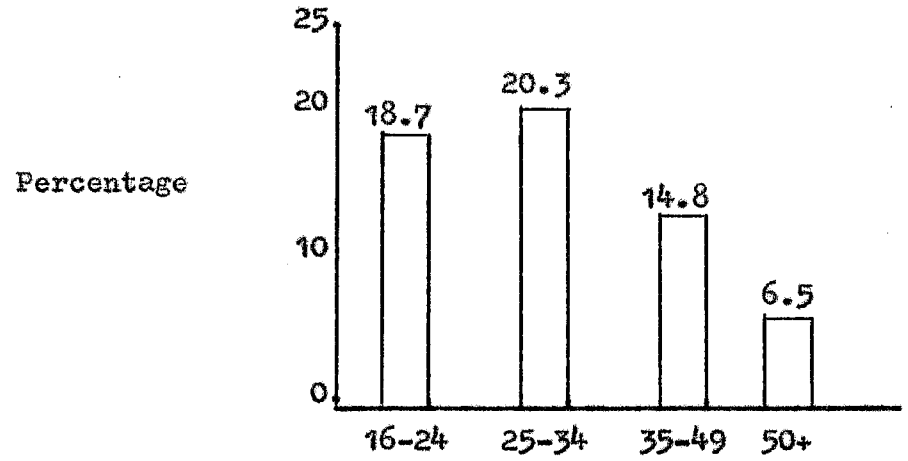
Note: Totals do not always add up due to rounding in thousands.

FIGURE 1

(a) African readership of daily newspapers:



(b) African readership of weekly newspapers, by age:



Source: 1968 Readership Survey.

White newspaper readership fluctuates much less by age, hence is less effectively presented graphically. Percentages are as follows:

	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+
Daily newspaper readership	73.0	69.5	75.1	71.8
Weekly newspaper readership	92.0	90.5	89.8	84.9

The difference in the pattern for weekly newspapers is striking even though the differences are fairly small.

It is of interest that, according to the World Survey, 1967 (World, 1967) the pattern in Johannesburg is not so very different, judging by individual newspapers (figures for classes of paper are not given), except that the over 50s are much better represented in readership of the daily papers, and World actually gets a higher percentage of the 16-24 year olds than of any other age group. In general age is not likely to be of very much importance in the higher 'city' readership rate.

The pattern of magazine readership is broadly similar to that for readership of white weekly newspapers, for all races, as shown below:

TABLE 16 - Age and Magazine Reading (percentage of each age group)

	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+
African	24.1	19.8	12.2	4.3
Coloured	53.3	48.8	40.1	23.9
Asiatic	69.8	60.6	45.6	19.5
White	95.7	92.1	91.3	80.4

Magazine reading appeals most to young people, although the differences between Africans, at the one extreme, and whites, at the other, are marked, not only in total percentages, but in relative proportions reading magazines at different ages.

Sex is a factor of some importance as a predictor of readership - men read more than women - but it is partly masking differences between urban and rural areas. The tetrachloric correlation between sex and readership of daily newspapers is 0.39, but when urbanism is partialled out, it is 0.27. It is not, however, masking household income, for the correlation between sex and daily paper readership actually increases from 0.39 to 0.48 when income is partialled out. Tables 17 and 18 show these relationships.

TABLE 17 - Sex, Urbanism and Daily Newspaper Reading (percentages of each sex reading a daily newspaper in each type of community (Africans))

	Cities	Towns	Villages	Rural	Total
Men	28.6	14.9	14.3	1.5	12.6
Women	16.3	9.4	4.1	1.1	4.8
Sex ratio in each area: No. men to 100 women	167	178	149	80	105
No. men in each area ('000s)	1241	364	213	1910	3728

There is an appreciable difference between the percentage of male and female readership in all types of community but if one leaves out of account the villages, where total numbers are small and the women's readership figure is somewhat unreliable being based on only nine informants, the greatest difference is in the cities, and the least in the rural areas.

The pattern for income - which in turn is correlated with urbanism - is as follows:

TABLE 18 - Sex x Household Income x Readership of a Daily Paper (percentage of all in each (household) income group reading a daily paper)

	R80+	R20-R79	Under R20
Men	53.7	18.6	1.3
Women	25.3	8.2	1.0
No. men to 100 women	157	122	91

The sex difference is again small in the group that reads least and is greatest in the group that reads most. The general picture is broadly similar for weekly newspapers, but the differences between the sexes are less marked than in the case of dailies, and at the under R20 level disappear altogether; the very rare readership of the very poor is equally shared between the sexes. Put another way, at that level men have as few needs for a window on the wider world as have women, but as income and therefore probably occupational and educational level rises men's roles and interests become more differentiated, the women's change considerably less. Income differences probably to a considerable extent mask urban-rural differences, the poorest group being undoubtedly heavily rural.

The data already quoted are usefully supplemented by those pertaining to individual newspapers given in Table 19, which though very detailed, does provide a clear picture of the characteristic readership pattern of each newspaper.

The newspapers listed in this table include World, the only African daily newspaper, the three main African weeklies, Post, Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu, the two leading white weeklies (as measured by their African as well as total readership), and the two leading white dailies. The two white dailies, Star and Rand Daily Mail, together have over three-quarters of African readership of white dailies (not allowing for overlap), and the two weeklies probably some 90% of the weekly readership. Two African photo magazines, Great and True Africa, one rather 'traditionalist', non-controversial African magazine Bona, two white photo magazines, See and Kyk, and two rather better class 'middlebrow' magazines, Personality and Readers' Digest are included. The white magazines are again those with the largest African readership, See and Readers' Digest between them, allowing for a 20% overlap, having two-thirds as many African readers as all white magazines together. It is reasonable to take the six white publications mentioned as broadly representative of their respective readership fields, though, of course, there are differences between the publications making up each pair.

BANTU TOTAL

PROFILE OF READERSHIP OF PUBLICATIONS
POPULAR WITH BANTU

PUBLICATION	SEX		N.P.U. ZONE								PROVINCE				COMMUNITY				INCOME			AGE				HOME LANGUAGE					
	Male	Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Cape	Natal	Tvl	OFS	City	Town	Village	Rural	R80 plus	R20-R79	Less R20	16/24	25/34	35/49	50+	Zulu	Xhosa	N/Sotho	S/Sotho	Tswana	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Rand Daily Mail	85.1	14.9	82.1	12.3	3.6	0.8	0.8	0.4	-	-	1.2	0.8	94.4	3.6	83.8	10.1	5.3	0.8	41.0	53.7	5.3	21.0	33.7	35.6	9.7	30.6	12.1	11.9	24.6	12.5	8.3
Star	75.7	24.3	68.5	22.5	5.8	0.8	1.9	0.5	-	-	3.7	0.8	91.0	4.5	71.2	11.6	3.4	13.8	57.7	33.9	8.4	23.5	32.3	37.3	6.9	26.5	11.0	16.7	18.5	13.8	13.5
World	74.3	25.7	78.6	14.5	4.6	0.4	0.4	-	0.4	1.1	3.0	0.4	93.1	3.5	80.5	11.5	2.8	5.2	41.6	54.8	3.6	31.3	36.8	26.4	5.5	29.5	10.1	15.8	18.2	16.9	9.5
Sunday Express	69.8	30.2	53.5	19.2	12.3	8.4	3.6	-	2.6	0.4	9.0	8.4	72.7	9.9	69.8	14.8	1.8	13.6	37.9	53.3	8.8	25.6	44.9	21.8	7.7	28.0	14.1	13.2	17.4	15.0	12.3
Sunday Times	72.6	27.4	48.8	19.3	10.8	9.7	5.4	0.4	3.0	2.6	13.5	9.7	68.1	8.7	66.7	12.8	4.0	16.5	39.5	50.8	9.7	24.7	35.5	30.8	9.0	26.9	18.7	9.8	18.2	12.2	14.2
Ilanga	63.2	36.8	11.7	9.4	4.2	66.1	1.0	-	0.3	7.3	8.6	66.1	21.1	4.2	45.2	14.2	7.8	32.8	16.1	57.9	26.0	33.0	29.3	28.4	9.3	74.5	12.8	2.3	5.6	0.6	4.2
Imvo Zabantsundu	53.4	46.6	6.3	0.6	2.2	0.4	47.6	1.4	11.1	30.4	90.9	0.4	6.9	1.8	31.0	16.7	8.7	43.6	11.3	60.9	27.8	27.0	32.5	26.8	13.7	1.8	96.6	-	1.2	-	0.4
Post	69.3	30.7	61.6	15.8	6.7	4.7	7.1	0.1	3.5	0.5	12.4	4.7	77.4	5.5	75.2	13.7	3.6	7.5	35.0	56.3	8.7	30.3	38.0	26.3	5.4	30.7	19.0	10.5	15.4	15.7	8.7
Personality	68.0	32.0	28.9	38.0	6.6	9.7	12.3	0.5	2.9	1.1	20.3	9.7	66.9	3.1	46.9	19.4	1.4	32.3	41.2	51.4	7.4	27.4	41.8	25.7	5.1	30.6	17.4	14.0	11.1	12.3	14.6
Reader's Digest	79.3	20.7	35.9	25.6	4.1	16.0	11.5	1.1	2.4	3.4	18.6	16.0	61.5	3.9	53.9	17.3	5.3	23.5	41.5	48.7	9.8	34.0	37.2	23.7	5.1	33.8	22.6	9.6	13.7	11.3	9.0
Zee	58.7	41.3	41.1	18.6	7.7	10.5	12.8	0.2	4.3	4.8	23.6	10.5	59.7	6.2	63.5	22.7	5.6	8.2	28.9	54.1	17.0	53.7	30.9	14.7	0.7	27.8	27.3	4.4	14.4	19.0	7.1
Kyk	57.1	42.9	30.4	24.3	17.5	4.2	12.9	1.8	4.7	4.2	25.4	4.2	54.7	15.7	45.6	29.3	8.9	16.2	22.0	54.5	23.5	56.3	31.4	12.0	0.3	12.8	25.1	6.3	17.0	25.4	13.4
Bona	55.2	44.8	23.6	17.7	10.4	17.8	15.0	0.7	3.5	11.3	31.5	17.8	41.3	9.4	42.4	15.9	8.5	33.2	16.5	55.2	28.3	41.6	32.2	20.4	5.8	31.6	35.5	7.0	12.2	9.7	4.0
Great	62.8	37.2	45.8	15.9	8.8	10.1	11.7	0.3	2.7	4.7	20.7	10.1	61.7	7.5	64.2	20.9	4.4	10.5	31.4	57.5	11.1	48.5	34.5	15.2	1.8	32.9	22.9	7.2	15.2	17.5	4.3
True Africa	63.2	36.8	39.7	17.6	11.3	13.5	11.0	0.3	3.6	3.0	19.1	13.5	57.3	10.1	56.6	19.4	8.2	15.8	26.6	58.1	15.3	46.8	35.8	15.6	1.8	34.0	21.0	7.2	15.7	14.4	7.7

Taking the three dailies together, it is striking that the Rand Daily Mail has a much lower proportion of women readers than either the Star or World, roughly 15% as opposed to around 25%. It is interesting that the same pattern, though less strongly marked, is apparent for Star and Rand Daily Mail white readership. One reason may be that the Star, a much larger paper, provides a wider variety of news and features than Rand Daily Mail, including more that appeals to women. It is also possible that the latter paper's relatively strong political stand pushes up its proportionate male readership, as men are generally more interested in politics than are women. Bantu Market Data, 1967 (World, 1967) indirectly suggests this, in its finding that 37% of informants polled thought Star was 'published by Europeans', but Rand Daily Mail only 17%. The phrase 'published by Europeans' may imply belief in a more 'pro-white' political outlook.

Readership of the Star is more widespread geographically than that of the other two papers, Rand Daily Mail least. The percentage of each paper's readership which lives in rural areas is particularly striking. Rand Daily Mail appeals more to older readers, World to younger ones. The latter fact may be due to World's generally more exciting content and racier style, also to the greater psychological 'proximity' of its news, i.e. mainly African and local, whereas horizons tend to widen with age - up to a point. Rand Daily Mail and World are very close in their readers' income patterns - surprisingly so, in view of the difference in cost (5 cents versus 2 cents). On the whole Star readers are better off.

The two white weeklies can be compared with Post but hardly with Imvo and Ilanga. These two white papers have a wider geographical spread than Post, partly perhaps due to more effective distribution, by van rather than by train, in some areas, at least. Further, the content of Post, with its little-changing diet of urban crime and sex, and its racy style, is probably more exclusively attuned to an urban market than are the Sunday Times and Sunday Express with their wide range of topics. Income and sex distribution of readers of the three newspapers does not differ markedly.

Post differs considerably from its two vernacular sisters, as does each of these from the other. The most striking feature is in terms of 'urbanism'. Over two-fifths of Imvo readers and almost a third of Ilanga's live in the rural areas, or over half and two-fifths respectively if villages are included as rural, whereas the respective proportions for Post are 7.5% and 11.1%. Thirty per cent of Imvo's but only 0.5% of Post's readership is in the Transkei (N.P.U. Zone H in Table 19). Ilanga circulates widely in the Natal rural areas. That Imvo is mostly in Xhosa and Ilanga in Zulu is very largely responsible for this, but both papers - especially Imvo - are (or were) designed largely for a rural or small town audience (see Chapter XIV below). (Ilanga has since changed its character considerably and probably now attracts a proportionately larger urban readership than in 1968.) Partly related to the urban-rural differences are the very clear differences in readers' incomes between Post and the two vernacular papers. Post has a smaller proportion of readers under 25 than Ilanga but if the 25-34 group be added both vernacular papers show an older readership than Post. This again partly reflects rural-urban demographic differences but also the design of the three papers. Education is probably of importance also, younger people being more likely to be literate in English. The two vernacular papers have considerably higher ratios of female to male readers than does Post, with Imvo, the most conservative and most rurally-oriented and read, the highest ratio.

Analysis of readership of magazines shows a broad similarity between the four photo magazines. Relatively minor differences are that Great and See have higher proportions of urban readers than True Africa and Kyk. True Africa tends to be more conservative (tribal fighting, rural scenes, etc. as opposed to modern, urban ones). See and Kyk have considerably higher proportions of women readers than Great and True Africa, which is probably related to their greater emphasis on romance as opposed to crime or adventure. These two white magazines also have a greater proportion of young readers.

Bona has a much higher percentage of rural readership than any of the photo magazines and its readers are much poorer than

theirs, as well as older. It has an appreciably higher proportion of women readers - higher than any of the publications in the table except Imvo. These facts are in line with Bona's generally 'traditional' conservative content, and are inter-related.

Of the two 'middle brow' magazines, Readers' Digest (with a 167,000 readership as opposed to Personality's 131,000) has generally the more urban, masculine and slightly younger profile. There is little difference in terms of income distribution.

Analysis of cross-readership of various publications helps to build up profiles of different types of readers (1968 Survey, Vol. II, p.204). The main results, as they are of relevance to this thesis, may be summarized briefly, as follows:

It is fairly clear that the magazines fall into four groups.

1. Personality and Readers' Digest
2. See and Kyk, with the latter a little eccentric in terms of readership.
3. Great and True Africa
4. Bona.

The analysis broadly bears out that derived from the profiles.

About a quarter of readers of Readers' Digest or of Personality read See, roughly the same proportion read Great, a third to a half read True Africa, but almost half read Bona, that is, Bona is more popular as a second magazine with the relatively better-off (and probably better educated) group that read these two magazines than the four photo magazines.

As far as weekly newspapers are concerned, while Post has by far the largest African readership (735,000) there is considerable overlap between it, Sunday Times (393,000) and Sunday

Express (167,000). Thirty-seven per cent of Post readers also read the Sunday Times and 18% the Sunday Express, while 68% of African readers of the Sunday Times and 33% of Sunday Express also read Post. There would seem to be a core of about 110,000 to 120,000 people who read all three papers. 150,000 read Sunday Times and Post, but the two other combinations include very few few readers.

The two vernacular papers, as might be expected, show a very different pattern. There is very little overlap between them (8% of each read the other) and while 31% of Ilanga readers read the Sunday Times, only 13% of Imvo's do. Thirty-one per cent of Ilanga readers read Post and 24% of Imvo's do so.[1]

It is striking that most Africans who take either of the two white dailies mentioned also take the World, viz., of Rand Daily Mail readers 66% and of Star readers 62% do so. The Bantu Market Data Survey (World, 1967) found corresponding figures of 91% and 92% respectively for Johannesburg alone, as might be expected in a metropolitan and consequently probably slightly better off and better educated population. The same sort of pattern was found in the writer's research in Port Elizabeth in relation to white dailies there.

So far in this chapter no mention has been made of radio listening. This is a competitor, or potential competitor, to newspapers in terms both of economics (as has been pointed out in Chapter V) and politics. Professor P. B. Orlik, for example, in an unpublished thesis on the South African Broadcasting Corporation, has expressed the opinion that Radio Bantu has been a powerful force preventing revolution in South Africa (Orlik, 1968) (but see comment by Swift, 1972, p.12 on Radio Bantu and the

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1. It is puzzling that the 1973 Survey figures tend to reverse this picture, with greater attachment to the Sunday Times among Imvo than among Ilanga readers. That 1973 data refer only to urban readers can provide only a little of the explanation.

Ovambo strikers). No content analysis of radio programmes has been made, but the fact that the vast majority of African regular listeners (1,522,000 out of 1,646,000 or 92%) listen to Radio Bantu, which broadcasts only in the vernaculars, implies that radio will on the whole tend to be a conservative force politically, if not socially. Radio, where owned by a public corporation, is required to be politically neutral, unlike a newspaper. Radio Bantu, it is widely believed, does tend generally to support, or at least not to contradict, the Government's point of view.

Table 20 below gives a comparison of the characteristics of Radio Bantu's audience with those of the African readership of certain publications, the latter reproduced from Table 19 (see also Table 6 p. 88 in Chapter V).

The general correspondence between the pattern for Radio Bantu, Ilanga and Bona is striking, except in the age breakdown, which may possibly have been influenced, as far as Bona is concerned, by the greater degree of habituation to the magazine at school, since it is supplied to African schools in large numbers. Imvo's pattern is slightly less like that of Radio Bantu, in that its users are slightly poorer, and considerably more rural, than those of Radio Bantu. It is perhaps not surprising to find these similarities since the three publications just named are all conservative, traditional and rural-orientated, and are predominantly vernacular. The other publications have a very different pattern. Radio Bantu of course has, by means of relay stations, covered almost the entire country, it has a much better 'distribution system' than any newspaper.

A sketch of the readership numbers and characteristics of African and various white publications has been given. It is now worth looking briefly at the rather scanty evidence on attitudes to newspapers. Bantu Market Data, 1967 gives the public image of various publications in terms of certain statements. Some of this data is given in Table 21 below.

TABLE 20 - Radio Bantu and Certain Publications Compared, % of All Listeners or Readers in Certain Categories

	Type of Community				Income			Age				Sex	
	City	Town	Village	Rural	R80+	R20-79	Under R20	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Male	Female
Radio Bantu	49.6	12.6	6.4	31.0	16.1	54.5	29.4	34.8	28.8	24.2	12.2	54.4	45.6
Imvo Zabantsundu	31.0	16.7	8.7	43.6	11.3	60.9	27.8	27.0	32.5	26.8	13.7	53.4	46.6
Ilanga	45.2	14.2	7.8	32.8	16.1	57.9	26.0	33.0	29.3	28.4	9.3	63.2	36.8
Post	75.2	13.7	3.6	7.5	35.0	56.3	8.7	30.3	38.0	26.3	5.4	69.3	30.7
World	80.5	11.5	2.8	5.2	41.6	54.8	3.6	31.2	36.8	26.4	5.5	74.3	25.7
See	63.5	22.7	5.6	8.2	28.8	54.1	17.0	53.7	30.9	14.7	0.7	58.7	41.3
Bona	42.4	15.9	8.5	33.2	16.5	55.2	28.3	41.6	32.2	20.4	5.8	55.2	44.8

Source: Readership Survey, 1968.

TABLE 21 - 'Image' of Various Newspapers in Johannesburg Area
(percentages of all readers of each publication)

Statements	Newspapers				
	World	Post	Rand Daily Mail	Star	True Africa
Caters best for females	19	20	4	2	2
Most modern	21	18	8	13	3
Most entertaining	27	22	2	5	12
Most up-to-date news	43	12	9	13	1
Best sports coverage	51	16	3	+	+
Has typical African spirit	62	9	+	+	2
Best for Africans	69	3	1	+	2

\+ Numbers too small to permit breakdown.

These figures seem so flattering to World as to raise a modicum of doubt about the validity of the findings; it seems most surprising that World should be credited by so large a majority with a better news service than either Rand Daily Mail or Star with their far larger staff and better facilities. One must bear in mind, however, that the sample contained far more people who read World and the latter may in fact, provide a quicker service on African news.

World has a large majority who prefer its sports coverage to Post. Perhaps most striking are the votes on the last two statements. Though World is nearly as white-dominated as Post and in fact is probably less liberal, it is overwhelmingly chosen as having the 'typical African spirit'. Post is, of course, directed to Indians and Coloureds as well as Africans, whereas World is meant only for the latter.

The writer's Port Elizabeth study attempted to get opinions about newspapers. Respondents were asked what sort of people read 'whatever newspaper it was that you read yesterday'. For the English-language newspapers comments indicated a fairly high opinion of such people, e.g. they are 'serious-minded', ' 'enlightened', 'educated' but also 'most people', 'people who can read English'. Self-praise may, of course, be a factor here.//

In the Port Elizabeth survey respondents were asked whether they would believe the radio or a newspaper, if they published conflicting versions of the same story. People generally preferred the newspaper, though by a small majority (37 vs 30) but there was a marked difference between the 'elite' sample, generally speaking, professional people, better educated than the non-elite, and the others, the former preferring the radio (19 vs 11). It is noteworthy that a rather higher proportion of 'elites' than of 'non-elites' listened to English-language programmes on the radio, rather than to Radio Bantu.

A broad picture has been furnished of the morphology of newspaper reading. An effort will now be made to get at the reasons for the patterns found. These can in many cases only be surmised, but a number of leads do exist, as well as some more or less documented causes.

The broad social characteristics of African society in South Africa are well enough known not to need description here. The outstanding characteristics of that society are that it is in a process of rapid social change, involving the closely-linked processes of urbanisation and modernization, and that it is part of a plural society, with deep cultural and social cleavages and endemic conflict between the parts. It is within this context that the effects of the demographic and socio-economic variables discussed above must be seen. Urbanism, in the sense of proportion of the population living in urban areas, has increased, particularly since World War II, the proportions of Africans living in urban areas having increased from 10.4% in 1904 to 19.0% in 1936, 24.3% in 1946 and 31.8% in 1960.

Though global income figures are notoriously difficult to calculate accurately it is probable that there has been a gradual rise in the level of African real incomes. This rise has probably been concentrated mainly in the urban areas. According to an article quoted in the Institute of Race Relations Annual Survey of Race Relations, 1970, p.80, the average African wage in industry and construction had increased from R84 to R566 per annum between 1935-36 and 1968-69. This would represent an appreciable rise, even allowing for cost-of-living changes.

Education levels have also risen, as indexed for example in the proportion of Africans at different age levels who have passed Std. V: according to the 1960 Census the proportions were:

Age	
20-24	191 out of 1,000
25-34	155 out of 1,000
35-64	88 out of 1,000
65+	35 out of 1,000

According to the 1968 Annual Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (Horrell, 1968, p.219) the percentage of the total African population in school increased from 10.67% in 1955 to 17.49% in 1967 and the proportion of pupils in higher to those in lower primary standards (roughly the level of functional literacy) had also increased slightly. These changes on the basis of the correlations observed, would themselves imply an increasing proportion of newspaper readership, though the increase in readership or circulation has probably been greater than the increase in the number of functionally literate adults.

Urbanisation is, of course, a much more complex process than simply the aggregation of people into cities, and modernization than formal education. Urbanisation in sociological terms, involves a process of social differentiation, of multiplication and segregation of roles, of secondary rather than primary group relationships and controls, nuclear as opposed to extended kinship structure.

Where in a rural society there are a very limited number of occupations an urban society involves a very extensive division of labour; where rural society has comparatively few voluntary associations urban society has a bewildering complexity. In rural society, as Frankenberg for example has well shown in his Communities in Britain (Frankenberg, 1966), there are relatively few different roles, but these are integrated, that is the same person plays several different roles, for example father, employer, religious leader and teacher and these roles are often played in relation to the same persons. In urban society there are far more different roles but each person has fewer to play, and he plays them in segregated contexts. Thus it is very uncommon for one's father also to be one's school teacher, one's priest or one's employer. The complex social differentiation of urban society also involves a much more complex and many-graded system of social stratification, susually, however, with greater mobility up and down the status scale. Social controls in an urban society, are based, not so much on public opinion or physical sanctions expressed through the face-to-face group, but by law and its agents, police and courts and by adverse or favourable publicity in the mass media.

Modernization, which so largely overlaps with urbanization but is in this context ultimately a more useful concept, refers to all the above, but also to extensive cultural changes. Reason tends to replace acceptance of tradition, science magic, individualism collectivity-orientation, achievement becomes a base for assigning social status rather than ascription, universal principles replace particularistic bonds, emphasis is laid on future rather than present gratification. All this, and more, is involved in the move from a traditional, peasant society to a modern, urban one. Modern industrial society - the two concepts are again inseparably linked - is characterised, not only by more freedom, more rationality, wider intellectual horizons and despite its high degree of social stratification, more equality than traditional society, but by a high degree of anomie and of alienation, of social and personal disorganization and perhaps of social conflict, as compared to traditional society. The actual process of moving from one society to the other, of 'modernization', or 'urbanization', is further, likely to involve more or less acute social and personal strains.

The role of the mass media of communication in modern urban society has been discussed in Chapter II.

In the web of relationships between the various factors in modernization the mass media play a vital part, even though it is not always clear how far they act as independent or as intervening variables; perhaps more often the latter. Rogers (Rogers and Svenning, op. cit.) for example, found that social status was more important than mass media use as a predictor of modernization.

Urbanization is not, of course, the same thing as city residence. The persistence of the migratory labour system in South Africa and the related phenomenon of 'encapsulation' described by Phillip Mayer (Mayer, 1971) among Xhosa in East London give a clear illustration of this. Much effort has been spent in trying to operationalise the concept of 'urbanization', one of the most useful attempts being that of Grant (Grant, 1967) who constructed a 13-item scale, containing such items as: birthplace; whether husband and wife of the same tribe; whether self (or father) owned land in the rural areas. An abbreviation of this scale was used by the writer in Port Elizabeth, but it showed only a weak correlation between urbanization as measured and media usage. This may have been because only six questions were used. Education appeared to be considerably more important.

So far attention has been paid to global mass media usage only. Although research in the 'developed' and to some extent in the 'developing' countries has shown a negative correlation between use of the electronic media i.e. radio and television and that of the printed media, newspapers, magazines and books in general, many statements applying to the relationship between certain variables and mass media use also apply to newspaper or magazine reading. This is borne out by the data quoted above on newspaper and magazine readership and radio listening: non-readers and non-listeners both tend to be poor rural rather than urban dwellers and elderly rather than in the middle years, as well as by the - admittedly limited - Post Elizabeth data quoted. That

there are differences between radio listeners and newspaper readers has been shown above, but these are not greater than those between readers of different types of newspapers.

Within the newspaper and magazine field one may broadly distinguish three groups:

1. A considerable proportion of the urban and a much smaller proportion of the rural African population who are regular readers of white daily newspapers but who also usually read World (the only African daily) and/or Post (i.e. read Post at the time of the research - the new Post is read by relatively few Africans). These readers also read one or more white weeklies. They are readers of middle-brow white magazines like Readers' Digest. They usually listen to Radio Bantu, but are more likely, as both the 1968 Survey and the Port Elizabeth study showed, to listen to the S.A.B.C. English Service, Lourenco Marques or Springbok Radio as well. This group covers a fairly wide range of education, income and occupation, roughly from upper primary school level to matriculation and above, from unskilled labour to the professions, from 'working class' to 'upper class'. Although the data available do not show it, it seems at least a reasonable hypothesis that this group includes the more fully urbanized and 'modern' people. The comments quoted from the Port Elizabeth study, about readers of white newspapers, lend colour if not much statistical weight, to this picture of the group. Unfortunately, the data do not provide a 'break point' in this rather large, heterogeneous group. The Port Elizabeth study found that readership of political and international news was greatest in the upper educational categories - high-school education or beyond - which is in accordance with other research (see Tunstall, 1970, p.106, and references cited in footnote, also Cohen, 1963). There is not, in South Africa, a division between 'quality' and 'mass' newspapers, which does in Britain and could here allow for a categorization which is correlated with education, income, occupation and social class. Readership of overseas newspapers and 'intellectual' magazines would define a very tiny 'top' group of Africans.

2. The second group comprises most urban Africans other than group (1) and migratory labourers, and a considerable proportion of rural residents. Here daily newspaper readership is infrequent, and weekly usually of Post though white weeklies may occasionally be taken, as may in some cases vernacular weeklies. This group reads primarily photo magazines but also to an appreciable extent Bona. Their staple radio fare is provided by Radio Bantu. This group are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled workers - as implied above in relation to Dr. Malherbe's findings (p.149) there is educationally and socially much less differentiation between different skill levels among blue-collar workers than is found in Europe or America, or among South African whites. This group may be more or less urbanized but are poorly educated - higher or lower primary school level.

3. The third group constitutes the main market for the vernacular weeklies and for Radio Bantu. It consists of migratory labourers, hardly urbanized, often 'encapsulated', predominantly at a lower primary educational level, and of peasants who have had enough education to read the vernacular.

4. The fourth group - at the bottom of the socio-educational scale, are the non-readers, and predominantly non-listeners. These are mainly rural or migratory workers, and at the rural end of the urbanization continuum.

The above is, of course, only a very rough categorization, but it does help to summarize the information given, and to throw the picture into relief. How far the phenomenon of 'opinion leadership', studied most notably by Katz and Merton (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Merton, 1957, Ch. X) creates bridges between these groups is unknown: Merton's finding that opinion leadership tends to work on the same social level suggests that this does not happen. One question was asked on opinion leadership in the Port Elizabeth study, but the results were inconclusive.

The 'uses and gratifications', to use a phrase common in modern media research, provided by the media for each group will

naturally be different, as is the character of the respective vehicles. It is probable for example, that the white newspapers - at least the dailies - are read for informational reasons, especially of course as regards foreign news - although it is striking that the majority of informants in the Port Elizabeth study said that their best source of news on the Transkei, after the radio, were English-language newspapers, not Imvo, which does in fact carry a lot on the Transkei. The African newspapers are read for informational reasons as far as purely African events are concerned, but probably largely for entertainment, for 'vicarious identification', which, as at least one study has shown, is associated with alienation (McLeod, Ward and Targill, 1966). Although the reader of a white and an African newspaper is often the same person (category (1) above) this hypothesis - it can be no more at this stage - suggests an intriguing but difficult line of research. Evidence to confirm the hypothesis, with its wide implications for African urbanization in South Africa, has not been collected in this study.

Social class has not been discussed as a determinant of newspaper or magazine reading, because it is felt to be a resultant of other variables, such as education, which are of more direct importance. As suggested, the class boundary probably falls well within category (1) above. Class motives are undoubtedly of some importance in advertising - though perhaps less so for Africans than for whites - but this aspect has not been followed up in this thesis.

The other major factor influencing African readership of newspapers is the political one: the conflict between dominated Africans and the dominant whites. Newspapers, as mentioned above, might be expected to spear-head the forces in this conflict - especially would this seem likely for newspapers of the dominated group, whose natural role is that of attacker. Myrdal's findings in relation to Negro newspapers have been quoted: Oak, in his book on The Negro Newspaper (Oak, 1949) mentions that about 80% of editorial matter was political, and the newspapers concerned were striving hard to vindicate the Negro's rights and to highlight injustice. The story of the (indigenous) Press in Colonial

situations, from the polemical broadsheets of the American Revolution to the West African newspapers of the twentieth century, from pre-independence India to Kenya is very largely one of political protest against the Colonial power. As Coser points out (Coser, 1956) a group in conflict needs to have an ideology, and its Press serves partly to shape, partly to popularise this. Becuase such a newspaper serves to express very real group interests, and group grievances it is usually very popular. Cobbett's Political Register, or Azikiwe's West African Pilot (Nigeria) for example, had a wide circulation, at least in relation to the total reading public. Accurate - often any - circulation figures are often not available for the African newspapers published in South Africa up to World War II. Rosalynd Ainslie (Ainslie, 1966), Hemson (Hemson, 1969) and Roux (op. cit., p.146) mention considerable circulations for papers like Inkulukeko, Umsebenzi and New Age, the Communist organs published in the 1920s and 1930s and the 1940s and '50s respectively (see Chapter VI, p.108, ibid.).

The newspapers with which we are now concerned were either white controlled from their inception or, like Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu, taken over by white interests (the Bantu Press) before World War II. Hence, as has been shown in Chapter VI, they were unlikely to be, and in fact were not, as radical as some of the purely African papers or those published by the Communist Party. Nevertheless they were bound to a greater or lesser degree to represent African interests, and be a forum for ventilation of African grievances. As such, even if they mostly fell short of what most African political opinion would have liked, their political content was likely to help their circulation. This is probably also true of the more liberal white newspapers, such as the Rand Daily Mail (see p. [illegible]).

It is difficult if not impossible in practice to isolate this factor. Phenomena like the steady - sometimes steep - rise in African newspapers' circulation in the last years of the '50s (see Table 8, p.143 above) reaching a peak in 1960 (the year of Sharpeville) or 1961 and dropping for a couple of years thereafter are at least consistent with a political explanation. During the

late '50s, though not very militant, World did carry a very considerable amount of news and feature material on African political movements and as Feit points out, provided a forum for political debate (Feit, 1962, Ch. II) and Post while not necessarily more outspoken than in 1968, gave greater space and prominence to political material. Both newspapers had more social criticism in them in 1959 than 1968 (see Chapter XII below. The fact that circulation of the World soared on an occasion like Chief Luthuli's funeral (verbal communication from editorial director of World) reinforces this argument. However, the importance of this factor in raising circulation should not be exaggerated. As shown in Chapter XII Post evidently became less 'political' in the period 1962-1967, which included the period of its most dramatic circulation rise. Further, one would have expected the take-over of Imvo by Afrikaanse Pers, and therefore evidently a more conservative editorial policy - the former editor said he left because of the changed policy - to have caused a much greater fall in readership than in fact occurred. This would be expected particularly in comparison with the much more severe drop in readership of Ilanga, which continued under the same ownership; a fortiori, Imvo's political conservatism should have prevented the recent upswing in circulation. Unfortunately it has not been possible to make a content analysis of the editorials for the period in question, so that the above is based on assumption rather than proof. It is of some interest that a poll by Ilanga of its readers in 1967 found that international news was the category most wanted, or in which an increase was most wanted. This implies a political interest - albeit not a local one.

To sum up, the evidence on the relationship between the political attitudes of the African Press and its readership is circumstantial rather than direct, and in any case rather scanty. Nevertheless it does seem likely that this is at least a potentially important factor affecting circulation, though its importance is related to the political situation at the time.

This discussion of the social context of readership is far from an exhaustive treatment of the subject. Neither space nor available research data would permit this. Nevertheless, some

evidence as to past and present trends and some of the factors underlying them have been sketched. How these factors affect newspaper policy will be discussed in Chapter XIV, , and something of journalists' attitudes to them in Chapter XIII,

Possible future trends in circulation and readership may be touched on briefly. What evidence the writer has does not support Hemson's contention (Hemson, 1969, pp.47-48) that the African newspapers are losing ground to the white ones, as far as African readership is concerned, or that this is a serious threat in the near future. The growth in readership of African newspapers has been much greater between 1962 and 1968 than that of African readership of white papers. Though the 1973 figures are not comparable with those of 1968 this would seem to be the case for the latter period. Table 22 gives some indication of this.

TABLE 22 - African Readership of Various Newspapers ('000s)

	1962	1967-8	(urban Africans only) 1973
World	115	357	616
Rand Daily Mail	129	182	184
Star	178	138	162
All other English-language dailies (ignoring duplication)	240	256	292
Sunday Times	273	393	456
Post ('new' Post in 1973) ..	239	735	163
Week-end World	-	-	891

Note: The 1973 figures are not only for urban areas (cities, towns and villages) only, but were arrived at in a different way from those of 1962 or 1967-8.

Sources: Market Research Africa, 1962, 1968 and 1973.

There are some - rather slight - indications that African newspapers are trying to raise the standard of their publications;

this might serve as a protection against their eventual substitution by white papers. It is likely, though, to be many years before white newspapers can become 'multi-racial', that is, can provide as good a service of 'African' news as they do of white news, or appeal as readily to a mass audience, as opposed to a mainly 'middle class' white audience.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESS PERFORMANCE: (1) INFORMATION

Chapters IV to VII have sketched the various factors, social, economic and political which together with the professional ethos and values, have influenced the policy and the performance of the African Press. Newspaper performance is in large part a reflection, albeit somewhat distorted, of newspaper policy, and as such serves to illustrate its working. It is, therefore, proposed to study Press performance before looking at policy. Similarly the values of journalists are best studied against the background of the newspaper content in which they are in part embodied. Journalists' values, as expressed in replies to a questionnaire, also provide a commentary on the material discussed in this chapter.

As explained in Chapter II Press performance is analysed principally in terms of provision of information, of Social Criticism and of Advocacy, with some attention given to the expression of public opinion, education and entertainment. The unique 'personality' of each newspaper is, of course, reflected in all these aspects, and this 'gestalt' will be referred to from time to time in this analysis. A newspaper's performance in relation to the provision of information may be measured, in the first place, by analysis of the subject matter in the paper. On which aspects of social reality does the newspaper see fit to inform its readers? Second is the question of how it does this, how fully and accurately the news is presented and interpreted, what background is given in terms of feature articles. The first of these questions lends itself reasonably well to quantitative analysis, the second rather to a qualitative treatment.

A content analysis, by subject matter, was made of four African newspapers, World, Post, Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu, and of the Rand Daily Mail, for 1968. The reasons for the choice of these newspapers were given in Chapter II. The data are set out in Table 23 below.

TABLE 23 - Contents of Four African and One White Newspaper, 1968

		ImFmvo		Ilanga		Post		World		Rand Daily Mail	
		% of		% of		% of		% of		% of	
		Whole	Edit	Whole	Edit	Whole	Edit	Whole	Edit	Whole	Edit
EDITORIAL:	Politics, national	2.4	5.6	1.1	3.0	1.5	3.6	2.8	4.8	1.3	3.3
	Politics, international	0.0	0.0	1.4	3.7	0.4	0.9	1.7	3.1	2.5	6.2
	Economic, labour	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8
	Economic, other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	14.0
	Religion	1.2	2.8	0.8	2.2	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.0
	Social welfare, social problems, science and other 'serious' matter	1.8	4.2	0.3	0.7	1.1	2.7	1.5	2.6	2.0	4.9
	'Social', general and human interest	7.8	18.1	3.3	8.9	5.3	12.7	3.7	6.6	2.4	6.2
	Accidents, Court and Crime	3.0	6.9	4.7	12.6	9.7	23.6	7.1	12.8	1.0	2.5
	Sport	3.6	8.3	6.1	16.3	10.8	26.3	12.1	21.6	5.9	14.8
	Other news items	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.7	1.8	1.7	3.1	0.3	0.8
	Editorials	1.2	2.8	1.1	3.0	0.4	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.7	1.6
	Letters to the Editor	3.6	8.3	4.4	11.9	1.5	3.6	3.2	5.7	0.7	1.6
	Features, factual, historical, political	4.4	9.6	4.0	11.1	0.3	1.2	2.1	3.8	4.1	10.4
	'Chatty' column	1.2	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.9	1.5	2.6	0.0	0.0
	Other features	1.8	4.2	2.6	6.6	4.9	11.8	0.9	1.7	3.0	7.4
	Photos, maps, pictures	10.8	25.0	7.2	19.3	3.4	8.2	15.7	28.2	7.9	19.8
	Cartoons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.9	1.0	1.8	0.5	1.2
	Other editorial (services etc.) ..	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.8	4.5
	Total editorial	43.4	100.0	37.3	100.0	41.2	100.0	55.9	100.0	40.0	100.0
ADVERTISING:	Display	56.6		60.2		55.5		37.7		48.1	
	Smalls	0.0		2.5		3.4		6.4		11.9	
Grand total		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
Total items sampled		166		362		267		408		607	
Average no. pages per issue sampled (excl. supplement)		7.6		15.6		27.5		16.3		28.4	
Print area per page (square inches)		331		317		160		172		372	

Note: Some of the data in this table are based on samples of less than a year or are otherwise incomplete, but the fairly minor shortfalls are unlikely seriously to affect the validity of the percentages given. Further, because the figures are fairly small, differences of less than about 3% or 4% between the proportion of space taken up by a given subject in different newspapers can be ignored. For further methodological notes, see Chapter III above.

After due allowance is made for any sampling errors or deficiencies it remains clear that there are marked differences between these five newspapers.

The broad division between advertising and editorial matter is the first point to be noted. In this respect there is little difference between the papers, except for World's relatively small amount of advertising. (It was clear from interviews that the business staff of World were very concerned at the relative lack of advertising in the paper.) It is of interest that the proportion of advertising in the other four newspapers is much larger than that in either daily or Sunday British national newspapers or in certain leading European newspapers (Williams, 1968, Tables 1, 6 and 7, pp.37, 45, 47), while even World, with 44%, exceeded any British daily except the Telegraph in advertising volume. It is possible that these differences are due partly to the competition of television advertising in Britain. It is noteworthy that the proportion of classified, or 'smalls' advertisements in British papers is much higher than in the South African ones (Williams, op. cit., Tables 2 and 8), as it is 'smalls' which are immune to television competition. A prima facie contradiction of the thesis advanced here is contained in the figures quoted by Williams on p.38, ibid. The marked difference between the volume of smalls advertising in the Rand Daily Mail and the four African newspapers has been commented on in Chapter V. It should be noted that the amount of aditorial space is, of course, not necessarily reduced if more advertising is carried, rather this often enables the whole newspaper, including the editorial space, to be enlarged, and conversely. There is a correlation (though by no means a perfect one) between the amount (absolute, not relative) of advertising carried and the number of pages in the newspaper.

There are fairly well-marked differences in the subject matter of the five newspapers, or the type of information they tend to supply. Though there are cross-currents, three partly intersecting lines of division can be discerned. The first is between the two vernacular newspapers (Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu) and the rest, the second between the Rand Daily Mail and the

African newspapers and the third, a less marked one, between the dailies (World and Rand Daily Mail) and the others. The two vernacular newspapers have a number of characteristics of a local or 'community' newspaper (Janowitz, 1967), that is, there is much concern with local people and their doings, with rather 'routine' events, such as the founding of a new school, which, however, bulks large in a small-scale community, and with sober, 'solid' rather than sensational news.

Of the two, Imvo Zabantsundu is much nearer this pole than is Ilanga. Imvo comes first in terms of both educational and religious news, with Ilanga second, though the differences are not large except for educational news (8.3% for Imvo Zabantsundu, 3.7% for Ilanga, 2.9% for Rand Daily Mail, etc.). These are 'solid', 'Gemeinschäft' type subjects. As reported they sometimes have a decided community referent, e.g. a report of a farewell ceremony for a teacher (Imvo Zabantsundu, 10.2.1968), rather than (say) new methods of teaching languages. Examination results are another sub-category.

'Social, human interest and general' has also, in part, a community referent. Readers are interested in reports of people they may know, of dances they might have attended, of local entertainments; such is much of the stuff of 'community' journalism. This is not to deny that metropolitan newspapers, too, rely to a considerable extent on 'human interest' stories, but generally there is more scope for these in a community newspaper, where there is less need for an unusual angle to the story. Items of sexual interest (but not rapes) which have been included in this category, are more likely in a metropolitan newspaper. Imvo leads in this category, with nearly a fifth of all editorial matter, and Post comes next, with an eighth. Ilanga has 8.9%. Examples of such items include, from Imvo Zabantsundu: Winner of Mods Beat Group (photo), a funeral at Kentani (Transkei), an article on an African who had become a hospital dispenser, and one on a function for a newly appointed African magistrate; and for Ilanga a photo of people at a party in Durban and one of a witchdoctor, an article on a divorce, and another on the Pietermaritzburg Agricultural Show.

The difference between the five papers is less marked in the category of 'serious' news (social welfare, social problems, science, etc.) but here Rand Daily Mail and Imvo Zabantsundu are close together in first and second place. Rand Daily Mail has an excellent record of concern with social problems and trends - though the material on editorials further on in this chapter throws rather a different light on this; the figures generally are, however, too small to base any conclusions on (even the Rand Daily Mail's 2% represents only 12 items).

'Court and Crime', which means mostly the latter, though civil cases are occasionally reported, if they have particularly interesting features, is represented most in Post and least in Rand Daily Mail, but Imvo comes second lowest on the scale. This fits in well with Imvo's solid, unsensational approach. It is this category which in Post and World most often provides the front page 'lead' (see Table 24 below). As would be expected most of the front page and many of the other articles referred to murder, but some form of sex crime was also frequently reported. Immorality Act cases were very popular news items in both World and Post - far more so than in the White Press generally. The reasons for this can only be guessed at. One is probably the greater general interest in news of sexual interest in the African papers; another may be that the existence of sexual relationships across the colour line so obviously contradicts the ethos of the apartheid policy; it not only implies white hypocrisy in this respect but is also an affirmation of the common humanity of the different races.

In sport Post again comes first, but Imvo now takes bottom place, Ilanga rather surprisingly being ahead of Rand Daily Mail. As would be expected, football forms the staple of sports reporting in the African newspapers with boxing also very popular. Sport, of course, together with crime, is a favourite staple of Sunday newspapers. The writer's impression is that Post had a particularly strong team of sports reporters. Imvo's very poor sports coverage may be due, partly at least, to the relative isolation of Kingwilliamstown, where the paper is produced, from the main sports centres. African sport not infrequently gives

rise to intra- or inter-club disputes, sometimes to football field riots, and occasionally to crime, all of which are, of course, good journalistic 'copy'.

Sport in the African community probably functions to some extent like religion, as analysed by Sundkler (Sundkler, 1961) in providing an outlet for energies and antagonisms which would otherwise be channeled into politics, and in addition football, in particular, is (comparatively) big business. Reading about, or watching sport, also serves various other social and psychological functions (see Smith, 1967). The other major theme, that of desegregation in sport, is dealt with as a political matter, and is discussed below in relation to editorials.

Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu both have a high proportion of space devoted to letters to the editor. There appears in this sense to be a very strong identification with the paper by its readers. The (then) editor of Imvo remarked to the writer on the prolific letter-writing of his readers, sometimes in the form of long controversies. Letters in Imvo and Ilanga (at least as printed) are usually much longer than those in Post and World. The number and length of letters printed results, of course, not only from the volume arriving at the editorial desk, but on the newspaper's estimate of reader interest.

One might, perhaps, expect a 'community' newspaper to contain less feature material on the whole than a 'metropolitan' one. This is true of Imvo but certainly not of Ilanga, which, as has been pointed out, is near the borderline in this respect.

Ilanga and Rand Daily Mail have a far higher proportion of feature material in the factual, or political category, than any of the other papers. Ilanga has for example, W. G. Champion's lengthy and vigorous political column and Rand Daily Mail has an excellent feature service, both own writer and syndicated. The

latter paper appears to have a considerably higher (6.2% vs. 3.7% for Ilanga) proportion of specifically political material. It is surprising that Post, which provided good 'background' articles, often syndicated, in the past, by writers such as Colin Legum, now comes bottom in this category. Its apparently low proportion of feature material may be due to sampling error. Rand Daily Mail, of course, has resources, in terms of columnists and syndicated material, which the African newspapers generally lack. World comes top in respect of 'chatty' columns, 'Duke' Moleko's column, which he has been writing for over two decades, being the most notable, together with Casey Motsisi's column 'Casey's Court Cameo'. Post has almost a whole page of 'comic' strips, which gives it its superiority in the 'other features' category. These include for example, cowboy stories, and others with no local or African reference, though its jokes column 'Laugh with Gamat' is contributed by readers.

The difference between Rand Daily Mail and the African newspapers is striking, in terms particularly of international and economic news. This undoubtedly reflects primarily the respective interests of white - especially the white middle class - and of African readers, to some extent the overseas news-gathering resources of the Rand Daily Mail, which includes not only the general news agency (S.A.P.A. or U.P.I. etc.) services available to the other papers, but also the 'Morning Group' London office and own correspondents, and last but not least its own view of what it should be offering to its readers. The Rand Daily Mail contained 43 items of international news (items whose national or international reference were doubtful were included in this category) out of a total of 124 news items sampled, i.e. 35%, of which 15 were political, 11 economic and 13 sport. The nearest competitor in this respect was Ilanga, with 14% international and 86% national news. It is of interest here that a survey conducted among its readers by Ilanga in about 1966, showed that foreign news was twice as popular as any other kind. As the survey was conducted through the newspaper the results may, of course, have been biased. It may be that Ilanga readers want more foreign news in that paper (i.e. in Zulu) because they are unable to read the white newspapers, which have a comparatively good coverage. World had 9.8% international news. The other papers had much less.

The reason for the abundance of economic news in the Rand Daily Mail and its total absence in the African papers needs no further elucidation. It is, perhaps, surprising that there is no agricultural news (included under 'economic') in any of the five papers. Imvo in particular, with its large rural readership, might be expected to have had some reference to this topic - one imagines a paper in one of the developing countries with a similar readership certainly would have done, in the interests of 'development'. Ilanga, too, with its considerable readership in rural Zululand, might have contained such material. Rand Daily Mail, World and to a slightly lesser extent Post, are firmly oriented to an urban market (see Chapter VII above).

The third line of demarcation is between the weekly papers (Post and Imvo) and the daily (Rand Daily Mail and World) newspapers. Ilanga, published twice a week, falls between the two. Imvo appears on Mondays, whereas Post came out on Fridays and Saturdays, so that its later edition, at least (late Reef, Saturday evening) corresponded to a Sunday newspaper. Moreover the 'community' - 'metropolitan', or 'traditional' - 'modern' classification divides Imvo from Post. The main points of difference between Post and the other papers lie in 'social' and 'human interest' news, where it is far ahead of the others (with the exception of Imvo), 'Court and Crime', where it has nearly double as much, proportionately, as its nearest competitor, the World, 'Sport' and 'Other features'. Only in 'social' news does Imvo compare with Post (18.1% vs. 12.7% of editorial space respectively). World has sports coverage nearly as good as that of Post. Rather surprisingly Imvo has the second highest proportion of space devoted to photographs, maps and pictures - it is just surpassed by World - but the quality of the reproduction is much lower than in the other papers.

It is perhaps surprising to find that the proportion of news of national, as opposed to international politics does not vary greatly between the five newspapers (the variations that do occur are within the bounds of sampling error). It might have been expected that Rand Daily Mail, with its hypothesised stronger commitment to the Crusader as well as the Social Critic role,

would have contained considerably more of such news. It would also have been expected to provide more political information for the benefit of an enfranchised readership. Closer analysis would, in fact, indicate that the type and treatment of political news in the Rand Daily Mail and the African newspapers diverged widely. This will be illustrated later in this chapter.

The results of the analysis by subject matter broadly fit in with what one would expect from the different roles and readership of the newspapers studied. Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu, directed largely at rural, rather poorly-educated and socially conservative readers, provide information which it is believed will match the interests associated with those attributes. (It should, however, be mentioned that Ilanga has become considerably more sensational since 1968, and has increased its circulation from 28,000 in that year to 49,400 in the first half of 1971 and 107,500 in the second half of 1973, a most remarkable increase. It has unfortunately not been possible, to analyse the changes in circulation and readership to discover, for example, whether the gain has been on all fronts or mainly among urban and young readers or to relate the circulation changes to changes in content, style and readership. Imvo Zabantsundu has also increased its circulation from 18,000 in 1969 to 33,500 in 1971 (first half) and 45,000 in 1973 (first half).)

Post and World, directed at a more sophisticated but still mainly proletarian urban market - the editor of Post described his paper as aimed at the young African with Junior Certificate, while World's editorial director had in mind Africans who had passed Std. III - have subject matter profiles not very dissimilar to those of the 'popular' British newspapers. Tables 24 and 25, below, illustrate this by a comparison of World and Rand Daily Mail, with certain British dailies, and Post, Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu with 'quality' and 'popular' Sunday newspapers.

Broadly speaking World, Mirror and Express on the one hand, and the 'middle brow' Telegraph and Rand Daily Mail on the other,

TABLE 24 - Percentage of Editorial Space for Different Categories of Subject Matter, for Certain British and South African Daily Newspapers

	Mirror	Express	Telegraph	Times	World	Rand Daily Mail
Politics, economics, finance and 'serious' news ..	16	17	36	51	11	29
Accidents, Court and Crime	16	7	3	4	13	3
Personalities or 'Social, general and human interest'	9	7	3	5	7	6
Sport	20	35	15	12	22	15
Features	5	8	19*	8**	8	18
Pictures	12	9	9	8	28	20

* 30%, if 'Arts, including radio and television' is included
** 14%, " " " " " " " "

Note: The data for the British newspapers are derived from Williams (1968, p.44) and refer to July 1965. The South African data derive from Table 23 above. Because the categories used differ somewhat the resulting comparisons in this and Table 25 can only be approximate. In particular Williams' category 'Arts, including radio and television' in included by him under 'news', but most, if not all this material would be coded as 'features' in the present study. Only the most important categories have been included, hence percentages do not add up to 100.

TABLE 25 - Percentage of Editorial Space for Different Categories of Subject Matter in Certain British and South African Sunday, Weekly or Bi-Weekly Newspapers

	News of the World	Sunday Mirror	(British) Sunday Times	Post	Ilanga	Imvo Zabantsundu
Politics, economics, finance and 'serious' news ..	8	18	22	8	10	13
Accidents, Court and Crime	19	3	1	24	13	7
Personalities or 'Social, general and human interest'	8	3	3	13	9	18
Sport	23	19	10	26	16	8
Features	14	25	25*	14	18	17
Pictures	14	23	23**	8	19	25

* 34%, if 'Arts, including radio and television' is included
** Includes colour supplement

Notes: As for Table 24, except that the reference is to Williams (1968, pp.51-52).

have similar profiles. The Times, largely on account of its heavy concentration on commerce and finance, stands out from the two other groups. It is of some interest to note that the expressed aim of World's Editorial Director was to model his paper on the Mirror. The only respect in which World deviates markedly from the two 'populars' is in its freer use of photographs. Rand Daily Mail, also, has a far larger proportion than any of the British papers.

The picture for the Sunday newspapers is less clear-cut. Post is very like the top circulation News of the World but, surprisingly the Sunday Mirror much more closely resembles the Sunday Times. The two vernacular newspapers fall into a class by themselves. The most obvious similarities between these British and South African newspapers - there are, of course, many other points of comparison than the simple distribution of subject matter - would seem to lie in their common appeal to a mass readership but the question obviously requires much more detailed analysis which, however, it is not possible to undertake here.

Analysis by subject matter is, of course, a crude measure of a newspaper's performance. The type of material dealt with in each category, the categories (e.g. rural/urban, or social class) of people dealt with in the news, the geographical locale of news stories, as well as the presentation of the news, including possible biases, style and typography as well as the use of pictures, the nature and quality of feature articles, all these and other things contribute to an informed judgement of how well the newspaper concerned fulfills its information-giving task. For some of these characteristics quantitative analysis would have been difficult to make - this is true, for example, of style - for others, such as characteristics of persons reported in the news or geographical locale it would have been possible, but would on the one hand have been very laborious and on the other would have tended either to confirm the obvious - for example, that most news in World dealt with the Rand complex and that in Imvo Zabantsundu largely with the Eastern Cape (especially its small towns or rural areas) - or have yielded figures too small for statistical significance. It is fairly clear, for instance, that

people like Urban Councilmen, certain leading socialites, sportsmen and criminals (e.g. the famous 'James Bond' Senne who so long eluded the police) appear disproportionately often in World and that schoolteachers, Councilmen and various local leaders appear more often in Imvo but the numbers are likely to be small, because only a proportion of items in each issue sampled are devoted to news.

One form of quantitative analysis that does throw more light on relative emphases within subject categories has, however, been made, namely analysis of the front page 'leads'. The front page lead is the main story on the first page of a newspaper, often introduced by heavy or even banner headlines, and not infrequently supported by a photograph. By implication it is that part of the news which the paper considers is either the most 'important' (see e.g. Mayer, 1964, Ch. 7 for a useful discussion of the 'importance' of news items) and/or that which is most likely to interest readers. A considerable part of the morning editorial conference on World, for example, was taken up with deciding on what news story to 'lead' with, and how it was to be treated. Needless to say, the front page lead is relevant not only to the Information-giving, but to the Crusader and Social Critic functions as well. The latter aspect is dealt with more fully later in the chapter.

Before giving the results of the statistical analysis a few examples of front page headlines are given, first from the two dailies, World and Rand Daily Mail, then from Post and Sunday Times.

	World	Rand Daily Mail
31.10.1968	Peggy Senne to blame Cop	Two die in City storm
14.8.1968	Vaal Boardmen living in Fear	European pilots boycott Algeria
29.8.1968	Human fat case - Jarvis guilty	Seretse flown to Jo'burg hospital
2.7.1968	Church shots bring Death	Peace Move to end U.K. Rail Chaos

The dates for each paper are the same

	Post		Sunday Times
1.11.1968	Miracle (little girl walks after being crippled)	4.2.1968	Sir Alec (Douglas-Home) brings vital plan for South Africa
29.11.1968	Chance to save Girl from Gallows	4.4.1968	'I Want a Wife' - Liberace
1.6.1969	Pangaman's Day of Lust described	21.7.1968	Lions conduct shocks City (British rugby tour)

These examples are a vivid illustration of the style of headlines in the various newspapers, as well as of the very different subject matter and locale of the stories. Table 26, below, expresses the latter point in numerical form, for the two dailies sampled (these, unlike the weeklies, provide a sample fully large enough for statistical significance). It will be noted that the categorization of subject matter is slightly different from that used in the subject matter analysis above. This is necessary because front page headlines tend to concentrate on a limited number of topics - usually crime, natural disasters, politics or war. The categorization is the same as that used for editorials later, in Chapter IX.

TABLE 26 - Subject of Front Page Leads in World and Rand Daily Mail, 1968

	World		Rand Daily Mail	
	No.	%	No.	%
South African internal politics and race relations	30	11.8	44	14.6
International and foreign politics, including South Africa's foreign relations	7	2.8	113	37.5
Economics: General	0	0.0	42	14.0
Labour	0	0.0	6	2.0
Education: General	2	0.8	4	1.3
Students, Universities	2	0.8	9	3.0
Social problems, social welfare	1	0.4	4	1.3
Other 'serious' topics, e.g. religion, science, culture	8	3.1	34	11.3
Sport	67	26.3	9	3.0
Police, Court and Crime	103	40.6	5	1.7
Accidents, Suicides	16	6.3	23	7.7
Human interest, Celebrities	15	5.9	2	0.7
Other	3	1.2	6	2.0
	254	100.0	301	100.0

The emphases are broadly the same as those apparent in the subject matter classification (Table 23) but much more marked. For example an eighth (12.8%) of World's non-advertising subject matter is composed of articles on 'Accidents, Court and Crime', but the (approximately) corresponding categories include nearly half (46.9%) of the front page leads, the corresponding figures for the Rand Daily Mail being 2.5% and 9.4% respectively. On the other hand International and Foreign Politics becomes less important for World, but more important for Rand Daily Mail, as one moves from a total subject matter to a front page lead categorization. World's front page leads in this group during 1968 were mainly on the murders of Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy, while one article on the arrest of Cassius Clay for refusing military service has also been placed in that category. Rand Daily Mail was much concerned with developments in Rhodesia but generally reflected the interest profile of a world newspaper (at least, an English-language one), with front page articles inter alia on Vietnam, Israel, Britain and the United States.

Though there is not a marked difference in the percentages of front page leads on South African national politics and race relations between Rand Daily Mail and World there is little overlap in subject matter within the category. The Rand Daily Mail gives considerable attention to white politics - matters such as the dropping of Herzog (the Minister of Posts) from the Cabinet, the death of Dr Donges and the Verligte-Verkrampte dispute - and to the issue of race and sport (14 items), especially South Africa's chances of participating in the Olympics. World is concerned with such things as Winnie Mandela's ban and its relaxation (there are four items on her), the burial of Z. K. Matthews, politics of the Bantustans (ten items, none in the Mail) and local government politics in Soweto.

The category 'other serious topics', which features very little for World, but in Rand Daily Mail is heavily stressed, includes such matters as 'Government's "Go-Ahead" to closed circuit television', 'U.K.'s first heart graft' (and several other articles on heart transplants), the Apollo space mission to the moon, and reactions to the Papal encyclical on the birth control pill.

This fairly detailed though by no means exhaustive comparison of front page leads in Rand Daily Mail and World serves as a good example of the basic differences in emphasis between white and African newspapers. There are, of course, differences within the latter group: Post, for instance, has an even heavier concentration than World on crime, in its front page leads, whereas those in the two vernacular newspapers are less sensational both in subject matter and treatment.

In general coverage of news items tended to be rather fuller in Rand Daily Mail - because it contains a much larger print area (see Table 23, above) but there is basically not much difference in the way a story is handled as between it and World, as far as the text of the report is concerned. Prominence given to stories has been touched on in relation to front page heads. As regards headline size, inking and typefaces used, World tends to be more strident, and Post much more so, than Rand Daily Mail. The language and syntax used in World and Post is generally simpler than that in Rand Daily Mail, and sentences shorter, in keeping with the generally lower educational level of the respective readerships.

World and Post at least - no definite judgement can be made on Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu due to the language barrier - do appear to cover the basic ingredients of a news story adequately and to set them forth in clear, fairly simple language. As far as can be judged their reporting is reasonably accurate. Because so much of their reporting was on uncontroversial subjects during the year under review, the question of bias seldom enters. As far as can be judged the reporting in both papers is reasonably objective. As pointed out later, when considering possible changes over time, this has not necessarily always been so, in particular in the period before Sharpeville, when both papers were involved in party politics.

The provision of information is incomplete without some measure of interpretation, to make it intelligible to the reader.

Such interpretation, may beeither in the news articles themselves, or in feature articles, or 'backgrounding'. As indicated above, Rand Daily Mail's feature service is by far the best of the five newspapers surveyed. The topics of the day, national or international, political, religious or scientific, are ably discussed in its feature articles, whether by its own writers or outside experts, sometimes syndicated. Despite its low percentage of subject matter devoted to factual feature articles (as given in Table 23) the quality of Post's feature articles - usually appearing just below its editorial - is generally high. Over a two year period (1964-1965, rather before the date of the main analysis but nevertheless a sufficiently good example) out of 92 feature articles, 29 were on national politics, nine on international politics (excluding Africa) and 38 on trends in the rest of Africa. Examples of the latter are 'It's goodbye to Ben Bella' (27.6.65), 'How strong is Rhodesia?' (15.8.65), 'Background to Lesotho's crisis' (24.7.66), 'Nigeria: can there be peace?' (14.8.66) and 'Return to E. African economic unity' (19.5.67). World is generally much less well served in its factual/political features in 1968 and the years immediately before that. Ilanga, as mentioned above, had a vigorous political column by the veteran African politician W. G. Champion, though this was much more in the nature of a commentary than an explanation of events, which Post's feature articles predominantly were. Imvo Zabantsundu had few feature articles.

To sum up this somewhat uneven survey of the fulfilment of the informational function of the African Press it is clear that there is relatively little overlap in the information provided by white and African newspapers and that where that overlap does occur the white newspapers is likely on the whole to be superior, due to its greater resources of money and expertise and its better access to wire services. The African newspapers carry little foreign news - what there is being mainly related to Southern Africa or to Negroes in the United States - and as far as South Africa is concerned deal only slightly with 'white' or 'national' politics, social or economic news but do provide quite a good news service on African life in the urban townships (especially those of the Rand) and to a lesser extent the rural areas and Bantustans. News of the townships or of African life in the rural areas is marked by its almost total absence from white newspapers,

except where they run 'African editions' (usually containing two or three pages devoted to 'township news') or incorporate some African news in their regular edition, gathered by an African staff hired especially for this purpose. The coverage of African news in the African newspapers is somewhat biased (the presentation is not) since so much is reported of crime and sport, and so little of the activities of voluntary bodies, educational institutions and so on. African political activity, of course, has little space devoted to it, but this is partly, at least, because there is little that is not 'underground', except for the Bantustans and local government in the African townships.

In general, it is clear that if a reasonably full picture of South African life is to be obtained it is necessary to read at least one white and one African newspaper(s). As has been shown in Chapter VII a large proportion of urban Africans, but very few whites, do this.

CHAPTER IX
PRESS PERFORMANCE: (2) EDITORIALS

The Social Critic and the Partisan functions of newspapers are expressed most explicitly through editorials, which contain the reasoned opinions of the newspaper on matters of public policy. Both functions, but particularly the Social Critic one, are also expressed in the news columns, as well as in feature articles. It is proposed to look now at the explicit statement of newspaper attitudes in editorials. First, a quantitative analysis will be made of subjects of editorials, to indicate the fields within which the various newspapers consider it necessary to make public comment. This, in itself tells one a great deal about the 'personality' and basic attitudes of a newspaper. Thereafter a rather more detailed study will be made of the handling of certain topics in editorials as well as in the news columns. These will include urban African affairs, including Urban Bantu Councils, the Bantustans, and African education. Consideration will also be given to the newspaper's approach to broad national policy and race relations and finally to the reporting and/or editorial or feature comment on social abuses, such as Limehill, injustices under the Group Areas, Urban Areas and other discriminatory legislation and practices.

Table 27, below, analyses subject matter of editorials in the main newspapers covered in this survey. Imvo Zabantsundu was not included because of translation problems.

Although the categories used are the same as those in Table 26 - the last three categories in Table 26 are combined under 'other' in Table 27 - certain major differences between the two tables stand out. In particular there are far fewer editorials on Sport and Police, Court and Crime in World than there are front page lead articles on these topics, while Rand Daily Mail comments editorially on foreign affairs proportionately less often than it gives them front page news treatment.

TABLE 27 - Subject of Editorials in Four Newspapers

	World		Rand Daily Mail		Post		Ilanga	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South African internal politics and race relations	112	42.9	149	33.8	51(30)	53.7(55.1)	29	53.7
International and foreign politics, including South Africa's foreign relations	17	6.5	112	25.4	9(6)	9.5(11.1)	1	1.9
Economics: General	7	2.7	32	7.3	1(1)	1.1(1.9)	0	0.0
Labour	12	4.6	26	5.9	3(2)	3.2(3.7)	5	9.3
Education: General	28	10.7	17	3.9	3(2)	3.2(3.7)	4	7.4
Students, Universities	5	1.9	24	5.4	1(0)	1.1(0.0)	0	0.0
Social problems, Social Welfare	22	8.5	18	4.1	6(2)	6.3(3.7)	5	9.3
Other serious topics, e.g. religion, science, culture	14	5.4	48	10.1	8(5)	8.4(9.3)	7	13.0
Sport	22	8.5	7	1.6	2(1)	2.1(1.9)	1	1.9
Police, Court and Crime	5	1.9	3	0.7	4(1)	4.2(1.9)	1	1.9
Other	10	3.8	5	1.1	6(4)	6.3(7.4)	1	1.9
Total:	261	100.0	441	100.0	95(54)	100.0	54	100.0

Note: The above data refer to 1968, except in the case of Post, where 1967 and 1968 figures are combined, in order to give more statistically useful results (1968 figures are shown in brackets). The figures for Post and Ilanga are nevertheless in most cases too small for differences to be statistically significant. There are a few gaps, relating mainly to Post for 1967.

It is probably not worthwhile to analyse this table in great detail - the first two categories are studied more closely below (Table 28) - but the main points should be noted. What stands out, first and foremost, are the differences between the only white newspaper and the three African ones particularly World - as mentioned less reliance can be placed on the differences between the Rand Daily Mail on the one hand and Post and Ilanga on the other, because of the small figures, but in many respects the two latter newspapers do tend to resemble World rather than Rand Daily Mail.

The Rand Daily Mail has the lowest proportion of editorials devoted to what might be called 'minor' or 'light' subjects, which are included under 'Other'. World's ten editorials include, for einstance, two 'success stories' on the Samuel Smiles theme and one on Miriam Makaeba's marriage to Stokely Carmichael. The remarkable number of editorials in the 'Sport' category in World as compared with the Rand Daily Mail supports the hypothesis implied by Table 26, of a different attitude to spectator sport among the two readerships. Not only is there greater interest in sport by World readers, but this interest carries greater emotional intensity. This hypothesis seems to be disproved in part by the infrequent editorial treatment in Post and Ilanga, but if the figures for all three African papers be combined a figure of 6.1% as against 2.2% for the Rand Daily Mail is obtained. Bearing in mind what else is known about sport in African communities in South Africa (see Kuper, 1965, Ch. 22) these data and those of Table 26 provide an interesting footnote to the sociology of sport in South Africa. World editorials occasionally deal with controversies or riots (e.g. 'Commission on Soccer Riot welcomed', 26 July 1968) but they are mostly simply commentary, encouragement or analysis, e.g. 'What the Fans want' (23.1.1968) or 'Learning the lessons of defeat' (31.7.1068). 'One of us' (8.3.1968) and 'A Great Record' (18.4.1968) both stress the race theme, in this case Negro boxers.

'Serious topics' are more often dealt with in Rand Daily Mail than in World. The concern of the former is with such things as the national water shortage, urban traffic problems and heart

transplants, of the latter with a jazz festival, 'Knowing the Law', road safety and African artists - predominantly cultural instead of socio-economic or scientific. There is little difference between the other two African papers and the Rand Daily Mail.

The difference between the African newspapers and Rand Daily Mail in terms of 'Social Problems' is surprising. World editorials deal mainly with amenities - or the lack of them - in the Reef townships, while those in the Mail include for example, one on alcoholism and two on penology. It is obvious that as far as education is concerned editors of African newspapers are far more interested in schools than in universities and the Rand Daily Mail just the reverse. Given the importance attached by Africans to education, and the gross deficiencies in the African school system, the former statement is easily explicable. On the other hand, university education is not only more important for the Mail readership but student protest forms part of the political battle against the Government (Partisan function). Examples of editorials in World are 'Shortage of schools' (suggesting a National Conference on Education, 15.1.1968), 'Ideals put into practice' (Chief establishes compulsory education in his area, 18.3.1968) and 'New Light on night schools' (11.10.1968).

Within the broad category of economics the concentration of the African newspapers on labour matters and the Rand Daily Mail on general economic problems is easily explicable, both in terms of 'knowledge of how the shoe pinches' among African journalists and as another example of the higher level of abstraction in the white paper's editorials: a study of the gold standard, for example (Rand Daily Mail, 19.6.1968) is unlikely to appear in World or Ilanga. Such topics are much more likely to interest the business community which forms a large part of the Rand Daily Mail readership than the mainly proletarian audience of the African newspapers. Further, the industrial colour bar, a major limitation of African advancement, has been included under 'labour'. A few examples of editorials on labour matters are:

World:	'More needs to be done' (to raise African wages to as to place all workers above the breadline, 3.4.1968)
	'Let's have some logic' (why should African workers move from cities to Border industries where they will get lower pay? - 15.7.1968)
	'They can't have it both ways' (criticizes white artisans' opposition to training of African electricians, 1.10.1968)
Post:	'Chance - not charity' (re race discrimination in industry, 19.5.1968)
Rand Daily Mail:	'Too well educated' (African nuclear physicist can't get job in South Africa, 5.2.1968)

Political concern expressed in editorials, requires a more detailed analysis than the other subjects dealt with so far because it involves more directly the Partisan function. Table 28, below, gives a detailed breakdown of the first two (the political) categories of Table 27.

It is clear that the African Press' lack of interest in foreign news documented earlier in this chapter is paralleled by the rarity of editorials on the subject; only 27 out of 410, or 6.6% of all editorials examined in the African Press fell into this category, as opposed to 112 out of 441, or 25.4% in the Rand Daily Mail. Of the latter nearly two-fifths were classified as 'General'. These covered a wide range, including in particular several on the Czech crisis, some on the United States (where Nixon won the Presidential Election and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King were shot), France and Vietnam and scattered editorials on the Middle East problem, Germany, Portugal, etc. Both World and Post dealt with Robert Kennedy's assassination and with violence (or race violence) in the United States. Only World ran an editorial - condemning Communism - on the Czech crisis, while Post had two on the Middle East. None of the other foreign events of the year (i.e. outside Africa), slightly less in the public eye, received editorial comment in either paper. South Africa's relations with the United Nations, or with the wider world generally, attracted only one editorial, in Post.

TABLE 28 - Editorials Dealing with National and Foreign Politics in World, Ilanga and Rand Daily Mail (all 1968) and Post (1967-68)

Subject	World No.	World % of all edits.	World % of polit. edits.	Rand Daily Mail No.	Rand Daily Mail % of all edits.	Rand Daily Mail % of polit. edits.	Post No.	Post % of all edits.	Post % of polit. edits.	Ilanga No.	Ilanga % of all edits.	Ilanga % of polit. edits.
SOUTH AFRICA, INTERNAL POLITICS												
General	24		18.6	78		29.9	11		18.3	7		23.3
The Press	1		0.8	8		3.1	-		0.0	1		3.3
Legal segregation, incl. Group Areas, race classification, etc.	8		6.2	5		1.9	10		16.7	5		16.7
'Urban Areas' legislation	8		6.2	13		5.0	6		10.0	3		10.0
Politics in Transkei and other Bantustans	25		19.4	5		1.9	-		0.0	6		20.0
Other black political parties and movements (legal)	0		0.0	-		0.0	-		0.0	-		0.0
Sabotage, terrorism, etc. (for terrorism, incl. Rhodesia)	-		0.0	8		3.1	-		0.0	-		0.0
Race attitudes and relations	11		8.5	7		2.7	4		6.7	1		3.3
Local politics	25		19.4	8		3.1	4		6.7	2		6.7
Religion and race or politics	2		1.6	4		1.5	-		0.0	1		3.3
Sport and race or politics	8		6.2	13		5.0	16		26.7	3		10.0
Total	112	42.9	86.8	149	33.8	59.2	51	53.7	85.0	29	53.7	96.7

/continued

TABLE 28 (continued)

Subject	World No.	% of all edits.	% of polit. edits.	Rand Daily Mail No.	% of all edits.	% of polit. edits.	Post No.	% of all edits.	% of polit. edits.	Ilanga No.	% of all edits.	% of polit. edits.
INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN POLITICS												
General	6		4.7	46		17.6	5		8.3	-		0.0
The rest of Africa (excl. Rhodesia) and South Africa's relations with it	9		7.0	14		5.4	2		3.3	1		3.3
Relations of South Africa with U.N.O. and the world generally, or with specific countries	-		0.0	8		3.1	1		1.7	-		0.0
Rhodesia and South Africa - Rhodesian relations	2		1.6	34		13.0	1		1.7	-		0.0
South Africa - British relations, and British politics	-		0.0	10		3.8	-		0.0	-		0.0
Total	17	6.5	13.2	112	25.4	42.9	9	9.5	15.0	1	1.9	3.3
Grand Total, all Political Editorials	129	49.4	100.0	261	59.2	100.0	60	63.2	100.0	30	55.5	100.0
Total, All Editorials	261	100.0		441	100.0		95	100.0		54	100.0	

Rand Daily Mail, in common with other white South African newspapers, contained numerous editorials on the Rhodesian crisis. Such events as the right wing revolt within the Rhodesian Front, the proposed new Rhodesian constitution and the dramatic attempts at a settlement between Britain and Rhodesia aboard H. M. S. Fearless, received much attention in the Rand Daily Mail, as against only a modicum of comment in the African newspapers - comparing, incidentally, decidedly unfavourably with Post in 1964 and 1965, at least (pre-U.D.I.). Though the numbers are too small for significance editorial interest by World in Black Africa was relatively somewhat greater than by the Rand Daily Mail. World hailed the appointment of a Malawi ambassador to South Africa, congratulated the Swazi and Botswana people on their independence, urged that Zambia keep a two-party system, and analysed Lesotho politics, generally in non-controversial tones.

There was no editorial comment at all in any of the three African newspapers, on British politics, or on relations between South Africa and Britain, in contrast to the Mail's ten in this category.

In general, there was limited editorial, as well as news coverage of the wider world in the African Press - with the notable exception of Negro affairs in the United States or Robert Kennedy's assassination - but rather more interest in the African states adjoining, or in fairly close touch with South Africa. One might assume that, on the whole, this pattern fitted in well with readers' interests, though as far as Ilanga's readers are concerned the results of the survey (see p. 182 above) seem to indicate the opposite. It seems likely that Africans who prefer to get their news in English - as many of Ilanga readers probably do not - turn primarily to white newspapers if they are interested in international news, and form their opinions - as far as these are based on newspaper comment - on the basis of editorials and features in the English-language Press.

On the other hand, Swazi Independence may be of as much or more interest to the readers of World as the 'Events of May', 1968

in France are to those of the Rand Daily Mail, while France and Swaziland are of relatively minor interest to World and Mail readers respectively. As indicated above Post did provide a good feature service, not only on Southern Africa but on the wider world - generally, a weekly newspaper is better able to do this than a daily - but its editorial coverage, and possibly its feature coverage as well, of foreign affairs, including especially African affairs, had declined during the late '60s.

As far as editorial attitudes are concerned the African newspapers studied shared with the Rand Daily Mail in a broadly liberal, pro-Western and anti-Communist outlook. Like most English-language (white) newspapers in South Africa, the African Press were critical of Rhodesia's U.D.I. and of the Smith regime. Because of their comparatively minimal interest in world affairs - excluding Africa - the African newspapers did not, on the whole, need to take up definite editorial positions, though World's condemnation of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia has been mentioned. As regards Africa the level of both news and editorial coverage in the African Press had decreased considerably by 1968, reflecting no doubt the passing of interest - and as problems and failures in Black Africa increased - of the enthusiasm engendered by the birth and early progress of the independent African states. Editorial comment, when it did appear, tended to be cooler and more critical than in the early days of independence. These changes will be considered in some detail in Chapter XII.

While a reduction of interest in Black Africa was probably noticeable in white newspapers as well as black ones in the late '60s the former maintained an intense interest in events affecting Rhodesia, whereas the latter newspapers did not. While one can only guess at the reasons for this it seems likely that in the years before U.D.I. there had been vigorous and largely successful African political movements with which South African African newspapers and their readers could and did identify - this was most noticeable in Post but was true to some extent of World also. Once the dramatic Declaration of Independence and its immediate aftermath had come and gone Rhodesian politics, with the two main African parties banned and their leaders in restriction, became in effect, 'White Man's politics', and only of indirect interest

to black South Africans. Only the actual conclusion of a Rhodesian-British settlement - or, of course, the Pearce Commission's exercise in 1971-2 - would have aroused much interest in the African Press.

It is of interest that, insofar as the African Press did notice events such as the publication of the Rhodesian Constitutional Commission's report, they were sometimes actually less liberal than the Rand Daily Mail. World, commenting on the Commission's proposals, considered the recommendation that Africans remain in the Rhodesian Parliament as 'most encouraging', while the Mail condemned the proposals as not liberal enough. On the other hand World warned sternly that South African support for Rhodesia against the African guerillas could cause 'the whole situation (to) assume international proportions'. Post also warned of a possible clash with Zambia. Not surprisingly no African (or white) newspaper in South Africa supported the guerillas.

South African internal politics provide an even clearer illustration of the differences between the White and the African Press, and to a lesser extent of the differences between different African newspapers. These differences can be analysed first, in terms of different foci of interest, and second, in terms of different methods of treatment, different 'tones of voice', different stylistic 'personalities'.

The first major difference between the Rand Daily Mail and the African newspapers is the relatively small interest taken by the former in the problems and aspirations of Africans, and conversely the almost complete ignoring of white politics by the African newspapers. At first sight the lack of interest in African affairs by what is probably the most liberal of the white newspapers seems surprising. It is an indication of the constraints, internal as well as external, even on a newspaper which, as Elaine Potter points out, had frankly accepted the necessity of complete racial integration in social as well as political and

economic spheres as early as 1965 (Potter, 1974). Three-tenths of the Mail's political editorials are on 'general' South African politics; it pays only slightly less attention than the African papers to the restrictions imposed by the Urban Areas legislation but much less to legal segregation generally. The most striking differences, however, are in respect of politics in the Bantustans and issues of local government and local politics. The difference between World and the two other African newspapers in respect to Bantustans and local politics is also striking. These broad differences, of interest in themselves, imply different approaches to the 'Partisan' as to the 'Social Critic' role. It can fairly be argued that, inasmuch as basic issues of national policy will be dealt with mainly under 'general', the relative lack of interest by African newspapers in this sphere means that they skirmish around the outer defences rather than attacking the most crucial issues of South African politics.

Even within the category of 'general' national politics the difference between the Mail and the African papers is remarkable. The former is concerned to a large extent with events within the sphere of white politics, including the actions of the executive, Parliamentary debates and the activities of white political parties and other political groups within white society. To the extent that this is so, the issues discussed in editorials are those raised in political debate within that sphere. These included, in the year under review, the verligte-verkrampte conflict and closely related to this various aspects of Afrikaner nationalism (e.g. an editorial on a Provincial Congress of the Nationalist Party or 'Afrikaner Nationalists dominating South African scene') - as well as one editorial berating English-speaking South Africans for their political apathy. About as many editorials as the two last groups combined are devoted to political comments which have no direct bearing on race policies or relations, such as the death of the President-elect, Dr Donges, Dr Malherbe's criticism (in his Presidential speech to the Institute of Race Relations) of South Africans' 'docility', the results of two bye-elections, the United Party's approach to politics, the proper way to fight Communism - by strengthening democracy - and the role of the liberal in South Africa. These three groups, which together make up nearly a half of all editorials in the category, have hardly any counterpart among the African newspapers' editorials.

Rather more than half of the 78 editorials in this category do relate directly to some aspect of racial policy or race relations, as expressed through political institutions. Again and again, from various standpoints, the Mail comes back to the attack on apartheid in general (e.g. 'Apartheid by any other name would smell as bad', 11.6.1968, or 'Failure of separate development', 21.6.1968), on the Bantustan policy in particular (e.g. 'Bantustan shock' - only 945 new jobs created in six years in Transkei - 22.2.1968), on the Improper Interference Bill ('Beyond Belief', 17.2.1968), on Government policy - and actions - towards the Coloured people ('Great Sham', 14.8.1968).

The three African newspapers ignore almost completely the verligte-verkrampte dispute - for them it was no doubt very largely academic hair-splitting - and, with one partial exception, are uninterested in the internal development of Afrikaner attitudes - the exception is 'New look at apartheid by Afrikaners' (World, 8.11.1968). None of the editorials in World, but a few in Post, are concerned with issues which transcend race. For example Post mourns the disbanding of the Liberal Party ('Demise of liberals', 28.4.1968) and criticizes the Terrorism Bill (23.6.1968).

Various aspects of legal segregation are covered by editorials in the three African newspapers, including discrimination in the teaching profession, university apartheid, doctors' salaries, Coloured urban segregation ('Tale of Five Cities', Post, 21.4.1968) and the Immorality Act ('This Arrogant Law', Post, 27.10.1968). This field, together with the related ones of urban areas legislation (including resettlement of Africans) and of race relations and attitudes outside the legislative framework, belong more appropriately in the category of Social Criticism, and are dealt with at some length under that heading.

World takes a very keen interest in local politics - this means, in fact, mainly Soweto politics. In particular, the paper is very much concerned with the elections for and the functioning

of the new Urban Bantu Council in Soweto. This is no doubt partly related to the fact that the great majority of World's readers are concentrated in the Witwatersrand conurbation, and very many of those in Johannesburg (see Table 19, p. 157 above), whereas Post is not only a national newspaper, but a large minority of its readers are Coloured or Asian. It is also related to the theme 'We do not agree with Apartheid, but we must use the institutions it sets up to forward our development'. Rand Daily Mail, as a metropolitan newspaper, displays very limited interest in the municipal affairs of Johannesburg.

Politics in the Bantustans - as opposed to general discussions of the Bantustan policy as a whole - preoccupy World exactly equally with local politics, the majority (18 out of the 25) editorials in this category being on the Transkei - it may be relevant that the editor comes from that area - though such matters as Tswana self-government, the Zulustan (now Kwa-Zulu) and the Zulu Royal succession also receive attention. Examples are 'Is it fair?' (re 'white spots' in the Transkei, 10.6.1968), 'Now he must deliver the goods' (re Matanzima, 4.11.1968), and 'Time will tell' (whether Zulus will give support for a Zulustan, 16.8.1968). Ilanga, as might be expected, concentrates on Zulu affairs, and on the role of the Zulu Royal House. It has no editorial on the Transkei at all. Rand Daily Mail has only two editorials on the Transkei and two on distant Ovamboland, which drew no editorial from any of the African papers analysed.

The issue of sport and race politics in South Africa was of interest to all South African newspapers during 1968, particularly in connection with the dispute over South Africa's representation at the Olympic Games. Of the African newspapers Post displays by far the keenest interest, with over one quarter of all editorials in the 'South African Internal Politics' category being devoted to this subject. Like World, Post supported South Africa's entry to the Olympics, and was prepared to achieve multi-racial sport by stages. Both newspapers are critical of the states which threatened to boycott the Olympics if South Africa were to be admitted. The reasons for this heavy concentration on the politics of sport by Post are unclear, except that it

does have a very strong sports section, the issue directly affected a number of leading black sportsmen and the topic may be one that more readily united Post's African, Coloured and Asian readers than many other issues. As will be shown in Chapter XII, Post's concentration on the politics of sport goes back through most of the decade.

The above account has provided a classification by content rather than an analysis of political attitudes, or 'direction', though this is, of course, to some extent implicit. An adequate analysis of the newspapers' Partisan and Social Critic roles involves consideration of the direction, tone and intensity of the editorials, and of the sort of arguments employed. This discussion will be in qualitative terms. Consideration will also be given to the fulfillment of the latter role in the news columns.

CHAPTER X

PRESS PERFORMANCE: (3) THE PARTISAN ROLE

It is, of course, difficult to draw hard-and-fast lines between the Partisan and the Social Critic roles. Generally the latter is taken to include protest about, or reporting instances of maladministration, malfeasance or injustice, involving either individuals or groups of people. The former, on the other hand, involves a statement of the newspaper's opinion on some subject of public policy, or the selection and presentation of news in such a way as to support the newspaper's point of view. Feature articles and even letters - if 'inspired' - may also contribute towards the performance of this role. Essentially the concern is with the advocacy of a long-term policy, not an ad hoc treatment of a particular grievance. Abuses or injustices may, of course, be reported for their own sakes, as isolated or relatively isolated incidents which require to be put right, but which do not reflect on basic policy, or they may be treated as the natural results of a bad policy, a general attitude or practice. In the latter instance, though logically the reporting of an injustice or instance of maladministration will fall into the Social Critic category, if the newspaper also comments editorially it may often be difficult to decide which function the editorial primarily fulfilled. It may sometimes also be difficult to distinguish Social Criticism from criticism deriving simply from differences of judgement between the critic and the author of the action criticized. There must generally be some clear social evil, such as human suffering or death, humiliation or economic loss, which results directly from the action criticized.

Thus the provision of public housing which turns out to be sub-standard, and which consequently results in preventable ill-health among the occupants, is a subject for Social Criticism, but is criticism of the purchase of one type of medical equipment rather than another, or the division of resources to heart transplants rather than to fighting diseases such as tuberculosis, to be categorized as a Partisan or a Social Critic function?

After this rather lengthy caveat an attempt will be made to analyse the way in which the newspapers concerned fulfill the two roles. It is hardly possible to examine the whole of newspaper opinion on every subject. Rather the underlying contours of policy will be examined, and their operation in certain specific fields or realisation in specific themes, will be sketched.

The four African newspapers analysed in 1968 were none of them clearly aligned with any political party approach. This, as Chapter XII will show, was not true in the past, and has become less so since 1968. The Rand Daily Mail, however, broadly supported the Progressive Party. The African newspapers in general supported African aspirations for more say in the government of the country, improvements in Africans' economic position, education, housing, etc. as well as reduction in the weight of discrimination, legal or unofficial in so many spheres of life. As indicated above, information on these aspects is available only for Post, World and Ilanga, not for Imvo Zabantsundu, which no doubt played down African grievances.

The three African newspapers, therefore, did attack the policy of apartheid, but they did so with more caution than displayed by the Rand Daily Mail (and several other white newspapers), less frequently and with nothing like the weight of sustained argument used by the Mail. Further, as already mentioned the theme that 'we do not approve of apartheid, but we must accept it to the extent of using the institutions it provides to foster African advance' runs through many editorials in both World and Ilanga and a few in Post, but is totally absent in the Rand Daily Mail.

The respective approaches of World, Post, Rand Daily Mail and to a lesser extent Ilanga are exemplified in their treatment of some of the subjects of editorial policy listed above. We have seem that the African newspapers tend to criticize particular instances of apartheid's operation, rather than mounting a direct attack on the policy as a whole. However, there are some such

editorials, more in Post than in World. Several of World's 24 editorials in the 'General' category deal with a central item of apartheid policy, the denial of political rights to urban Africans - or, of course, to any Africans in white areas. On 22 February, for example, the World has an editorial 'Seeking an Outlet', which provides an opportunity for an analysis of World's general approach because the type of argument used, and the tone, of this editorial is fairly characteristic of many of World political editorials. It points out that Bantustans do not really represent the urban African, that the new Urban Bantu Councils deal only with civic affairs and that 'surely there should be some outlet for the legitimate aspirations of the urban African at a national level ... We would appeal to the Government ... We find the present lack of communication (between urban Africans and their rulers) frightening.' In analysing the editorial it is to be noted first that the tone is - at least ostensibly - that of persuasion rather than of conflict. 'We appeal to' (not 'demand from!) the Government. No specific proposals for enfranchising the urban Africans are put forward - the Government must 'give its deepest consideration' to the matter. The implication would seem to be that if the Government were to do this, they might come up with a plan acceptable to urban Africans, i.e. the Government are basically reasonable men, who can be won over by reasonable argument. Secondly, African requests or aspirations are reasonable, or 'legitimate' (an adjective twice used in this editorial), urban Africans are entitled to a say in their own affairs both because of their numbers and because 'they form the most enlightened, sophisticated and prosperous section of the African population' - a theme which comes in, for example, in relation to later discussion of home ownership in the urban areas. Thirdly, the cause and the result of this lack of a say is described, not as a denial of rights (moral) or a difference of interests between the two groups (political, conflict) but as a 'lack of communication', the implication again being that if communication was established, if the parties sat down at a table together, the problem would disappear, or at least be much reduced. This might (not wholly pejoratively) be described as the 'naive liberal' approach. The comment that such lack of communication is 'quite frightening' appears to express the view, not of an African - why should he be 'frightened'? - but of a sympathetic white who fears 'an explosion'.

The arguments used, and in particular the language in which they are couched is, however, surely not intended to influence the Government or its supporters. On the other hand, it would seem to add very little, if anything, either to the knowledge of the understanding of African readers of the political scene. It does give them some slight encouragement and praise (at least if they are urban). It does also make clear, in the form of a rhetorical question, the World's opposition to the idea that urban Africans can find their political home in the Bantustans.

The style of the editorial is a trifle stilted and its syntax and vocabulary rather elaborate: 'we make no apology for returning to the question', 'urban African whose interests are far divorced from those of his rural colleagues', some 'central forum'.

To sum up, this editorial does declare a political opinion - this is almost a minimum requirement for an editorial - but it lacks force and vigour. It is curiously 'timeless' - except for the reference to Urban Bantu Councils the editorial could have been written at any time in the previous five or six years (i.e. since the first Bantustan was established).

There are five editorials during 1968 on the question of representation of urban Africans (or of Africans generally). In none of them are specific proposals put forward. The theme, and more broadly the tone, of the editorial analysed are exemplified by many of World's editorials in various fields. Though note will be taken of this theme in considering other topics a few specific examples of it are given below.

An editorial on the pass raids for instance (23.2.1968) (in itself an example of the Social Critic role) is entitled 'Improving race relations'. After an introduction, 'This newspaper has for long cried out against the pass raid system' and an account of the

condemnation of the system by a Johannesburg magistrate, the editorial ends with the view that an end to indiscriminate raiding for passes would improve race relations more than anything else. Similarly on the last day of 1968 World pleaded for an end to 'petty' apartheid: segregation in parks, entrances to football fields, lifts and public places generally.

The theme of reconciliation/consensus is sometimes expressed by reference to events or people external to South Africa. So, for example, after Sir Seretse Khama, the President of Botswana, had been in hospital in South Africa and taken home in a South African aircraft, World (21.10.1968) commented: 'Saved by South Africa's medical skill and hospitality, will he yet live to see the realisation of his self-appointed mission - to reconcile White and Black on an international scale as he has reconciled Black and White in his own Botswana?'

The 'consensus' theme, broadly interpreted, runs through much of World's editorialising - another form of it is praise, occasionally expressed, for the Government or particular white bodies, e.g. 'Well done, Germiston' (in providing a hotel for Africans, 27.11.1968), or examples of good race relations, e.g. 'Beating as one' (re African artist honoured by all races, 27.2. 1968) or the 'inter-racial' heart plant theme (one taken up by many newspapers).

A number of World's editorials do take up a considerably more conflict-orientated stance, and express moral condemnation. One example of this is the editorial commenting on President Kaunda's speech when he visited Botswana in May 1968: 'Dr Kaunda Speaks Out' (28.5.1968). '"We love peace, but we also love freedom and justice, and it is not possible to stand aloof when there is no justice." This is what President Kaunda on his state visit to Botswana said. What is the honest answer to the question Dr Kaunda asks. (Is it just for 3 million whites to rule 15 million Africans?) If we cannot answer "yes" to it then the sooner we begin to share the administration and wealth of this country the better.'

'Move to One-Party State' (28.3.1968), commenting on the Improper Interference Bill, asks 'Is the official Opposition ... content to see one party in South Africa virtually dictating to the millions of this country, of all races, whatever they think or like, without even as much as a protest? Are we not moving to a one-party state?' The editorial approvingly quotes Helen Suzman's evaluation of the bill as a 'negation of the democratic principle of freedom of association'.

'Umtata Issues Challenge', dealing with Transkei independence (29.5.1968) is also fairly direct, though the very title again suggests the use of a 'spokesman' whose views World can endorse, President Kaunda in the first example, Mrs Suzman (in part) in the second. The editorial starts:

> 'The Transkei Government is asking the South African Government to prepare the Transkei for full independence in as short a time as possible ... even Matanzima and his supporters are feeling frustrated by the Government's slowness...'

The South African Government should grant the Transkei more Departments:

> (they) 'cannot have their cake and eat it.'
> 'Umtata has issued the challenge: over to Cape Town.'

On 12 June World takes up the question of Sobukwe's further detention, which had been renewed for another year: he should have been freed. Though this topic involves a direct confrontation with Government the tone of the editorial is again fairly mild.

Another theme (touched on before) running through much of World's arguments is that 'We do not accept apartheid, but we must use it to develop'. This is true both of its general political editorials and - to anticipate the later more detailed

discussion of these issues - of its more specific concerns with Bantustans or the Urban Bantu Councils. A clear statement of this approach is given, for example, in an editorial of 18 October: 'Well, let's get on with it, then', 'we regard the Bantustan programme as a transitional feature of the history of this land', but meanwhile Africans are in a half-way state, so let the Government go on with development of the Bantustans. Four days later World was urging Africans who were eligible to vote in the second Transkei General Election, because 'the second Parliament of the Transkei will be even more important than the first'. Soweto Africans were also urged to vote in the Urban Bantu Council elections, and the Government's refusal to develop Soweto as a Bantustan was a 'smack in the face' for urban Africans (8.2.1968).

World's general approach to national politics was therefore, in most instances, a decidedly cautious and restrained one, with criticism, but very little outright condemnation of the Government or of any of its Ministers or imputation of morally evil attitudes.

Post, as indicated, had relatively less to say on South African politics in general, it in fact had only five editorials in this category in 1968 (and six in 1967). Post's editorials are usually more precisely focused on some particular topic or current event, for instance the demise of the Liberal Party (28.4.1968), Eric Louw's death - Post frankly saw no reason for not speaking ill of the dead: 'Death of a Fanatic' (30.6.1968) - and 'Blaar Coetzee's attack on Indians' (13.10.1968). As the above examples suggest it is also more personalised - a specific Minister is singled out for attack, by name, whereas World is impersonal.

Post, not surprisingly in view of its readership, is concerned not only with Africans but with Coloureds and Indians as well, as in the editorial on Blaar Coetzee above, but even apart from this its range of editorial interests is wider than World's

as in its concern with the loss to freedom of the Liberal Party's dissolution.

Post's political editorials are typified, in contrast to those of World, and in a different way to those of Rand Daily Mail by a political rhetoric cast in clear-cut moral terms: 'Justice', 'human rights', 'democracy', 'square deal'. This rhetoric is used, sometimes to condemn specific abuses or acts of injustice (and will be considered below) but often - though less in 1968 than in previous years - to make a rather vague, general plea for a better society. The editorials on South African ideological politics (7.10.1967) and 'Transplant - match it by reforms' (9.12.1967) are examples of this. Another example (representative of a theme common over the years) in a positive sense is the editorial on the need to 'build a great nation':

> 'This is POST's constant theme. South Africa must become a great nation ... let us work to create a nation which is outstanding in the modern world. To do it we must use the talents of all our marvellous people. In this way, and only in this way, will we produce the great nation that is the aim and object of every patriot. Come on, let's give it a go!'

Post's approach in these editorials is just as vague and general as that of World, but it is couched in much more rhetorical terms of moral right and wrong, whereas World's approach is deliberately low key.

Consistent with this approach Post generally eschews the 'We must use apartheid to our advantage'theme. The Bantustans are, for example, dismissed as a sham in 'Are Bantustans real, Mr Botha?' (10.11.1968), and, although it favours participation in Urban Bantu Council elections, it does so very grudgingly.

Because of translation problems it was not feasible to make as detailed an analysis of Ilanga editorials, but from what evidence there is it would seem that its attitudes are somewhat inconsistent - as one African journalist remarked, 'It (Ilanga) alternatively blames and thanks the Minister'. In general it tends to be restrained in its criticisms, like its harness-mate World. Like World, Ilanga occasionally uses the 'make use of apartheid' argument. On 10 January it said 'although we are sceptical of separate development we must make full use of it to achieve our ends' and on 9 March it supported Kwa Mashu Township (Durban) being made part of a Bantustan.

There are a number of striking exceptions to Ilanga's generally 'moderate' tone, in the form of comments which seem to be an indication of resentment beneath the surface, a resentment which sometimes carries a tinge of Zulu rather than of African nationalism. One such was that on the intervention of whites in the Zulu royal succession as they had done 'from the days of Cetshwayo ... Cetshwayo tried to root them out' (5.10.1968). A theme which comes through from time to time is that 'our leaders have been silenced'.

The Rand Daily Mail's political editorials, as has been shown, cover to a considerable extent different subject matter from those of the African newspapers. They also differ very considerably in structure, tone and theme. Rand Daily Mail editorials generally have, as one would expect from the higher educational level of their audience, a much more extensive vocabulary and a more elaborate grammar and syntax. Their arguments are developed in more detail and with more supporting facts, hence they carry more weight as arguments, than those of World, Post or Ilanga. In the great majority of instances a 'text' for the argument is provided by something specific, which forms a natural basis for the discussion of principle that follows.

More important than these differences in complexity are the differences in the forthrightness and vigour with which the

arguments are driven home, and the strength with which criticisms are voiced. The Rand Daily Mail's missiles are designed to wound more deeply than those of Post, or a fortiori World or Ilanga. It is not only the velocity of the projectile but its weight which is calculated to do the damage. Because the condemnation of some Government measure comes at the end of a long, reasoned and therefore (presumably) authoritative argument it cannot so readily be tolerated as either even stringent criticism based on moral rhetoric or as mildly-worded reproof.

Apart from this the tone of Rand Daily Mail editorials as compared to those of Post corresponds to a remarkable extent to the picture drawn by Graham Martin (Martin, 1967) of the 'armchair statesman' as opposed to the 'People's Tribune' editorial writer. The tone of the former implies a superior authority, '... superior ... power of insight' to those he is criticising, i.e. the Government usually, and tends to identify the reader with this 'superior insight', whereas the 'People's Tribune' does not assay to argue on equal terms so much as to identify with the down-trodden, with 'Us' plain men 'down here', and to lay bare the oppressive machinations of 'Them' 'up there'. The former tone implies not only wisdom but responsibility in its readership, the latter implies lack of knowledge - but common sense - passivity and vulnerability. Much of the editorial writing in Post is close to this model, with its frequent use of 'us', its breezy, mischievous schoolboy manner, its impish humour. World, on the other hand, certainly does not lack dignity but it does lack weight and authority.

Lastly, the Rand Daily Mail, like other white papers but unlike the African ones, bases many of its arguments, not only on moral, but on economic grounds, or occasionally on the need to avoid revolution or to retain world goodwill, in a word on expedient or perhaps more accurately, utilitarian grounds. All these arguments are, of course, calculated to appeal to whites rather than to Africans.

Examples of these characteristics will be given in the discussion that follows. To take the last, but most specific, point first. Several Rand Daily Mail editorials drive home the lack of economic feasibility of apartheid and its cost to the economy.

'Pointless Effort', for example (10.9.1968) indicates the extreme slowness and costliness of creating (a) Border industries and (b) New jobs in the Bantustans; in the former case the cost worked out at about R9,400 per job, in the latter R11,500. 'Why the Government should want to pursue such grossly uneconomic activity at a time like this is hard to comprehend ... What cannot be assessed is what this heavily subsidised industrialisation is going to mean to established industries in the main growth areas. It might be possible to take a less critical view if the policy had a chance of achieving its "socio-political goals"' but 'like the Bantustan policy as a whole, there is no reasonable possibility of this.' Again in 'Facts for Realists' (26.11.1968) the Mail argues that apartheid cannot work in modern industrial society and 'Apartheid and the Manpower Shortage' (19.6.1968) points to the waste of labour resources involved in the industrial colour bar. On the converse of the shield the point is made (12.7.1968) that economic development will bring about political change in South Africa. Although this theme is not entirely absent in African newspapers, for example, in Post's editorial of 29 January 1967, on the Government refusal of economic integration, their approach in most cases is from the side of the underpaid or discriminated against African worker, whether in industry or the professions. Similarly the appeal is not to economic well-being in abstract terms, but to economic and social justice. This will be discussed later, under race discrimination.

The theme that the removal of the grievances of the African population is a necessity for national survival in face of external threats is put cogently by the Mail in an editorial 'Not by Arms Alone' (18.8.1968), quoting a senior South African general's statement in a lecture that faced with a guerilla campaign 'Once you lose the confidence of the indigeous population you lose the war'. The 1500 Africans prosecuted daily under the Pass Laws, for

example, constitute, the Mail felt 'a daily toll of suffering, anxiety, hardship and bitterness that must make General Fraser tremble'. Similarly on 28 September, in an editorial 'Fighting the Reds', the Mail quoted a Stellenbosch professor to drive home the point that 'the best way to oppose Communism is to strengthen the democratic process, not erode it; ... (to build) a society here in which the underprivileged are uplifted'. There are occasional warnings of a similar character in African newspapers, e.g. World on 6 August 1968 considers that Africans' loyalty to South Africa in war may be tempered by the frustrations under which they labour.

It would be gravely misleading to suggest that all editorials on Africans' (or other blacks') position in the society are couched in terms primarily of expediency. Several editorials are based on arguments of political morality. For example the editorial of 10 December 1968 is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On rather a different plane the honesty of various aspects of apartheid is called into question, as in 'Great Sham' (14.8.1968) re apartheid for Coloureds. Further, editorials not specifically directed to such themes often do contain explicit or implicit moral evaluations, for instance the reference (above) to a 'daily toll of suffering ... and bitterness' is an implicit condemnation of the iniquity of the Pass Laws that cause this. Nevertheless it is certainly true that the 'utilitarian' approach, as an argument rather than as the tone or phrasing of the argument, is far more common in the Rand Daily Mail - and probably in other white newspapers - than it is in the African ones.

It is hard to find editorials in all three newspapers which are directly comparable. Though not a specifically political issue the handling of student troubles at Fort Hare affords a useful illustration of the different styles of Rand Daily Mail, Post and World. The three editorials are quoted in extenso.

Rand Daily Mail

HARDLY IN CHARACTER (6.10.1968)

There was a time when Fort Hare had an enviable reputation as an emerging university where the accepted academic traditions of Western society were cherished. How does its reputation stand now? In the past few weeks we have seen a complete breakdown of communications between the college authorities and the major part of the student body. The result was a sit-in protest followed by a mass suspension of students. Then came an invitation by the college authorities to the students so suspended to re-apply for admission. Now we learn that 21 of the 296 suspended students have been refused readmission.

This is surely an excessively harsh and elaborate way to try to maintain discipline. The students who were suspended had to travel all the way back from their homes scattered across the country, accompanied by a parent or guardian, at their own expense. Then pledges has to be signed that grievances would be ventilated only in certain approved ways. A sizeable number of students have been screened out in the process. Thus had the price of protest been set high and written large.

It is impossible to visualise this sort of thing happening in one of the 'White' universities. Certainly nothing like it occurred after the recent sit-in at the University of Cape Town even though that was a much more serious affair in its way. The Fort Hare suspensions and expulsions confirm the impression, now widely held, that this institution, along with the other tribal colleges, is run on reformatory rather than university lines. In the circumstances, the quality of education must be affected adversely. Minds cannot be cultivated properly in an atmosphere of such constraint.

Post

LET'S HEAR ALL ABOUT THE FORT HARE AFFAIR (6.10.1968)

Let's hear a little more honesty about the 21 students who will not be allowed back to the University College of Fort Hare.

Up till now University authorities have been stonily silent. When the trouble started POST phoned the Rector, Professor J. M. de Wet who said that he wished he knew what the trouble was all about. He had tried to find out, but had been unable to do so. It seems a little odd that the Rector of a university does not know what is going on under his nose, particularly when the trouble is serious enough to have about 200 students escorted off the premises.

And now Professor de Wet says that he is not prepared to talk to the 21 students who will not be allowed back.

Another De Wet who is "die wet".

If the students were planning to shoot up the campus with Chinese-manufactured weapons, immediate and drastic action would be understood and supported. But if the students had what they thought were legitimate grievances - and POST believes this to be the case - sacking for protesting about them is very harsh punishment.

Wouldn't it be better if the whole unfortunate matter was brought out into the open? That the students were given the opportunity to defend themselves, and that the people were informed about what they had to say?

POST hopes that Mr. P. Q. Vundla, Chairman of the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans in South Africa, will hear some straight talking when he sees the Secretary for Bantu Education in Pretoria this week.

Mr Vundla and his committee will ask for a full inquiry into the causes of the student protest. Let's hope he gets it, and the air is cleared once and for all.

World

FORT HARE HAS UNEASY ATMOSPHERE

All is not well yet at Fort Hare.

Parents who went with their sons and daughters to Fort Hare have brought back the news that an atmosphere of uneasiness prevails at the College.

For one thing, it seems there is tension between the students who were on suspension and those who remained. The latter, it is suggested, feel that the striking students have been leniently dealt with. This feeling against the 'strikers' seems to be chared by some of the personnel in authority in the administration at the college.

With examinations round the corner, it is desirable that the students should now settle down and attend to their primary task in peace.

In this regard, we recommend the suggestion made by the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of the Africans (ASSECA) that a proper investigation take place as to the causes and circumstances of the recent unrest.

In that way the College will not only have solved the immediate problems but will be able to set the course of the college on a sound keel and restore the right atmosphere in the campus.

Assured of this course, all the different groups would be expected to suspend whatever points of view they have and leave the future to objective examination and counsel.

Meantime, let the college get on with its job.

First to be noted is the weight and forthrightness of Rand Daily Mail's criticisms, as compared with those of the other papers. The Mail gives a much fuller account of the course of the dispute than either of the other newspapers. This may be due in part to the presumed lesser awareness by whites than by an African of the incident, but it also enables the Mail to present a clear, logical but dramatic account of the troubles, highlighting the important points. The drama in this account is well maintained by the short, almost staccato sentences, each dealing with a different event. 'The result was a sit-in protest ... Then came an invitation ... Now we learn ...' At least as important as the style by itself is the structure of the argument, and the detail in which it is presented. To summarise:

1. Communications between college authorities and students broke down.
2. There was a sit-in protest, followed by a:

3. Suspension of many students, of whom most have been re-admitted but some refused re-admittance.
4. Returning students had to sign pledges about their future conduct; this acted as a screening process.
5. Conclusion. This harsh attitude on the authorities' part must adversely affect the quality of the education given.

The troubles at Fort Hare are put in a wider context - it will be recalled (Table 27, p. 195 and p. 197) that the Rand Daily Mail has a number of editorials on universities, whereas the African papers have few - though four of World's are on Fort Hare. First comes a reference to Western academic traditions (of free thought and debate, etc. - implied): 'There was a time when Fort Hare had an enviable reputation (and) the accepted academic traditions ... were cherished'.

Then the trouble at Fort Hare is compared to that at a sister (but white) university, Cape Town. Finally, Fort Hare and the policies under which it is run are assimilated to that of the other colleges for blacks, and by implication, the judgement on the way Fort Hare is run is generalised to the other 'tribal' colleges. None of these contexts appears in the Post or World editorials.

Post's arguments runs:

1. The Rector of the University did not know what the students' complaints were.
2. Post believes their grievances were legitimate.
3. Hence it was very harsh to sack them.
4. There should be a 'full inquiry' and the students should be given a chance to defend themselves.

World's runs:

1. There is an 'uneasy atmosphere' (partly explained) in the College.

2. This should be dispelled so that students can get back to their proper job, i.e. studying.
3. The way to do this is by a 'proper investigation' to be held.

Rand Daily Mail is not only more detailed, but more analytical. It alone categorizes what happened as a 'complete breakdown of communications' in the College. It alone points out that the type of policy pursued in this case - and generally - is inimical to sound education or to freedom of thought; World's plea for the students to be allowed to study in peace lacks the wider connotations of the Mail argument; the Post on the other hand, unlike the Mail or World does support the students' grievances as legitimate.

The Rand Daily Mail phrases its critical comments more strongly than either of the other papers. The description of Fort Hare as 'run on reformatory rather than University lines' and 'an excessively harsh and elaborate way to try to maintain discipline' (for example) are stronger than Post's 'very harsh punishment', while this, in turn, is considerably stronger than World's approach.

Secondly, the editorials provide a good example of the 'Armchair statesman' style of Rand Daily Mail, the less exalted dignity of World and the puckish irreverence illustrated briefly by Post's pun on 'Another De Wet who is die wet' (the law).

World's editorial is more personalised, 'parents ... have brought back news', and tentative, rather than decisive '... it is desirable that the students should now settle down', 'we recommend the suggestion ...', '... all the different groups would be expected'. In fairness to World, it should be noted that its editor was one of a delegation of A.S.S.E.C.A. which went to see the Principal of Fort Hare in an attempt to mediate between

authorities and students, hence an intransigent editorial line might have been unwise, and that a subsequent editorial was a little more forthright: '... it is imperative that investigations be made ... the time to act is now'.

The first half of Post's editorial is breezy, almost frivolous in tone, with its pun on 'De Wet' who is 'die wet' (the law) and its reference to 'students shooting up the campus'. The second part is seriously argued, with a soberer style, which lapses into colloquialism only at the end ('let's hope he gets it.'). The 'Tribune of the People' approach is evident at several points. The 'let's have a little more honesty' is very redolent of (say) the (British) Mirror or News of the World - 'they' are as usual trying to 'cover up, to pull the wool over "our" eyes'. Post hopes that 'Mr P. Q. Vundla ... will hear some straight talking' from the Secretary of Bantu Education. It is 'a little odd that the Rector of the university does not know what is going on under his nose'.

The other differences are of less interest in the present context. It is clear that the language and syntax of Post and World editorials are simpler than those of Rand Daily Mail.

Turning from general political policies attention will now be given to the newspapers' attitudes in a few specific fields. There is inevitably some overlap here with what has gone before, and consideration of editorials on these subjects will provide further examples of the themes and tone underlying most of the respective newspapers' writing. It is not possible to consider all aspects of newspaper policy. The following are perhaps the most relevant.

Firstly, the Bantustans. As indicated in the quantitative analysis World displays far more interest in these than do Rand Daily Mail, Post or Ilanga, possibly related to the fact that

World's editor was born in the Transkei, and maintains connections with it. It is of interest that, though there are so (comparatively) few Rand Daily Mail editorials on the Bantustans they range more widely, in that they include two editorials (4 and 21 October) on the new Ovamboland Bantustan in South-West Africa, whereas World concentrates mainly on the Transkei, and none of the African newspapers studied concern themselves with South-West Africa.

World's heavy editorial coverage given to Bantustan events, including some detailed studies of Transkei parliamentary politics, e.g. a plea (5.11.1968) for Democratic Party members to accept Cabinet seats, or a chiding of the Legislative Assembly for not keeping to the 'Rules of Debate' (22.5.1968), in itself suggests the theme 'We must use apartheid institutions' but this is given either explicit or implicit utterance in several editorials, e.g. in relation to the Tswana Bantustan - 'Make positive apartheid work' (20.9.1968) and its praise (in effect) of the Minister of Bantu Education for steps of 'positive apartheid' in relation to African education (9.7.1968). On the other hand World has a number of editorials on the Bantustans which are critical or dubious either about positive apartheid in itself, or about the way in which it is being implemented. On 28 August, for example, World attacked the Transkei constitution as 'undemocratic'. It has a vivid editorial on the new Ciskei Bantustan. After querying whether the acceptance of Bantustan status for the Ciskei by its new chief Executive Mr Mabandla represents the views of all Ciskeians, it quotes the view of Mr P. Q. Vundla (a leading Soweto politician who was born in the Ciskei): 'Ciskeian P. Q. Vundla says: "I love the Ciskei, my heart is there, but my stomach is in Johannesburg." What of the thousands of others like him?' World ('Time will tell', 16.8.1968) was rather dubious, too, about whether the Government would win Zulus' enthusiasm for a Bantustan there. A matter which obviously aroused World's concern was that of the 'white spots' in the Transkei and the 'white' area of Pondoland adjoining the Transkei: it has two editorials on this, supporting Transkei claims to these areas.

Before the 1968 election it urged people to vote because 'this second Parliament of the Transkei will be even more important than the first', with the issues of independence, economic development, etc. When Matanzima won it doubted if the result was really an endorsement of apartheid, but in any case 'Matanzima must now deliver the goods, he should have no excuses'.

Ilanga has already had brief mention in connection with its view on Bantustans - its main interest (at least in the 50% sample of editorials sampled) is in the Zulustan. Like World, it is somewhat ambivalent; it supports Kwa Mashu's becoming part of the Zulu Bantustan ('A new right at Kwa Mashu', 9.3.1968), but queries the slowness of positive apartheid in creating opportunities for Africans ('Ox-wagon pace', 11.5.1968), argues that African magistrates should be able to try whites (3.2.1968) and queries at what time a Bantustan is to be considered ripe for independence (15.6.1968). One editorial (31.8.1968) argues against the Zulu's accepting a Zulu Territorial Authority, another (5.10.1968) recommends it. A Government decision to pay all African teachers ('Good step concerning education', 28.12.1968) is welcomed, but a call is made for compulsory education.

Post, as mentioned above, has nothing specifically on developments in the Bantustans.

Rand Daily Mail emphasises the negative aspects of the Bantustan policy. Its editorials on 'Ovambo Fairy Story', for example, points out that the Bantustans are a sham, and its remark on Matanzima's election victory (6.11.1968) is that voters acted on the maxim 'If you can't beat 'em, join 'em'.

As mentioned World is far more interested in local government and local politics than the other papers examined, with no less than 25 editorials on this subject. Rand Daily Mail has only one editorial on the Urban Bantu Councils (16.4.1968),

criticising the Minister of Bantu Affairs for his blunt exposure of the very limited powers of these Councils. The Mail's other editorials in this class are on the white municipalities, mainly Johannesburg and Pretoria, but one of these, 'Threatened Metropolis' (1.4.1968) is focussed on the effects of the Physical Planning Act on the mobility of African labour into Johannesburg.

Post, too, in its one 1968 editorial (Mini-Power Councils) on local government in Soweto, is dubious - not to say caustic - about the real powers of the Urban Bantu Councils, but it finally comes round to telling people to vote for them. 'Most people think, with some reason, that the Councils will have as little power and influence as the Advisory Boards.' Post goes on to point out that, although there has been a 'stern warning to Councillors to keep out of politics' the problems of the Townships are essentially political ones, stemming from national race policy. 'But in spite of this it is up to the townships to vote...' as the Councillors will be able to demonstrate that Africans can govern themselves.

World had no such reservations about its advice to vote in 'the most important election we have had for years' - 'the future of our people does depend on who is elected to-morrow'. Like Rand Daily Mail it reacted unfavourably to the Deputy-Minister's opening address, stressing the limited nature of the Council's powers. Its 'effect ... was to raise a reaction and a frustrating mood in the minds of the people and the councillors' (29.4.1968). As early as 6 May it was complaining of disillusionment over the U.B.C. as being 'nothing more than a glorified advisory board', yet it cautioned against a boycott of the Council, while later in the year (21.11.1968) World noted the rise of a movement for urban tribal boards to represent the homeland authorities, and counselled against Africans joining them rather than supporting the U.B.C. which 'seems likely to remain with no serious function'. World in fact made frequent editorial comment on the Soweto U.B.C.'s affairs as well as those of Pretoria, Dobsonville and other Reef towns. On one occasion it was against African National Congress intimidation of voters.

Ilanga welcomed the new U.B.C. in Kwa Mashu (Durban) (30.3.1968), but subsequently (27.4.1968) expressed disappointment with how the U.B.C. there was working.

CHAPTER XI

PRESS PERFORMANCE: (4) SOCIAL CRITICISM

An attempt has been made to portray the fulfilment by the newspapers examined of the Crusader, or Partisan function, mainly through analysis of the subject and tone of political editorials. In giving an account of Social Criticism in the African Press and Rand Daily Mail, however, it is necessary to look not only at editorial pronouncements but also at the extent to and the way in which the reporters, news editors and sub-editors have brought social abuses of various kinds to notice. The borderline between enunciation of policy, or the Partisan function, and criticism of social evils, is of course often blurred. Some of the editorials discussed in this section could, perhaps, have been dealt with in the previous one, especially those commenting on long established institutions or practices, such as the Immorality Act, or low black wages.

Such topics are included under Social Criticism principally because they appear as relatively specific and clear social evils, as, in a sense, detachable parts of the wider system which is the field of partisan debate, and because they tend to arouse the same emotions as specific abuses, e.g. police ill-treatment of suspects or racially biased 'justice' in the courts. Hence editorials on legally enforced racial segregation, race relations (outside the legal framework) and the urban areas legislation are included in this section. Some attention will also be paid to editorials on education, labour matters and social problems.

Consideration of news items covers much the same categories, with the addition of police (judicial or penal) maladministration, and of arbitrary political actions, such as bannings. The extent to which news items and editorials (or features) are directly related, is variable.

The point has already been made (see Table 28 above), but is worth repeating here, that the African newspapers are more concerned than Rand Daily Mail with the detailed aspects of segregation, or of the urban areas legislation. Post, in particular, with over a quarter of 'political' and a sixth of all editorials in these categories, is deeply concerned with these problems (Ilanga has an equal percentage, but this represents only eight editorials). In the legal segregation category falls the Immorality Act. On October 26 in an editorial called 'Slurs on Justice' the Mail called the Act a 'revolting piece of legislation'. It caused much human suffering, was an anachronism in this day and age and was unnecessary because sexual intercourse across the colour line would never threaten the survival of the white man. Of Rand Daily Mail's thirteen editorials under the 'Urban areas' category, most were on the Limehill removals, and will be dealt with later. One editorial dealt with an inquiry by the police into pass law raiding, one attacked the ending of home ownership rights of Africans in urban areas (29 February) and one warned (24 May) of the 'strain on patience' caused by long delays at the Johannesburg pass offices. The Mail ended its editorial on the latter subject: 'We must beware of trading too long on the patience of people who have already shown almost unbelievable forbearance ... It should be remembered that the pass laws were the main grievance which sparked the tragedy of Sharpeville...'. To summarise, the Rand Daily Mail's comments on the effects of segregatory legislation (including urban areas legislation) is very limited (except for Limehill) and probably not as strongly phrased, on the whole, as some of its other editorials.

Post and World, however, both concentrate much of their attack in these sectors, and in a number of cases these draw the most anguished reactions to be found in the range of editorials. Post not only gives greater coverage (in percentage terms) then World, but as usual is stronger in its comments. Post, but not World, deals with the Immorality Act: 'This Arrogant Law' (27.10.1968) with fire and indignation. It refers to 'the shameful Immorality Act', 'this humiliating law'. It 'was the product of arrogant minds and was futile from the start', 'serves no purpose other than to smear lives needlessly and to offer a horrid weapon for blackmailers...'. Its repeal 'would be taking a healthy step towards the repeal of other Dark Ages legislation'. It is to be

noted that the reporting of Immorality Act cases in both Post and World - they are comparatively seldom reported in Rand Daily Mail, and then much less sensationally - is quite clearly not meant to stir indignation but to arouse sexual interest - or in some cases, perhaps mirth, as in the 'Case of the Pantless Predikant', as it was headlined. The only exception to this rule is where police maladministration has occurred in connection with an Immorality Act.

Both Post and World (like Rand Daily Mail) hang a criticism of the pass laws on the criticisms of a Reef magistrate who compared pass raids with the old 'press gang' system of recruiting sailors for the British Navy. The World editorial, 'Improving Race Relations' (23.2.1968) in this connection, has been analysed above (p. 210). Post and World both have editorials (11 and 8 February respectively) on influx control, Post has two (in 1967) on 'endorsing out' (in one case of a well-known African boxer, from Cape Town) and World (25.10.1968) wanted the whole Reef to be treated as one for influx control purposes. A powerful feature article in Post of 31 March, entitled 'With nothing to nowhere: a family tragedy' outlines an imaginary case illustration of the result of the recent loss of residence rights by an African who becomes unemployed. A man who is endorsed out thus, returns to a different job which is all he can get, loses that, and is endorsed out once more: 'So it's back to the "homeland" again. Back to no job, no money, no food...'. Probably the most bitterly hurtful of the measures commented on by World (also dealt with by Post (in 1967) and Mail) is the Government ban on home ownership in the urban areas. This is something that is likely to touch the middle class group to which many African journalists belong especially closely - the editor of World, for example, has a large house in Soweto. World's editorial deserves quoting at some length:

> A CRUEL BLOW
> The Government has dealt the African people a cruel blow in their new directive which provides that urban Africans shall no more build or buy houses in the urban townships ... our people invested hundreds of thousands of hard-earned cash in fine houses ... they sacrificed much for the pride, joy and security of home ownership.

> Now all that is gone.
> As far as we can see, the sole aim of this is to drive home the fact that the African is not a citizen in the urban townships but a migrant "foreign worker" whose only reason for being in the area to sell his labour.
> Dube and such communities have been a beacon to challenge the urban African to ways of dignity, responsibility, endeavour and respect for law and order...
> What is to happen to the morale of these communities now?

Many of World's editorials in the 'race relations' category are 'positive' at least in part, for example 'Breakthrough for our Ladies' is pleased at the fact that Africans are to be allowed to take part in a fashion show at Ellis Park - but 'as something on the side' - equality is wanted. Both World and Post comment favourably on a case of appropriate sentences on white men convicted of assaulting Africans. World's title is 'Justice for all', Post's 'One aching backside' (a man found guilty of beating an African was sentenced to be caned), a not untypical example of Post's rather slangy, schoolboyish approach.

Post three times during 1968 takes up the question of racially prejudiced utterances or actions by individual whites. One criticized the Dean of the University of Stellenbosch Medical School for his remarks, in a speech to Coloured students, on the 'danger' of their mixing their blood with Africans', and another strongly criticized a Cape magistrate for his rudeness to a Coloured accused - a case also dealt with editorially by Rand Daily Mail. One Post editorial condemns Africans' servility to whites.

As might be expected editorial comments on discrimination, injustice or gross failures of provision in the fields of labour and of education - a subject clearly very close to the heart of

the editor of World - are not infrequent, and sometimes extremely hard-hitting. Social conditions, including malnutrition, slum housing, etc. also provide a few examples. Rand Daily Mail several times comes back to the shortage of skilled labour caused by the refusal to let Africans (and to some extent other blacks) do skilled jobs, once or twice to the results of the Physical Planning Act in relation to the labour supply, and to low wages. It also deals with the question of African trade unionism, and the Government's conflict with the Trades Union Council of South Africa over the latter's attempt to include African Trade Unions. An example of an editorial on the latter topic is 'Undermining the Unions' (27.5.1968):

> ... the massive and inevitable economic integration of voiceless Africans is threatening the bargaining power of the registered unions.
> (It is) advisable to give Africans responsible trade union guidance. That, allied to the recognition of what has come to be accepted as an elementary right in Western industrialised society, would be more likely to prevent African eyes from straying to dubious quarters for aid and inspiration.

In general, with some exceptions, the arguments used tend to be economic rather than moral ones, the view of the Mail the planner's rather than those of the man whose 'foot the shoe pinches'.

A considerable proportion of Rand Daily Mail's concern with schooling has to do with the white (mostly Transvaal) educational system but it does have several editorials on the lack of schooling for Africans. One editorial 'Inequality Unsurpassed' (25.1.1968) discusses the bad state of African education, with particular reference to the high failure rate in the Matriculation examination. A vigorous call for better health and nutritional services for Africans is contained in a Rand Daily Mail editorial of 27 May, entitled 'A Social Scandal':

> (Though) Non-Whites live better here than elsewhere in Africa ... this is a prosperous modern state ... (and) from time to time we are reminded that some of the social shortcomings under our discriminatory system are scandalous by all civilized standards.

The Mail goes on to refer to the shortage of African doctors and to the extent of malnutrition in Natal: '... a revolutionary approach to (Africans') health problems and medical care is essential. When will the public conscience be sufficiently stirred to ensure it?'

On 30 October the Mail returned to the charge with an editorial 'Still a Scandal'. Despite Government denials (it claimed) malnutrition among Africans is so widespread that if it is not checked South Africa will be another India.

Although the African newspapers' editorial coverage of 'labour' matters is both absolutely and relatively less than that of the Mail it compares fairly well with it as Social Criticism, is more detailed and sometimes, in the case of both Post and World, infused with considerable passion. An editorial by Post (1.10.1967) on low wages in the gold mines - interesting, incidentally, in view of the financial connexions between the owner of Post and the gold mining interests - is worth quoting in extenso.

> Give them a New Deal
> The giant Anglo-American Corporation, which controls most of South Africa's mines, celebrates its Golden Anniversary this week.
> During these 50 years, the company has made enormous profits - for itself, for its shareholders, and for South Africa as a whole.
> Without the mines, South Africa would be a much poorer country and we are all better off because of them. For this, the mines deserve praise. And

they can be proud of their contribution to South Africa.
POST pays tribute to all miners - Black and White - for their courage. Time and again, miners have risked - and given - their lives to save a colleague without thought of the other person's race.
We can all be proud of these men and there is no praise high enough for their deeds.
BUT THERE CAN BE NO PRAISE, NO PRIDE WHEN IT COMES TO THE MINES' TREATMENT OF THE AFRICAN MINER.
The black miner is the forgotten man in South Africa.
Thousands have died underground. Daily they risk their lives to bring riches to this country. They are forced, because of the Migratory Labour Laws, to live far away from their wives and children. To live in a strange, unnatural world of men, where there is little hope of mixing with decent women.
We accept that the mines oppose the migratory labour system and would prefer to house the miners with their families.
BUT THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR PAYING A MAN 40 CENTS A DAY.
We accept that the mines tried to give African miners better jobs and that this scheme was wrecked by Nationalist extremists.
BUT THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR PAYING A MAN 40 CENTS A DAY.
Forty cents is the minimum daily wage paid to an African underground miner. On top of this he gets free food and lodging.
There are seven other underground grades and the most an underground worker can earn is R1.43c. a day.
In other words, African miners earn between about R12 and R45 a month.
We accept that the mines have run into financial difficulties over the past few years. Economists tell us that gold is costing more and more to bring to the surface. We accept this.
BUT THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR PAYING A MAN 40 CENTS A DAY.

A few years ago, in his annual report, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, Chairman of Anglo-American, admitted that African miners were being paid too little. He added that something would have to be done about their pay.
THERE WOULD BE NO BETTER WAY FOR THE COMPANY TO CELEBRATE ITS "50 GOLDEN YEARS" THAN TO GIVE A SQUARE DEAL TO ITS BLACK MINERS, TO WHOM WE ALL OWE SO MUCH.
And, because of the country's laws, there is only one way of giving them a square deal - by paying them a decent wage.

Post has several other editorials in these fields, for example: 'Chance - not charity' (give African workers a chance to rise by acquiring skills) (19.5.1968); 'Classroom crisis' (2.6. 1968) re black teachers who are leaving teaching because of the low pay; 'Laws won't stop Knifing' (but crime will be reduced by better social conditions) (14.1.1968); 'Spending a Million' (money for heart transplant work should rather be spent in coping with other (social) diseases) (28.1.1968); and 'Give us more Buses' (to Soweto) (7.7.1968).

World's editorials on labour mostly emphasise low or discriminatory wages, lack of training and opportunities. Some examples are: 'More cash for our railwaymen' (15.3.1968); 'Technical training needed' (of Africans in industry) (22.4.1968); 'Give us the jobs' ('today the colour bar and job reservation are an expensive and unwanted luxury', 5.6.1968); 'More needs to be done' ('to increase basic salaries (of African workers) to a minimum which will place all workers above the breadline', 3.4.1968); and - perhaps the most heart-felt, 'This is unjust' ('unjust, intolerable' pay discrimination against African doctors) (19.7. 1968) - this last editorial is perhaps another example of African journalists' (leader writers on World are usually black, on Post white) identification with the African middle and professional classes.

Though World, like Post, Rand Daily Mail and even Ilanga, commented editorially on the Mafeje affair - 'South African students stand firm' (19.8.1968) - and it had no less than four editorials (one of which has been analysed above) on the Fort Hare troubles - the editor of World was one of a delegation who went to see the Principal of Fort Hare to try and reach a settlement - the great majority of World's editorials on education dealt with African schools, and teacher training. The 28 editorials in this category covered a range of topics, for example changes in the primary school curriculum, the newly-launched 'self-help' body, A.S.S.E.C.A. (Association for the Educational and Cultural Advance of Africans), designed to provide money and service from the African community to improve African education, the establishment of compulsory education in one of the Bantustans ('Ideals put into practice', 18.3.1968), and the transfer of African education to the Bantu Territorial Authorities, e.g. 'Wise words on our Education', (9.7.1968). A few of the editorials do constitute 'Social Criticism'. One such was the reaction to the very poor 1967 Matriculation results in Soweto: 'A Crying Shame' (26.1.1968), where the blame was explicitly laid at the door of the Department of Bantu Education. Two others, 'Salaries still lag behind', 26.9.1968, and 'Decent Wages for African Teachers', 12.9.1968, criticized African teachers' pay. In general, the editorials in this category reflect great concern for African education, but they are mostly 'positive', or focused on what Africans can do to help themselves.

The World has a few examples of Social Criticism in relation to social welfare and to urban services, e.g. 'Give us back our Buses (to Soweto, 13.11.1968) and 'Soweto needs crecreational facilities' (4.9.1968); but many are neutral - 'Hooliganism is a real problem' (5.9.1968), 'A Problem is tackled' (alcoholism, 8.10.1968). In general World lacks the sort of sociological analyses appearing in Post which trace evils such as crime back to bad social conditions, hence form a criticism of the latter.

Turning from examination of Social Criticism in editorials to its occurrence in news columns and feature articles it is again necessary to use mainly qualitative (or 'impressionistic')

data to support the sassertions made. This is the more necessary in the case of Social Criticism in that even a complete (rather than a sample) count of items which contained Social Criticism would have been far more laborious than that of editorials, while their evaluation would have presented much the same difficulties. Because of the great variability over time in the appearance of Social Critic items and the fact that a series of items might follow each other in quick succession (in a 'developing' story, or a 'campaign') sampling would have been inappropriate. Nevertheless some quantitative data was collected, which, despite its crudity, does suggest some tentative conclusions (see Table 29).

Analysis by items alone would have been misleading, because they varied so enormously - not necessarily, or probably in a random way - in size and prominence. Hence the Prominence Index. This gives only a very rough-and-ready weighting to the items, but it is arguably much better than no weighting at all, and in this case does suggest some conclusions. A final caveat: the numbers are, of course, very small and cover - at least for Rand Daily Mail - a very short period.

Despite these shortcomings certain tentative conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, Post had the largest number of items per issue and the largest Prominence Index per issue and per item. This finding is reinforced - but, of course, partly caused - by the fact that while the Rand Daily Mail had no front page leads containing Social Criticism out of 21 issues, and World three out of 64, Post had no less than three out of eleven. Post's three leads were on race classification ('No Room at the Inn for Joseph and Mary' - an African married to a Coloured, they had nowhere to go, 14.1.1968), one on urban areas legislation ('Endorsed Out!', 4.2.1968), and one on police maladministration ('Cops made us all have sex, say five', 31.3.1968). World's leads include two on police misbehaviour ('Court told of Torture by Three Cops', 12.1.1968, and 'Cops fined R30 for torture', 23.2.1968) and one on African education ('Matric. results - over half failed', 26.1.1968 - it will be remembered that there was an editorial on this subject in World on the same day). The fact that Post, as a Sunday newspaper, is more sensational than either of the other newspapers,

TABLE 29 - 'Social Critic' Items in three Newspapers, 1968

	Rand Daily Mail January		World January-March		Post January-March	
	No.	Prominence	No.	Prominence	No.	Prominence
Segregation, e.g. Group Areas, 'black spots'	8	28	3	7	4	41
Urban areas legislation	2	3	16	50	8	53
Race relations, attitudes	1	1	6	27	1	2
Social conditions, incl. housing, wages, etc.	2	2	8	27	3	31
Education	3	3	6	32	2	14
Police, courts, prisons	3	7	14	50	6	31
Political	1	2	6	32	2	3
Other, Black	1	2	3	7	3	8
" White	20	42	0	0	0	0
Total	41	88	62	232	29	183
Average per issue	1.95	4.38	0.97	3.63	2.55	16.55
Average 'Prominence' per article		2.1		3.7		6.3

Notes

1. All the categories of Social Criticism, except the last, 'White', refer to blacks (mainly in fact Africans).

2. 'Political' refers to acts such as bannings or detention without trial, not to ordinary political transactions.

3. Because Rand Daily Mail is a much larger newspaper than the other two, and a thorough search therefore more arduous, only one month's issues were examined.

4. The Prominence figure was a very crude measure, based on column inches and proportion of page covered by the items, whether it was the main article on a given page, whether it had heavy headlines, was accompanied by a photograph or was on the front page. Because the newspapers differed in size and layout two items scored the same but on different newspapers would have a different absolute size and impact.

5. There are unavoidable gaps in the coverage of all three papers - some issues were not available when the analysis was done.

and is a tabloid, is likely to mean that items generally are likely to receive a higher Prominence Index (are for example more likely to be the main or the only item on a page) in it, but this in itself is likely to explain only a part of the difference.

Secondly, while Rand Daily Mail leads World in general, if one considers Social Criticism regarding blacks only the difference disappears; in fact World takes the lead in its average Prominence Index per issue.

Because of the small samples not too much weight should be placed on differences or similarities of relative distribution of Social Critic articles by subject matter in the three newspapers. It would appear, however, that the pattern in the two African newspapers was broadly similar, while Rand Daily Mail had a markedly different emphasis.

As important as the number or even the prominence of Social Critic articles is the way these are expressed. In general - with some notable exceptions - emotion is played down in World's Social Critic articles, in Post it is played up. The Rand Daily Mail does tend to emphasise its Social Criticism - especially where certain occurrences, as reported, form part of a sustained 'campaign' as over the Limehill removals. World sometimes reports events which can be taken to constitute Social Criticism apparently without any thought or suggestion that it is to be interpreted in this way, for example 'Johnny has no arm - now he has no country' - an African footballer deported, but the story is told matter-of-factly, as if he had been the victim of an accident rather than an injustice. Another example is the unemotional recounting of the story 'Alleged mealie thief shot dead' - an African shot by a farmer - though the story itself was given large headlines and accompanied by a picture.

On the other hand articles like 'Pass Inquiry' where the 'magistrate compared the police pass raid methods to "the press gang system"' or P. Q. Vundla's remarks on how 'Influx Control harasses family life' are clear and sometimes vigorous attacks on injustices or abuses. Occasionally the regular 'Jojo' cartoon (Jojo is the typical 'little man', predominantly a funny figure, but sometimes making wise comments) carries overtones of Social Crticism, as when Jojo becomes embroiled with the hopelessly inefficient telephone system in Soweto, but generally the cartoon is apolitical and not critical.

Post's Social Criticism in news (and feature) columns is in most cases clearly expressed as such. 'Hero gets the boot from South Africa' (31.1.1968, p.15) dealing with a Rhodesian illegal immigrant who helped the police to capture a dangerous criminal may be contrasted with the deportation story in World mentioned above - the headline, with its implied contrast between heroism and rude ingratitude ('kicked out') epitomises the different approach.

'Exile returns - to new ban', one of the rather rare comments on political injustice, carries the same sort of overtone - the article dealt with a man 'banned' to a rural area, now allowed to return to Orlando, but 'banned' from working in Johannesburg.

'Last letters of Man with nowhere to go', dealing with a suicide caused by the Pass Laws, is fairly unemotional, but the man's last letters are quoted in full, so as to give quite a vivid picture.

More whole-hearted in their indignation are articles such as 'The Bunglers! Who are keeping out kids out of school', 'View from a shack window' - a photograph of one of the blocks of flats, largely unused, built for whites in Port Elizabeth while 25,000 Africans live in shacks, 'Stop this farce, Schoeman' on bad

transport services to Soweto and 'Making S.A. a land comfortable for dogs' (feature) or 'The Ring of Laws around Africans is tightened' (feature).

The Rand Daily Mail is usually less vivid and sensational than Post in its Social Criticism, but leaves the reader in little doubt as to the newspaper's feelings on the issue, or occurence. A few examples are 'Race row brewing again at Crags' - re Coloured children at a white school, or 'White gang wrecks home of Indian woman'. The half of Rand Daily Mail's articles that do not deal with blacks in South Africa include a wide range of issues, some of them explicitly or implicitly political, such as 'Professor fears motive of Varsity funds bill' or 'Tobacco men ask: "Why was our warning censored?"' (Rhodesia), others deal with shortcomings in services, either to the general public or to whites in particular, for example 'Resign threat by doctors' (because of poor hospital services in Natal) or re shortage of white specialist teachers in the Transvaal, others deal with a variety of incidents which have no or little political or racial connotation, such as a lawyer's criticism of new court procedure (in a fraud case) or 'Children used as pawns - counsel' (divorce case).

As in general news and editorial coverage, though to a lesser extent, there is great divergence between 'Social Critic' coverage in Rand Daily Mail and Post and World. As indicated stories like the rudeness of a Cape magistrate to a Coloured accused was reported and received editorial comment in all three newspapers. While a report on alleged police ill-treatment of suspects was reported in World and Rand Daily Mail (headlined 'Torture Inquiry for Crack Murder Cops' and 'Probe ordered into police assault allegation' respectively) very many of the reports in World or Post do not appear in the Mail and to a lesser extent vice versa. However, one issue that was treated extensively in all three - indeed in almost all South African newspapers - was the Limehill story. The treatment of the events of this case will therefore be compared in the three papers. Reports, feature articles and to a lesser extent editorials on Limehill and associated removals appeared at intervals over the whole year - it may be mentioned that the African Press contained some accounts

of removals elsewhere that did not appear, or did not seem to be featured, in the White Press - and only a (hopefully) more or less representative selection of reports, editorials, etc. can be quoted.

The Limehill removals first received publicity early in 1968, as a result of reports from missionaries in the area from which the people were being moved. Later in the year Limehill received much more attention, because largely as a result of the move to largely unprepared sites with extremely few medical and other facilities there was a heavy toll in sickness and death. The press publicity then increased greatly, and (as mentioned) elicited considerable editorial comment, as well as stimulating political controversy. Although it was the Natal (white) newspapers which originally took the lead in publicizing the abuses perpetrated, Rand Daily Mail took up the issue and gave it weighty treatment. Broadly speaking, the African newspapers, though they did make their own investigations, gave the story less intensive and extensive coverage.

Rand Daily Mail had six articles on Limehill in the last four days of January, two of them giving the story considerable prominence. One of these, a half-page article on the editorial page, entitled 'The Dispossessed' was a detailed, mainly factual and objective account of the removals. One pungent comment is, however - as far as could be judged - a statement quoted from an African woman who was interviewed: 'Sometimes I wonder: Do they fly over South Africa looking for waste land, and when they find it say "Yes, that's where we'll put the black people"'. On 29 January and again on 2 and 15 February the Mail commented editorially on the removals. The first of these, 'Callous Move', said (in part):

> The people to be moved are not accustomed to a great deal of comfort or a high standard of living. But the mind boggles at what lies immediately ahead of them.
> They are to be taken into the bare veld ... They will be lent an unspecified number of tents to

> live in until they have built their own homes at their own expense.
> All this is the reality, the sheer inhumanity of part of the "separate development" policy in practice. Its callousness calls for a nation-wide shout of protest. Will it be heard?

The editorial of 2 February imagines a television film being made on the removals. It commences:

> There are times when irresponsible and vicious things are said about South Africa abroad. But there are also times when the truth is more devastating than the image, bad as it is.

It ends:

> What would the viewers (overseas) think and feel about it all? Surely that South Africa is a country that treats human beings like cattle - when they are Black and have no rights.

Post has no editorial on Limehill in the early part of the year, but does have a two-page feature on 4 February, entitled: 'If this is Paradise - Heaven help us!'.

World has one news article: 'Parliament discusses removals', on 14 February (a fairly short article on page 2) and a fairly strong editorial 'Let's be Humane':

> The removal has shocked many ... the change is not of their choosing ... The least that could have been done at Limehill was to provide the people beforehand with proper homes, instead of just dumping them...'

In the last six weeks of the year, the extensive incidence of diarrhoea and other diseases due to poor public health conditions at Limehill became known. In this instance World gave appreciable coverage. As early as 18 November it had a photograph of people loading their possessions on a lorry for the move to Limehill and a longish article with heads and sub-heads: '14 Deaths Claimed'. 'Tribesman talks of feeling horror'. 'Flies float in drinking water - allegation'. On 19th World reported further deaths in the Limehill complex: 'There is an urgent need for emergency medical relief for the Africans in and around the Limehill complex where disease, including typhoid, has caused several deaths'. Other articles appeared on 3 and 13 December, in each case carried prominently on page 2.

Post reported the results of its investigations at Limehill on 1 December in a long, detailed but factual account. It quotes Archibishop Hurley as saying that 'there appeared to have been a regrettable lack of communication between the resettlement areas and the Department of Health'. On the same date Post had a strong editorial 'Plan for the Present too!' arguing that the Government's grand long-term plans for 125 towns and cities planned on modern lines should not divert them from the urgent need for providing adequate facilities in the present: 'We marvel at the ability of top officials to overlook the present suffering of so many people while planning on paper their future comfort'.

> The Citizens' Action Committee has told the State President that the resettled Africans - 203,500 moved from the cities to the homelands by February this year - are living in areas that often lack the bare essentials of civilization: water, latrines, shops, schools, clinics ... The resettlement programme has separated husbands from wives, children from parents...

Rand Daily Mail had articles on:

2 December: 'Priest lists 30 deaths in "Black spot" sites'

4 December: 'Limehill disease check started'

5 December: 'Limehill Demand: Full Probe':

> Dr. Aubrey Radford, M.P. for Durban Central and United Party spokesman on health, yesterday demanded a full-scale investigation of reported deaths and widespread illness in the Limehill-Vergelegen area ... Father Nelson (the Roman Catholic priest in the area) challenged assurances by the Department of Health officials that the situation was "under control" and that there was "no cause for alarm".

On 12 December a one-and-a-half page article, with three photographs, one of graves, one of the tents and one of a funeral at Limehill, gave a vivid picture of conditions there. One quotation gives something of the flavour of the article:

> "I don't know what we've done," Mrs. Mcunu said, responding to our greetings. "We are dying of hunger and a plague has struck us at this village..."
> Mr. Mcunu ... suffers from swollen legs, feet and hands. He also has a dry cough and spits blood.

The Rand Daily Mail had editorials on Limehill (and other) removals on 5, 18, 24 and 28 December. The first of these, 'Limehill Scandal' can be taken as representing the tone of the rest.

> What has happened in the Limehill "resettlement" area in Northern Natal is utterly scandalous. People have died and others are very ill, because of what official medical authority considers to be "apparently the result of insanitary conditions".

It goes on to give the background to the removals and the question of amenities, mending:

> What is beyond question is that the warnings given against such inhuman execution of Government policy have been proved to be only too well founded. Will the authorities learn from such appalling results. We wonder.

To sum up, the main comments that can be made on the Rand Daily Mail and the two African newspapers' treatment of Social Criticism are:

1. The latter compare quite favourably with the former in the amount of Social Criticism carried (relative, that is, to the size of the newspaper) and in the prominence given it.

2. As far as World is concerned the proviso must be made that the comparison is with the amount of Social Criticism relating to black people in the Rand Daily Mail. The African newspapers carry extremely little Social Criticism except that relating to blacks - of course, the line of demarcation is not always a clear-cut one.

3. There is a large area where the coverage of the two types of newspaper does not overlap. This is true, in particular, of the more 'routine' daily subjects of Social Criticism, including police brutality and inadequate services for urban Africans. Related to this theme is a tendency for the Rand Daily Mail to select certain themes or issues and concentrate its attack upon these, whereas the two African newspapers scatter their shot much more widely.

4. Though relatively the African newspapers compare favourably with Rand Daily Mail, absolutely (e.g. in number of words - though these have not actually been counted - or square inches of photograph) the latter often - not always - has a larger coverage of a given item.

5. More important, its coverage frequently is more detailed, better written and builds up to produce a more convincing total impact than that of World or Post. The article of 12 December, illustrated by Peter Magubane's photographs, of 'The Dispossessed' are cases in point, though some of Post's articles, such as 'The View from a Shack Window' (above, p. 242) or World's article (2.2.1968) on 'Soweto's school in the Veld' also make their respective points to considerable effect. Part of the effect in each case is due to the use of explicitly critical or emotionally coloured language, and in this Rand Daily Mail possibly surpasses Post, certainly surpasses World. More important is the selection and arrangement of factual material, including the use of direct quotation (as in the examples given from Rand Daily Mail and World

in stories on Limehill), and contrast - as in 'The View from a Shack Window'. The subject, composition, quality of production and even placing of pictures is, of course, only less important - sometimes more important - than the text in producing a given impact (for one interesting recent treatment of photographic effects in relation to social values, see Jones, 1972). Rand Daily Mail is usually superior on all these points, thanks to what appear to be generally higher standards of reporting, photography and sub-editing.

Differences of course exist between the treatment of news stories, feature articles and editorials: generally these constitute an ascending order of creative effort in support of conveying a particular point of view, of subjective comment as opposed to objective facts. Despite the widespread questioning of the traditional differentiation between 'fact' and 'comment' - not only as a reflection of Press reality but as an ideal - the distinction is to be observed in the newspapers studied. News articles in all three newspapers are broadly factual and reasonably 'objective' - given the particular focus of attention - whereas editorials depend on argument. The different editorial styles of the three newspapers have received fairly detailed analysis, whereas news (or feature) presentation has been dealt with only very sketchily. However, the style and the tone, the character underlying the editorial writing in each newspaper does to an extent inform and colour its news and feature writing as well, so that much of what is said above about editorials has some relevance to what appears in the rest of the newspaper.

6. One further point needs making. Rand Daily Mail is writing for a very different audience from the two African newspapers, and to a much lesser extent the audience of the two African newspapers differ - even in the different psychological approach to a Sunday as opposed to a daily newspaper - hence the impact of Social Criticism (as of other material) will differ, and the appeal made to each group must also differ. The exposé of a social abuse - such as Limehill - will no doubt act as a stimulus to moral indignation for white as for black readers, but that the connotations - and whatever implications for action there may be - will be different is too obvious to require stressing. Of course, in the absence of further field research, the differential impact can only be guessed at, but the point clearly needs to be borne in mind in any evaluation of content of the newspapers concerned.

The last four chapters - and the thesis as a whole - have been and are concerned with the content of African newspapers. The thorough study of African periodicals was beyond the scope of the project. Nevertheless it should be mentioned here that Drum, which had so fine a record as a 'gadfly' in the 1950s, but which for some years appeared only as a fortnightly insert to Post, again came out as a separate magazine from April 1968. Although according to the then editor explicitly designed as primarily an entertainment rather than a political or Social Critic organ, it did contain besides articles on celebrities and 'social' events, crime and sport, an appreciable amount of political coverage and a certain amount of Social Criticism. Most notably the latter included an article on 'The skyline locations' (domestic servants housed in 'white' flat blocks, April 1968), 'Bribery - cancer of the big city', 'Ciskei in the shadow of death' and 'The miner is YOU - is he paid enough'. Political articles included inter alia one on the Nigerian civil war, the 'Days of May' in Paris, Kenneth Kaunda, 'Mrs Sobukwe's hope dwindles' and 'U.B.C. - plenty of pomp but how much power?'. An article in the latter part of the year on an African prostitute 'Bitch-who-never-dies', who had white as well as black customers, may have been responsible (it has been suggested by Drum staff) for the deportation of a white reporter and the refusal of the Government in February 1969, to renew the editor's residence permit.

Even as an insert Drum contained some Social Criticism, for example, that of 14 January, besides articles e.g. on Islam, Che Guevara and the Coon carnival, a two page feature on 'Tomsville', an Indian slum.

The Social Critic items in Drum are perhaps not quite as forthright as those in earlier days but certainly are solid contributions to this genre. However Drum's role as Social Critic has been more important not only before the year examined in this chapter, but in the years since, and is dealt with at rather more length in the following chapter, dealing with historical changes.

No thorough study has been made of the Educational or Entertainment roles of the African newspapers. It is of interest that African journalists, replying to a questionnaire on their attitudes and attributes, gave considerable emphasis to the Educational function of the Press (see Chapter XIII below). 'Education' as a function of the Press is, of course, imparted in various ways, some obvious, as in specifically didactic feature articles or editorials, others more subtle, in terms of the whole pattern of values and attitudes embodied in the newspaper. World, as a daily of fairly limited resources, had rather little feature material in 1968 (see Table 23, p. 177, above), and much of this was explicitly entertainment - or possibly comment on the human scene - like 'Casey's Court Cameo'. Post's excellent feature articles on the rest of Africa and other parts of the world can certainly be classed as educational but specifically instructional or didactic articles are lacking. They are found in the magazine supplement Home Post, and to a lesser extent in Drum. Rand Daily Mail, with its greater size and resources, does provide an appreciable amount of 'educational' feature material, in the form of articles on current social, economic, cultural or other issues, e.g. an article on inflation, or teenagers, apart from its political feature articles. In general, specifically didactic material is rather slight in all three papers, and would be considered appropriate either for a magazine supplement or for a newspaper which specifically sets out either to combine the magazine and newspaper functions or which is designed for very unsophisticated people, or for children.

Feature articles on literature and the arts, including cinema and drama, are very largely absent in Post and World - though World does have at least one editorial on jazz, for example - but frequent in Rand Daily Mail. This is hardly unexpected, in view not only of the greater sophistication of whites but also of the much greater cultural resources (cinema, theatre, etc.) readily available to them but not (to anything like the same extent) to blacks. Nevertheless it seems clear that the newspapers discussed could do considerably more of this kind than they do.

The sense in which a newspaper 'educates' its readership by exposing them to a particular literary style, to certain standards of argument and proof in features and editorials is implicitly referred to in most of the discussion in this chapter. Insofar as the Rand Daily Mail, for instance, appeals to rational argument - say on economic grounds - it is educating its readership in rationality and to some extent in economics.

Weekend, or Sunday, newspapers traditionally place much greater emphasis on entertainment than do dailies. Insofar as consideration of sport and crime is entertainment, Post certainly does give much attention to this role, as has been shown. 'Human interest' and 'social' news falls into the same category. In addition jokes ('Laugh with Gamat'), cartoon and other strip stories, found in Post and to a much lesser extent in World (in the period examined the World's strip cartoon was on the adventures of 'Six Fingers Molefe') serve the function more directly. World's 'Jojo' cartoon, as mentioned above, is mainly an entertainment, though to some extent serves also an Educational or Social Critic function. Feature articles like 'Court Cameo' are almost pure entertainment, as is much of Duke Moleko's 'man-about-town' type column. Rand Daily Mail generally provides less entertainment in these various ways, as befits a more dignified 'middle-brow' newspaper. It does have a comic strip, but not a jokes page. The magazine supplement (which is excluded in the statistical analysis in Table 23) contains broadly the sort of material to be found in Home Post, but on a more sophisticated level, for example, articles on clothes, cooking, travel, a horoscope and an advice column - travel articles are unlikely to be found in Home Post.

Rand Daily Mail's very low crime coverage has been noted, while its 'social' and 'human interest' articles are comparatively rare.

This discussion of the papers' fulfilment of the Educator and Entertainer role has, of course, done no more than give a

brief outline of the material provided which can be grouped under the two headings. No detailed discussion nor any real consideration of the quality of the material provided, or of its appropriateness to its audience, can be given here. Nevertheless it does seem clear that the Rand Daily Mail best fulfills the Educational function, with Post second, while certainly in relation to the great bulk of its potential market Post provided the most entertainment. Although not within the scope of this study World's weekly sister, 'Weekend World, which started mid-way through 1968, provided quite good entertainment value, plus a certain amount of Educational material. Drum is a good example of a combination of Entertainment, Education, political comment and some Social Criticism.

The question of values intrudes even more obviously in relation to Education and Entertainment functions than in relation to the Partisan and Social Critic roles, for Education involves the transmission of a society's cultural heritage while Entertainment - especially as it involves imaginative literature - serves to embody many of society's values. An appreciable amount of work has been done in this area. One may mention, to give only a few examples, the work of the Hoggart school - the study (inter alia) of the 'human interest' story by Smith, Immirzi and Blackwell (1970) has been mentioned - and Martel's study of American magazine fiction. The point need not be laboured. This topic would clearly provide the material for another, and probably more difficult, though extremely interesting, thesis.

This and the three preceding chapters have tried to give a picture, even if rough, approximate and impressionistic, of how the African newspapers, more particularly Post and World fulfilled the main social and ethical functions which Western tradition, at least, expects a newspaper to fulfill, during 1968. Comparison has been made with one white newspaper, Rand Daily Mail, in this respect. The data in this chapter can be compared to some extent with the views of journalists on these and other newspapers as to the functions of the Press and how well it fulfills them. These views are given in Chapter XIII below.

Chapters VIII to XI have provided a picture of the African Press during the brief span of a single year; in effect it is a snapshot at one point in time. It is important, however, for any full understanding of the processes at work, to extend the analysis both backward and forward in time, to achieve a dynamic rather than a static perspective. This the next chapter will endeavour to do.

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN PRESS, 1959-1971

The history of the African Press has been sketched in Chapter VI. The present chapter attempts to give more body to the outline presented there by examination of content and themes of the Press between 1959 and 1968, and to a lesser extent between 1968 and 1971, in relation to the same socio-ethical functions discussed in Chapters VIII - XI. The earlier year is chosen because it is the last full year before the Sharpeville shootings, which can be taken - at least symbolically - as some form of watershed in South African history. The latter is chosen as being Post's last year of publication as an independent newspaper, and as being as near to the time of writing as it was feasible to go.

Broadly speaking, the African Press, while for the most part under similar ownership as in 1968 - the take over of World Printing and Publishing Company by Argus in 1962 was more an indirect than a direct influence - and therefore not fundamentally different in its policies, was both more outspoken in its Social Critic role and much more heavily involved politically in 1959 than in 1968. Though from this point of view Sharpeville was not necessarily in itself the most important factor, nor its effects immediately apparent (except for the period of the Emergency) the African newspapers' performance - Post less than World - declined to something like a trough during the greater part of the '60s. By the beginning of the 1970s, probably correlated with the gradual 'loosening up' of South African politics, the growing importance of opposition to the Government by Bantustan leaders, and the growth of Black Power the curve started very gradually to turn upwards once more. On the other hand, as explained in Chapter V, the economic base of the African Press as a whole - the demise of Post in 1971 does not invalidate this thesis - improved markedly during the '60s, economic improvement being related, in part, to the political decline.

This chapter then, looks at the attitudes of the African Press at the beginning and at the end of the twelve year period, and presents some evidence on changes between these dates. No comparison is made in this chapter with Rand Daily Mail. Analysis of the African newspapers for one year represented a great deal of work and it was not considered either feasible or worthwhile to make a similarly detailed study of the newspapers in 1959 and 1971, still less to make a complete content analysis for the intervening years, though a good deal of material was gathered, particularly on Post which as a weekly, was easier to deal with. As a result the data on which this chapter is based are more qualitative than quantitative. Nevertheless, as the writer hopes to show, the main conclusions reached are supported by a considerable weight of evidence. The main themes are the same as before, namely the performance of the Press in terms of the functions of Information-Giver, Advocate and Social Critic.

Although the focus in this chapter is on Post and World (known as Golden City Post and Bantu World respectively in 1959-60, but the newer titles have been used for convenience) it should be borne in mind that in 1959, unlike 1968, several other newspapers were being published (see Chapter VI, above) directed largely at the same readership as Post and World, but owned and run either by blacks and/or the Communist Party. Some of these were purer 'party organs' than others, such as the Communist newspaper New Age, the Trotskyite Torch and Sobukwe's Africanist but all were wholeheartedly and avowedly political organs, committed in one way or another to the Africans' cause. Not all these newspapers have been accessible to the author but it is clear that they must have presented considerable competition with Post and World in the Partisan and Social Critic roles. New Age, for example, which has been examined by the writer, was editorially more outspoken than Post and a fortiori than World - though less so than Torch, described by Ainslie as a 'bitter, vituperative newspaper' (if a personal note may be permitted a friend of the present writer once told him that he had counted the use of the word 'Herrenvolk' 33 times in one Torch editorial). New Age differs from Post and World, however, much more in its news coverage and feature articles than in its editorials. This is almost entirely political - the paper contained at most one page of sport in 1959-60, often on racial issues - and has an

extremely good 'grass roots' coverage of social abuses and of political activities (that is, in the main, African political or trade union activities) all over the country. For example, the issue of 29 September 1960 contained inter alia a report of a speech by Father Presley to the Group Areas Board at Borkly West (Northern Cape), 'Victory for Noncefield Workers' (Cape), 'A.N.C. leaders victimized at Worcester' and 'Bloemfontein Prayer Meeting'. The Treason Trial is covered in detail. For politically conscious Africans, at least - and there would be many of these in 1959-60 - New Age and other African controlled newspapers must have provided quite strong competition for the white-owned papers. Because of their often very Partisan line - New Age supported the A.N.C., Sobukwe's paper P.A.C., and Torch the Non-European Unity Movement, all of which were at loggerheads with each other and (for example) with the Liberals - they may to some extent have lacked credibility in comparison with less stridently Partisan papers such as Post.

With this background a brief account will be given of Post and World in 1959, and of the sort of changes that occurred in the nine years following that date.

Qualitatively, in terms of tone, style and the outspokenness of its comment, Post's approach to the Partisan role appears to have altered little if at all between 1959 and 1968. The same is true of the other aspects of the newspaper, including its dress and format generally, its total style and 'personality'. Social Criticism changed somewhat more.

A reader familiar with Post of 1959 would in many respects feel at home with a copy of 1968. World, in contrast, underwent very considerable changes in those nine years, not only in terms of transformation from a bilingual (English and Sotho) weekly to an English language daily or even in its dress and format, but, more important for our present purposes, in its style and above all in the vividness and vigour of its social and political criticism.

The content, the matter as opposed to the manner of news and commentary, in both newspapers changed very considerably between 1959 and 1968. Table 30, below, gives an indication of these changes in Post, in terms of subject matter of front page leads and editorials. Two intermediate years have been included in order to give at least an approximate idea of the 'curve' over time. No similar analysis has been carried out for World because of the vastly greater labour involved and for various other practical reasons. A limited comparison between 1959 and 1968 only is made later in the chapter.

Table 30 shows clearly that, even if the tone and flavour of Post had not changed, there were major shifts in interest in both news columns and editorials over the nine years from 1959. There was, firstly, a sharp decline in political front page leads between the two dates, a decline limited, however, to domestic politics. The greatest difference within the category was that in leads on legal segregation: 13 in 1959, but only two in 1967. The 1959 leads were mainly on race classification, the Immorality Act, or Group Areas. The latter had certainly become less important by 1967 - because most of the towns in South Africa had been demarcated by that time, whereas the process was still in full swing in 1959 - and while the race classification of the population was far advanced by 1959 it was by no means complete, whereas it was so by 1967 (though reclassifications could still occur). For these reasons one might expect some decline in cases (hence newsworthy items) in this category, though there is no reason to believe that prosecutions under the Immorality Act would have decreased. 'General' political leads decreased from four (e.g. 'Nat. Plan for Non-White M.P.'s', 15.3.1959, and 'Devil's Isle' (a planned concentration camp for black political leaders on Robben Island, 24.5.1959)) to nil.

On the other hand, there was a remarkable increase in front page leads on 'Police, Court and Crime', so that by 1967 over three-fifths of all front page lead stories were in this category. Though occasionally these were on police ill-treatment of prisoners, in the vast majority of cases they were simply sensational crime stories, mainly about murder in the African townships.

TABLE 30 - Subject of Front Page Leads and of Editorials in Post (Golden City Post in 1959) in 1959, 1962, 1965 and 1967-68

Subject	1959 Front page leads	1959 Editorials	1962 Front page leads	1962 Editorials	1965 Front page leads	1965 Editorials	1967-68 Front page leads	1967-68 Editorials
SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNAL POLITICS								
General	4	22	1	15	-	11	-	11
Legal segregation	13	5	3	6	1	6	2	10
'Urban areas' legislation	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	6
Politics in Bantustans	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Other black political parties and movements (legal)	1	3	-	2	-	-	1	-
Sabotage, terorism, etc. and counter-steps, incl. banning etc.	2	1	5	3	5	2	-	-
Race attitudes and relations	2	-	1	2	-	2	2	4
Local politics	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	4
Religion and race or politics	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Sport and race or politics	1	4	1	5	1	3	1	16
Sub Total	23	36	16	33	7	26	6	51
INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN POLITICS								
General	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	5
The rest of Africa (excluding Rhodesia) and South Africa's relations with it	-	5	-	2	1	8	-	2

/continued

TABLE 30 (continued)

Subject	1959 Front page leads	1959 Editorials	1962 Front page leads	1962 Editorials	1965 Front page leads	1965 Editorials	1967-68 Front page leads	1967-68 Editorials
Relations of South Africa with U.N.O. and the world generally, or specific countries ..	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1
Rhodesia (including Federation '59-'62) ..	1	7	-	2	2	4	-	1
South Africa - Britain relations and British politics	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Sub Total	1	13	2	5	4	14	-	9
Economics, general	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1
Economics, labour	1	3	1	2	-	4	-	3
Education, general	1	-	-	-	1	2	2	3
Education, university	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Social problems, social welfare	2	8	2	4	3	8	-	6
Other 'serious' topics, e.g. religion, science, culture, medicine	1	2	-	2	-	-	3	8
Sport	1	-	-	-	9	2	2	2
Police, court and crime	14	-	8	1	21	1	33	4
Other, including human interest, celebrities, accidents etc.	6	-	14	1	5	3	7	6
GRAND TOTAL	52	62	43	48	50	62	53	94

Note: There are some gaps (especially in 1962) in the series from which the analyses were made. Conversely, some issues contain more than one editorial.

An analysis of the murder rate (based on convictions) indicated that the rate had indeed increased during the period but not nearly to the same extent as the coverage.

Editorial treatment of different subjects also showed important changes, and in some cases divergencies between the trend in front page leads and editorials. Thus, although there were far fewer leads on legal segregation in 1967 than in 1959 there were proportionally slightly more (11% vs. 8%) editorials in this category in 1967-68 than in 1959. On the other hand 'General' political editorials decreased drastically and steadily during the period, from 36% (22) in 1959, to 31% in 1962, 18% in 1965 and 11% (11) in 1967-68. Editorials on urban areas legislation increased (from one to six), and on sport and politics (largely re South Africa's admission to the Olympic Games) from four to 16 (6% to 17%). Post showed intense editorial concern with the turbulent politics of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as well as with nationalist movements and post-independence developments in the rest of Africa (and in 1959 more feature articles (11) were devoted to Africa than to any other single category - 22% of all articles).

The changes mentioned are evidently due in part to simple changes in the quantity and the quality (importance, or newsworthiness) of activity in the various spheres, without necessarily any change in editorial policy. There is, however, little doubt but that they do also reflect deliberate changes of direction. Some evidence has been presented on the first point, as regards legal segregation (race classification, etc). It is natural that there would be more Press coverage of 'sabotage, terrorism, and counter-measures' in the early '60s, during the activities of Umkhonto wa Siziswe, the Rivonia trials, and so on than in 1967 or 1968. More important (legitimate) political activity, as far as it involved blacks, declined drastically during the '60s, beginning with the ban on the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress just after Sharpeville. By 1968, apart from the Bantustans and local government, there was virtually no African political activity 'above-ground' in South Africa, while on the other hand the Government armentarium of restrictive

legislation had been completed, and its Bantustan policy set firmly on course, though by no means completed. In 1959 the African political parties were extremely active, and their activities legitimate. Even in 1962, though these parties had been banned, the defeat of the black political movements was not complete, and the newspapers were still involved in the battle (albeit rather more cautiously).

Over and above these changes in the scene the newspapers were surveying, it seems clear that Government pressure, as sketched in Chapter VI and discussed in more detail in Chapter XIV (below), together with the economic changes mentioned in Chapter V, was responsible for much of the change of direction, or at least of emphasis in Post. It is significant that Drum (as it turned out, temporarily) ceased to exist, except as an insert, in 1965, and that the resurrected version was (initially) meant more as an entertainment than as a political organ. Without further anticipating the consideration of policy formation later in the thesis, it may be pointed out that the crucial change appears, from Table 30, to have come not immediately after Sharpeville, but between 1962 and 1965. This is most noticeable in relation to the proportion of front page leads devoted to crime, and to a lesser extent in the proportion of editorials on 'general political' matters. On the face of it, a decision would seem to have been made between 1962 and 1965 to 'depoliticize' and to 'sensationalize' Post.

So much, for the present, for the changes in Post in terms of the subject matter written about. How, in fact, did Post and World treat the subject matter they did deal with in 1959, as compared with later on? First the Partisan, and then the Social Critic role will be considered. As before the main emphasis will be on South African affairs, rather than those of the rest of Africa, including the Rhodesian Federation.

As indicated above, both Post and World exercised caution, even in 1959, in their political comment and reportage. From the

point of view of (probably) a number of Africans, and certainly of the (Communist) New Age (Bunting, 1959) they were indeed not merely lukewarm in their support for the African movements, but were indirectly or directly working to hamper their effectiveness. As Brian Bunting wrote in New Age: 'This newspaper (World) is chauvinistic in its approach to race questions, opposes the African National Congress policy of co-operation with other racial groups, continually tries to make out that the A.N.C. is "bossed" by C.O.D. [The Congress of Democrats, a largely white, partly Communist organisation] and is bitterly anti-Communist ... it opposes every A.N.C. campaign and supports the "opposition" in Congress ...' '... The Post also [said Bunting] holds aloof from Congress campaigns, is critical of the Congress leadership and is crudely anti-Communist.'

These comments, like those of any other source, must, of course, be evaluated in relation to the political viewpoint of their author. Rosalynd Ainslie, in The Press in Africa (1966), describes Post as 'miserably uncommitted', though this may refer more to a later period than to 1959. A former Post journalist wrote, in a questionnaire reply to the present author, on the paper's attitude to the African political movements: 'We could not support them openly and survive'.

Post did give an appreciable amount of attention, in news columns, editorials and features to the various movements, and like World threw open its letter columns to protagonists of the various points of view, including the African National Congress itself, the Africanists (later Pan-African Congress), the Liberals and the Progressives, all of whom were bidding for black support. Post reported, for example, the foundation conference of the Pan-Africanists in March, 1959, correctly forecasting the election of Robert Sobukwe as President, African National Congress activity in relation to the threatened imposition of passes for African women (8.3.1959), a 'terrific reception for Luthuli in Cape Town' (3.5.1959) and, in the same issue, 'Split in Eastern Cape?' (of Africanists from the A.N.C.). As far as can be judged news coverage of the A.N.C. and other black movements was fair rather than heavy. As indicated, it was much less comprehensive than that

in New Age, which though Communist, strongly supported Congress. This estimate is buttressed by the fact that Post ran only one front page lead in 1959 directly on one of the African parties. Editorial and especially feature treatment was, relatively speaking, much heavier, with three editorials and four feature articles, as well as several articles by Chief Luthuli, a frequent, and at times a regular contributor to Post's feature columns for many months. The letter columns show very considerable interest in political themes (broadly interpreted, as in the tables above), with for example, about half (35 out of 72) of all letters in Post in June-August, 1959 on political issues. Only eight of these, however, were specifically on African political parties, or the Liberals, though a number of the others dealt with boycotts, of the Dutch Reformed Church, or of potatoes, the latter of which, at least, was inspired by the A.N.C. Lastly, Post at this period, carried a regular and uninhibited political cartoon - which, significantly became less vigorous after Sharpeville.

Post's concern with the African political movements is only one touchstone of the sincerity of its political commitment. It also took a keen interest in political developments generally, in South Africa as well as north of the Limpopo, and its editorial, and still more its feature articles on South African politics, were, if not 'committed' in Rosalynd Ainslie's sense, yet vigorous and outspoken. It is usually not clear whether the editorials were written by the editor (white) himself, but most of the feature articles were signed by Africans, who were many of them well-known for their forthright political views. Apart from Chief Luthuli himself mention may be made of Lewis Nkosi, Arthur Maimane (then in 'exile' in Ghana) and Mathew Nkoana. Patrick van Rensburg (Liberal), Z. B. Molete (P.A.C.) and others contributed articles stating their point of view. The support given to Post by Drum's excellent analysis of the political issues and personalities of the day - though many more people were reached by Post than by Drum - will be discussed later.

Post generally supported the African National Congress, as opposed to the Africanists (P.A.C.), though as an 'independent', not a committed follower. There was a slight tendency to

emphasise news critical of the Africanists as well as the Non-European Unity Movement - the only lead article on African political parties referred to the Unity Movement, and was headed 'About to Crack up?' (8.2.1959). This article stated inter alia 'They (the N.E.U.M.) have failed to take action, it is alleged on every major issue affecting Non-White interests in this city (Cape Town) and this country'. On the same date a meeting of the Africanists in Durban was headlined 'Abuse, Shouts and Fights'. In editorials and feature articles Post makes its position more explicit, though its presentation of P.A.C. ideas seems fair. The most relevant article here was one on 12 April: 'Can Africanists drive out the A.N.C.?', when the writer made the point that while the P.A.C. claimed to be not anti-white but anti-white domination, this was in practise likely to be too subtle a distinction for most Africans to make, and therefore it was in effect racialist in its appeal.

Post's position on this issue is consistent with its general support for a broad-based multi-racialism, including (in particular) Indians - one of the points on which the P.A.C. disagreed with the A.N.C. (the Congress Alliance of African and Indian Congresses). Specifically Post, in a theme to which it constantly returned over the years, suggested on 10 May that a new single united Congress on non-racial lines be established, followed at the next stage by a new political party embracing the African and Indian Congresses, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, the Liberal and Labour Parties, the South African Council of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats. Perhaps even Sobukwe might eventually join it. Post specified four basic principles to which such a Party should have to subscribe:

1) Universal franchise.
2) Non-racialistic trade unionism.
3) A campaign for fair wages.
4) The abolition of discriminatory legislation. Luthuli should be President of this Party.

Such an alliance might have been possible at the time--see, for a discussion of changes in Liberal Party policy in the direction of A.N.C., Robertson, 1971, pp.195-199, and the two Congresses were already allied - although its effectiveness is another question.

In 1959, as in 1968, Post did, however, indulge on occasion in general emotive appeals which seem hardly calculated to make a concrete political contribution, which seem, in fact to have been little other than political bromides. On 23 March, for instance the editorial contended, in relation to a new more liberal Nationalist plan, disavowed by Verwoerd, that 'the real solution is to think BIG ... One BIG South Africa in which all races play their part, have their fair say and get their fair reward.' On the other hand, on 19 April, in an editorial on Africa Freedom Day, Post claimed that black nationalism was a pattern for a better South Africa.

Apart from its positive suggestions Post's criticisms of Government policy were frequent and insistent. A few examples may be given. A feature article (by the editor) on 8 February put five questions about the Bantustan policy: these had to do with economic problems, migrant labour, urban Africans, sovereignty and the future of the Coloureds and Asians. On 17 May a front page editorial 'Why Swart (Minister of Justice) must go!' cited the jail scandal (dealt with later under Social Criticism), the 'treason trial mess' and the 'police crime scandal' as reasons. In 'The Death of a Party' (24.5.1959) Post described Verwoerd's Bantustan 'solution' as 'eyewash' and the United Party's attitude as a 'milk and water version of Nationalist doctrine'. 'Threat to a Freedom' (6.9.1959) describes the new Prisons Act - dealing inter alia with reports on prisons - as a 'threat to the Freedom of the Press'.

Post was generally sympathetic to the Liberal Party, and welcomed the advent of the Progressive Party (which was the 'Party of to-morrow', while the United Party was that of 'yesterday', editorial 29.11.1959), though it disapproved of the Progressives' qualified franchise ('... where white minorities are forced to give up or share power an attempt is made to use a qualified franchise to enforce a continued domination by a white minority' - feature, 22.11.1959).

Post was no less active in the Social Critic than in the Crusader role in 1959. Table 31 below gives some indication of Post's fulfilment of this role in 1959, as compared to 1968.

TABLE 31 - Social Critic Items, Post, 1959 and 1968

Subject	1959 No. Items Jan-June	1959 No. Items July-Dec	1959 No. Items Total	1959 Front page leads	Jan-March 1968 No. Items	Jan-March 1968 Front page leads
Segregation	5	7	12	9	4	1
Urban Areas legislation	5	1	6	-	8	1
Race relations, attitudes	-	1	1	1	1	-
Social conditions	8	5	13	1	3	-
Education	6	4	6	2	2	-
Police, Courts, Prisons	8	1	9	2	6	1
Political	2	3	5	3	2	-
Other	2	1	3	-	3	-
Total	36	19	55	18	29	3

It will be noted that there is a great difference between the number of Social Critic items in the first and second half of 1959; this suggests that the first three months of 1968 may not be representative of 1968. In fact there were only 39 Social Critic items in the first six months of 1968 (type not analysed). Hence it is not possible to make a firm decision as to the relative importance of Social Critic themes in 1959 and 1968, though, taking the figures just quoted into account, there would not seem to be much difference.

No Prominence Index is available for 1959, but the number of front page leads on a Social Critic theme was 18 out of 52 for 1959 as a whole, and three out of 11 in the first three months (five out of 22 in the first six months) of 1968, which suggests a slightly greater prominence for Social Critic items in the earlier year.

A more useful comparison is probably that between the relative proportions of different subjects of Social Criticism. In 1959 the most important category was social problems closely followed by legal segregation. The latter items were given far more prominence in the newspaper, however, with nine out of the 12 items being leads (constituting nine out of 13 front page leads in this category - see Table 31 above), whereas only one of the articles on social problems appeared as a lead article.

In 1968 'social conditions' was a comparatively unimportant category, segregation slightly more important, but urban areas the most important. Police, court and prisons gave rise to a roughly comparable amount of criticism in both periods. Some possible reasons for the difference in the emphasis on legal segregation in 1959 and 1967 (probably much the same as 1968) were given in discussing Table 30, though they do not seem to explain the difference completely. The difference between the number of criticisms of social conditions may have been due to the comparative success of the Government's housing policy between 1959 and 1968 - so that there were fewer urban slums - and it may be that other services had improved somewhat. However, this again seems a somewhat inadequate explanation, and it seems likely that less effort was put into discovering and publicizing such ills in the later than in the earlier year.

More useful than the foregoing rather crude statistical analysis is a closer examination of some of the specific issues raised and the ways in which they were treated. If this is done the impression gained is of more vigorous, biting comment in 1959 than in 1968, of a more deeply felt, burning indignation, and consequently a more vivid, sometimes almost unforgettable picture of the sufferings described.

The Immorality Act, which (as in 1968) often appears in news reports, less often gives rise to Social Criticism. Examples are an editorial on 'No Security of the Home' (25.1.59) and a front page lead on a white man legally married for 20 years to a

black woman, both of whom were arrested under the Act. They planned to sue the Minister of Justice.

The Group Areas Act yielded several articles in 1959, two of them dealing with apparent corruption in the selling of houses of 'disqualified' persons, another telling of a 'Moslem Tailor's one-man war against Group Areas' (front page lead) and most poignant, the story of a Coloured man who hanged himself when forced to move from a house built with £1,000 loan from the Government.

One article dealing with the effects of the urban areas legislation was that of 'A Man 2 Towns did not Want' (but whom Post found a home for) and a feature article by Lewis Nkosi: 'I am a Reference Book'. Using the story of two Africans who were burned to death after going back into a burning building to save their reference books as his text Nkosi drives home 'the tragedy of people whose life - whose very right to exist - is documented down to a series of entries in a book'. The reference book is more important than the person, and could substitute for him. 'I do not (writes Nkosi) live apart from my reference book any more. In fact I have decided I AM THE REFERENCE BOOK.'

Police brutality, conditions in the gaols - specifically in 'The Fort' in Johannesburg, where typhoid was rampant - evoked several articles, including a couple of lead articles: 'Assaults by Cops' (29.3.1959) and 'No mercy for brutal Cops' (12.4.1959), and an editorial ('Clean up the Jails!', 17.5.1959) while a news report and feature article dealt with judicially ordered corporal punishment - 'like the sound of 1,000 children crying' (24.5.1959).

One article dealt at some length with the 'deportation' of A.N.C. leader, Mrs Mafekeng, from her home and family in Worcester (Cape) and this and other bannings were criticised editorially.

Most pungent, as well as numerous were the criticisms of social conditions. These ranged from compulsory ('slave') labour on farms, through low wages, malnutrition, poor housing, social conditions which gave rise to crime in Alexandra Township (Johannesburg), the social causes of the Natal riots in June and, perhaps more related to influx control, the story of the Nyasa labourer who, permitless and homeless, at last had no other wish but to die!

An article detailing some of the findings of Post and Drum reports on pass law offenders sent to farms in the Bethal district, findings which repeated the findings of Drum some years before, of brutality, bad conditions and semi-slavery (29.3.1959) was followed in June by a feature article by Bob Hitchcock challenging the Minister to institute an official enquiry.

An editorial on 'Those Dying Babies' (20.12.1959) pointed out that two out of ten babies in Durban die in infancy, while 355 out of 1,000 die because of malnutrition before the age of six. Kwashiorkor was rife. The two feature articles on African housing considered that the Government had made progress in the provision of housing but complained of the siting, and the uniformity of the houses ('must we live in a box?'), the restrictions on residents and ethnic grouping.

In Alexandra Township, an editorial of 30 August pointed out, the area was unpoliced and ruled by gangsters, unemployment had stood at 40% since the war and no-one cared, the industrial colour bar prohibited legitimate ways of making good money, and prisons constituted a forcing house of crime. The women's riots (1,000 were arrested, 300 jailed) in Natal were caused by a variety of factors, including increased taxes, administrative harassment, inability of husbands to get work, and poverty: 'Our empty stomachs are the agitators'. Such was the gist of a front page lead, editorial and feature article on 23 and 30 August. A somewhat similar analysis, but focusing more on police beer raids and the destruction of shacks, was made after earlier, June riots in Durban.

Most dramatic and bitter was the article by Bob Hitchcock 'Oh, God, that such things can be' (26.7.1959), detailing the sufferings of the Nyasa immigrant, Wilson Phiri. Some time after his arrival from Nyasaland in 1945 he had lost his permit. He had been unemployed, arrested and sent to the Bethal farms for a pass technicality. When found by Post he was sleeping out of doors in the harsh, Highveld winter, passless, penniless. Aged 37, he looked 60. He replied to his helpers: 'Tell the White man, thank you for his trouble. But all I want is to die.'

In 1959 World was a bi-weekly newspaper, but unfortunately only the Saturday edition was available to the present writer. There seems no obvious reason, however, why the tone and to a great extent the content, of the Saturday edition should be different from the mid-week one. The Saturday edition, moreover had a circulation approximately double that of the mid-week edition, at the beginning of 1959 (29,000 as against 14,000, according to the Kolbe Association study - Etheridge, 1959, p.29).

Perhaps a third of each edition of World - excluding the sports supplement - was in Zulu or Sotho, and cannot contribute to the present analysis. Basing that analysis on the English part of the Saturday edition, then, World in 1959 was less well laid out, written and edited than its weekly rival. Its use of typography, combination of photographs, headlines and text and its assignment of relative news values seem likely to produce a less forceful impact on the reader than those of Post which even then had learned the lesson of (for example) the English tabloids, that the page should be considered as one visual unit, and that every part of it should contribute towards a maximum (mainly emotional) impact.

As in the discussion of Post a qualitative account of World will be preceded by a brief quantitative presentation. Table 32, below gives data on front page leads and editorials for World for the period 1 April - 30 Setpmber, 1959, compared with those for 1968 (whole year). For convenience comparable data for Golden City Post are included for 1959 and 1967-68 (editorials only).

TABLE 32 - Front Page Leads and Editorials in World 1959 (April-September) and 1968, and Post 1959 and 1967-68

Subject	World April-Sept 1959 Front page leads	World April-Sept 1959 Editorials	World Jan-Dec 1968 Front page leads	World Jan-Dec 1968 Editorials	Post 1959 Front page leads	Post 1959 Editorials	Post 1967-8 Editorials
SOUTH AFRICAN INTERNAL POLITICS							
General	1	9	7	25	4(2)	22(10)	11
Legal segregation	2	2	-	8	13(6)	5	10
Urban areas legislation	-	-	1	8	-	1(1)	6
Bantustans	-	-	10	25	-	-	-
Black political parties	2	1	-	-	1	3(3)	-
Terrorism, bans etc.	-	-	5	-	2(1)	1(1)	-
Race attitudes etc.	2	3	-	11	2	-	4
Local politics	-	-	5	25	-	-	4
Religion and politics	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Sport and politics	-	1	2	8	1(1)	4(1)	16
Sub Total	7	16	30	112	23(10)	36(16)	51
INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN POLITICS							
General	-	-	7	6	-	-	5
Rest of Africa	-	-	-	9	-	5(3)	2
Relations of South Africa with world	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Rhodesia (Federation)	-	1	-	2	1	7(1)	1
South Africa - Britain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub Total	0	1	7	17	1	13(4)	9

/continued

TABLE 32 (continued)

Subject	World				Post		
	April-Sept 1959		Jan-Dec 1968		1959		1967-8
	Front page leads	Edit-orials	Front page leads	Edit-orials	Front page leads	Edit-orials	Edit-orials
Sub Total	7	16	10	112	23(10)	36(16)	51
Sub Total	0	1	7	17	1(0)	13(4)	9
Economics, general	-	1	-	6	-	-	1
Economics, labour	-	-	-	12	1	3	3
Education, general	1	-	2	28	1	-	3
Education, universities	-	1	2	5	2	-	1
Social problems, social welfare	8	4	1	22	2(2)	8(6)	6
Other 'serious' topics	1	-	8	21	1	2	8
Sport	1	-	67	22	1	-	2
Police, court and crime	8	2	103	7	14(10)	-	4
Human interest	-	-	15	5	2	-	-
Other	-	-	34	3	4(4)	-	6
TOTAL	26	25	254	260	52(26)	62(26)	94

Note: Figures in brackets refer to front page leads and editorials in Golden City Post for the period 1 April - 30 September 1959.

A number of points arise from the data in Table 31; others are based wholly or partly on impressionistic evidence, sometimes buttressed by quotations. First World and Post will be compared for the 1959 period, then World in 1959 compared with the same paper in 1968. World gave slightly less attention to politics in its front page stories and editorials than did Post during 1959 (or more precisely, during the second and third quarters of the year), but Post was much more concerned with foreign events, particularly those in the rest of Africa, including the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The two newspapers gave roughly equal attention to crime news, but World had eight front page leads to two of Post's on social problems and social welfare.

These limited and crude judgements can be greatly amplified by closer study of content and tone of the material in the two papers. As mentioned above, Post had an excellent feature service, with heavy concentration on the rest of Africa, World's was less consistently good and paid considerably less attention to Africa outside the Union.

In general the range of interest in World was less wide than that of Post, both in terms of subject areas and geographically. The treatment of subjects as well as the choice was generally less sophisticated in World than in Post. The marked difference in concern with other parts of Africa - or of the world (though there was very little extra-continental news in either Post or World) - has already been mentioned. Even within South Africa, however, Post ranges more widely. Most of World's news - especially front page lead stories - and editorial comment dealt with events in the Witwatersrand - Pretoria - Vereeniging conurbation; in fact, only one lead in the six month period analysed referred to incidents outside that area, namely 'Crush this hooded terror gang in Union' on manifestations of a South African Ku Klux Klan in Cape Town. Of four interesting leads appearing in World but not in Post, all dealt with the Rand, whereas leads in Post unparalleled in World dealt with a 'Group areas scandal in Rustenberg' (virtually part of the Rand), 'Devil's Isle' (the establishment of a political 'concentration camp' on Robben Island, off Cape Town), 'Why the Women Rioted'

(Natal riots) and the Olympic games. Post had several other lead stories dealing with the Cape or Natal. World, as might be expected in terms of its readership, displayed less interest than Post in Coloureds or Indians - though both newspapers attacked Dr Verwoerd editorially for a speech describing the Indians as aliens.

World has no article as analytical as Post's on Alexandra Township (mentioned above) or its analysis of the causes of the Durban riots and later of those in rural Natal. World's analysis is generally not far removed from the common sense level, as in the homely metaphor of seven sticks which are easily broken individually but not in a bundle (referring to the need for unity among the seven black political parties), but there are exceptions, such as the discussion of the 100,000 children turning to crime because of their inadequate social background.

Although both newspapers give an appreciable degree of attention to African political parties, either in news, feature or editorial columns, World's news coverage in this respect is much more consistent and thorough than that of Post. Almost every issue contains one or more news or feature articles on either the African National Congress or the Africanists, in the majority of cases given considerable prominence. Two front page leads in World, but none in Post, fall into this category, viz. 'Madzunya's loyalty plea to Africanist cause' and 'White firms ask A.N.C. to take them off boycott list'. Features include an article by the acting editor, Legwate, on the Pan-Africanists, a potted biography of the Trade Union leader Mrs Viola Hashe, Mosaka's De-Partheid plan (full-page, with map showing South Africa split down the middle) and another full-page article, with photographs, on Luthuli. On the other hand Post's pleas for a multi-racial political party, a national convention, etc. are not paralleled in World.

As regards policy World could hardly be said to make an explicit statement of its political beliefs, although a number of the articles in the earlier part of the year (before Mr Legwate's

departure from the editorship in July) indicate a clear sympathy for the Africanists. Such are an article by Godwin Mohlomi on 11 April, on Sobukwe, and Legwate's discussion of the Pan-Africanist Congress on 18 April: 'In the P.A.C. movement, their hopes and dreams are realised'. A feature writer 'B.L.', is definitely pro-Africanist in his articles 'Split in Congress grows wider' (17.1.1959) and 'Do we take the party line too seriously?' (24.1.1959), while the first editorial of the year (3.1.1959) not only argues that 'Africans must guard against the danger of a flare up' but emphasises the need 'for a pure African National movement'. Miss Etheridge's comment - relating mainly to 1958 - that World 'has taken a strong line against the extreme wings of the African National Congress, the Africanists and the Luthuli group' certainly does not appear applicable for 1959, either in terms of news coverage or opinions (Etheridge, 1959, p.33).

Apart from this, the tone of several of the editorials is remarkably forthright. A few examples of editorials are: 'A Plan for peace': 'Economic opportunities must go hand in hand with political rights, otherwise the whole edifice will collapse' (4.4.1959); 'New-look - but same old story': the Bantustan bill is 'a flight from reality into a world of fantasy'. In a second (signed) editorial Mr Legwate says: 'A Carrot is dangled before us!' (11.4.1959). 'Lapas or Labs' (9.5.1959) is a fairly bold satire on the new black universities, but its impact is reduced by the rather childlike string of metaphors; 'Laugh this one off' (14.5.1959) is a vigorous attack on apartheid, quoting Mosaka's suggestion that the whites should be assigned the worst part of the country; 'A Bad Book' strikes at a racially-prejudiced history text-book recently introduced in Transvaal (white) schools (22.8.1959). Other editorials, such as 'The Need for Unity', already quoted, and 'Think Again' (30.5.1959), re Sir de Villiers Graaff's speech in Parliament, or 'Need is for Writers who can picture African Life' either avoid frontal attacks or are rather weak. None spell out a detailed political programme, as in Post's editorial-cum-feature of 9 May. Perhaps the most eloquent editorial is a tribute to the late Professor Jabavu: 'A Torch in the Night' (15.8.1959).

To summarise political, or Partisan editorials in World in 1959 are somewhat less vigorous and explicit than those in Post at the same period, but are decidedly more forthright on the whole than those in World during 1968, and, as Table 32 brings out, are much more often on general political themes rather than matters of detail, are attacks on the main citadel rather than on minor parts of the outer defences. The news and feature columns generally support the editorial line by reporting criticism of the Government or the activities of African political movements or by giving (generally sympathetic) pictures of African leaders or views in feature columns. In general then, it may be said that while both newspapers do tread a little gingerly, they nevertheless exercise a genuine political role with little less freedom than a white newspaper discussing white politics in South Africa or a newspaper in Britain or the United States.

Much of what has been discussed above was possible, or was encouraged, by the political circumstances, and the political events, of the time, whereas circumstances in 1968 were quite different. There seems, however, much less reason for changes in the performance of the Social Critic role between 1959 and 1968. Yet only less striking than the change in its political approach is the difference in the extent and the vigour of World's Social Criticism in 1959, compared to 1968. During the six month period surveyed there were some 51 'Social Critic' items, in 26 issues of the paper (i.e. in the English-language part of the paper), as opposed to 62 in 64 issues in the January-March, 1968 period (Table 29, p.240) an average of about two items per issue. No Prominence Index was calculated for the earlier period, but the fact that six out of the 51 items were front page leads (six out of 26 leads) as opposed to three in 1968, suggests that far more emphasis was given to Social Criticism in 1959 than in 1968.

Injustices or hardships inflicted under the Urban Areas legislation, maladministration by officials or police and ill-treatment of suspects form, as in 1968, a large part of the subject matter criticised. The relative importance of this material was, however, less in 1959 than in 1968. Some examples in this category for 1959 are: 'Tribe ordered to move after 80

years', 'High rents in Randfontein', 'Policeman is guilty of extortion' (from African shopkeeper), '"Get out" order to 3,000 African churches' - only 78 would be permitted to have sites in the locations, 'Nguni deputation complains of midnight beer raids', 'Handcuffed women paraded through location streets' and 'Police mix-up in petty crime Order' (lead). All except one of these articles were on page one, and two were front-page leads. Perhaps the most vigorous of these was the last: 'A crippled mother spent anxious days at home this week while her 16 year old schoolboy son was locked up in the cells - on a trivial allegation ... He was held in the cells at Langlaagte Police station for several days ... on a charge of being without a reference book.'

One front page lead, supported by an editorial, criticizes the Immorality Act: 'Immorality Act must Fail' (say African Church leaders) and 'Morals and the Volk' (19.9.1959). This editorial argues that 'The real need (re cross-race sex), of course, is for a thorough investigation into the root causes ... poverty ... low morals through lack of sound home life ...'. Further in some cases there is genuine love between white and black. Some articles attack injustices or abuses arising from race relations but not directly traceable to the legal or administrative framework. For example 'Sacked after 13 years' refers to an allegedly 'cheeky' African employee on South African Railways and 'West Rand Scandal' (white immigrants and African girls).

It is, however, in its criticisms of social conditions, of housing, farm labour and the penal system, that World's 'watchdog' role is best exemplified, and which most dramatically distinguished its performance in 1959 from that in 1968. Examples follow:

> A photograph with a long caption vividly drives home the fact that, for one particular group of Africans at least, 'Freezing tin shelters are their home this winter'.
>
> 'No bridge, no road, no fence', with a photograph of women wading across a stream, refers to a place where the (Johannesburg) Municipality should have provided a bridge.

'Crime-ridden slum' (Eersterus, Pretoria) 'will be cleared.'
'One African baby in four dies before it is a year old' (report of Alexandra Township Health Clinic).
'Better maternity servies promised in Benoni' - four midwives now for 40,000 people. 'No pensions for many old people.'
'100,000 children in grip of crime' - 'Boys of ten have turned to a life of crime, and girls of 12 have turned prostitutes in their thousands, in the Rand's African areas, according to welfare workers' (front page lead article).

World gave much prominence - and may have been the originator - though it was also dealt with by Post - to the bad conditions in the 'Fort' Prison, which gave rise to a typhoid epidemic there. Its first lead (16.5.): 'Fort is a giant fever Hospital' lacked little in vigour; its second 'Typhoid: A.N.C. calls for Fort probe' brought the topic directly into the political arena. Its editorial 'Lesson of the Fort', that is, to keep Africans out of jail for pass and other petty offences, is quite strong (23.5.). Characteristically, however, Post's editorial treatment: 'Clean up the Jails' and 'Why Swart must go' (both 17.5.1959), the latter using the jail scandal as one reason for requiring the Minister of Justice's dismissal, is, if not stronger in itself, both more personalised - Swart is responsible - and contains a concrete political proposal, whereas World's is couched in general terms.

Though Post and Drum appear to have originated the renewed investigation into farm labour conditions World mounts no less heavy an attack than Post, with a front page lead 'African nurses save typhoid victim from farm Prison', an editorial, and two photographs with a short article beneath (27.6. front page). The latter is perhaps the most effective piece of Social Criticism in World during the period surveyed and is worth quoting in full. The caption over the two photographs showing the stump fingers is: 'These are a farm slave's hands'. The article begins:

'Look at these hands...
The man who used his hands as a spade is also changed.
Two months ago 45-year old Johnson Masang was a resident in Alexandra Township.
Then, a few blocks from his home, Mr Masang was arrested without his pass, which he had left at his home.
He was taken to a Nigel farm and to his new "home". It was a small stable which housed 30 workers. Three times a day, he and the others ate mealie-meal and potatoes.
From before sunrise to sunset they dug out potatoes from the ground with their bare hands. "There were also many beatings," said Mr Masang.
After a month, his hands began to rot from a soil disease. They were painted with mercurichrome. And he was sent back to work.
A few weeks later, they became so bad that the farmer called a doctor. Immediately afterwards he was sent back to the lands.
Suddenly, a month before his time, Mr Masang was given a train ticket and told to go back to Johannesburg.
His hands are slowly healing. Doctors have told Mr Masang that he will probably have to get the fingernails removed.
It will be a long time before the wounds in his hands - and in his heart - are completely healed ... if ever. For the memory of his life as a 'farm slave' cannot be wiped out.

Scarcely less powerful is an article by Duke Moleko (19.9.1959):

'Hundreds on the street skeep in cold and in fear.'
'A GUTTER FOR A PILLOW.'
'Council and state chorus: Not our responsibility.'

The article refers to evicted residents of Sophiatown, and is illustrated by five photographs, one of which shows women at the A.N.C. advice office.

'The A.N.C. listened carefully and sympathetically to the long list of tragic stories. And the officials promised to go fully into the cases of the homeless widows...'

This analysis covers only a short period in the newspaper's life, and cannot necessarily be taken as fully prepresentative of its performance pre-Sharpeville. Nevertheless, a newspaper has a considerable measure of continuity, it does build up a tradition, which may be modified but not usually revolutionised, by successive editors. There is, too, evidence from journalists who worked on the paper before and after 1960 of a considerable change in it. It does seem reasonable to adhere to the conclusion that World's performance of the Partisan and Social Critic roles deteriorated significantly between the pre-Sharpeville period and 1968. The contour of the 'curve' between 1959 and 1968 cannot, however, be plotted with the data to hand.

It is not possible to look at the 1971 performance of Post and World other than very cursorily. In general there do not seem to have been major changes since 1968. Editorials and front page leads dealt with much the same range of subjects, and in the same tone, as in 1968. However there were some exceptions to these generalisations. World was again - as in 1959 - supporting legitimate African political movements outside the Bantustans, such as the proposed Edenvale conference of all-black organisations (August 1971): 'The proposed conference ... deserves the fullest support ... The salvation of the Black man lies in his own hands'. The philosophy of black power, or black identity, is rather guardedly supported in World and Week-end World. World also supported the formation of African Trade Unions - something it would probably have been reluctant to do in 1968. These changes are largely a reflection of the greater fluidity in the political scene by 1971, and are by no means radical. They do nevertheless, indicate a greater measure of freedom in the paper in the later year.

These comparisons, then, have broadly confirmed the contention that the African Press underwent considerable changes in content and attitude between 1959 and 1968. In the next chapter an attempt is made to analyse the reasons for these changes, and for the policy pursued in 1968.

CHAPTER XIII
JOURNALISTS' VALUES

As indicated in Chapter II the values and attitudes of journalists are among the factors influencing newspapers' performance of their socio-ethical roles. Within each newspaper there are, of course, certain specific positions - particularly but not exclusively editor or proprietor - which are of greater or less importance in the shaping of newspaper policy. The personal values and beliefs, more particularly political beliefs, of persons in those positions, are considered in the following chapter. In this chapter the focus of attention is rather on the pattern of values and aspirations that constitutes the sub-culture of the African Press as a whole. These values constitute only one of the forces shaping newspaper performance, and probably not the most important; nevertheless they are far from negligible. They are also important in quite a different, normative sense: they are in effect a statement of what journalists believe they and the Press for which they work should stand for, however far they and it in fact deviate from these ideals. They are both credo and judgement on the institution for which they work. The degree of conflict between ideal and reality is one measure of role-strain or anomie, among African Press journalists.

The values to be discussed here are those appertaining to the journalist role, as such; they exclude political attitudes, for example, though it is not always easy in practice, to differentiate between the two. 'Professional' values may be divided broadly into two categories:

(1) The more narrowly professional or technical ones, such as 'news sense', objectivity, or writing ability and
(2) The socio-ethical ones, which are the main subject of this study, including Social Criticism, Education and guiding the public.

As explained in Chapter III information was obtained on these points mainly through the General Questionnaire I, the

Attitudes Scale and to a limited extent, by unstructured interviewing. The statistical data derive from the first two items. (For the instruments used see the Appendix.) The data were gathered originally for the purpose of an analysis of the role of the African journalist, rather than in relation to the Press as an institution, but the material covers both. An attempt was made to obtain a complete coverage of all journalists on the African Press and, as a control group, a one-in-three sample of the 'White' Press. The response rate in both groups was rather poor, and there was evidence of an upward bias in terms of occupational status within journalism. Because of the poor reponse on the first occasion a second attempt was made to poll African journalists, so that in the end three groups (two African, on the African Press, and one white, on the White Press) were obtained. Coloureds, Asians and whites on the African Press were ignored in the following analysis, because they were so few in number. The two African groups were polled at different dates and showed appreciable differences - mainly in the direction of a greater radicalism in the second group - hence they have not been combined in most of the tabulations that follow. These defects mean that the data cannot be taken as fully representative of the population concerned; further the attitudes expressed in answering the questionnaires - especially, perhaps, those of Group I - may have been toned down, may be less radical or critical than is consonant with the respondent's true feelings.

The question of the validity of attitudinal data - always a potential problem especially in research among Africans in South Africa - is taken up again in relation to specific questions. From the nature of the answers actually given to various questions and from considerable contact with a number of those answering questionnaires during the research the writer would judge that though some 'understatement' probably did occur, in most instances and in broad terms the answers given do give a valid picture of attitudes and motivations, though one may be rather more confident of this in relation to the second African group than the first. The use of extensive direct quotation in what follows should provide some material on which the reader can base a judgement of the likely authenticity of the material.

Most directly relevant to the subject of this thesis are the questions from Questionnaire I:

> 'What things should the Press be doing for society?' and 'For Africans in South Africa (if different from above)?' (Q.25) and
> 'How well does the Press in South Africa in fact fulfill these functions?' (Q.26).

The questions on why the respondent decided to become a journalist and on the things liked most and least in his work (23 and 24 respectively) did elicit some answers that were relevant, though basically they were tapping motivation and job satisfaction. Table 33 analyses the replies to the first question.

TABLE 33 - What the Press should be doing for Society (percentage of persons answering (actual numbers in brackets))

	African Press		White Press	Total
	Sample I	Sample II		
Inform	74(23)	42(11)	77(82)	71(116)
Give guidance, interpretation of news	35(11)	38(10)	36(38)	36(59)
'Watchdog', reflect opinion	32(10)	46(12)	42(45)	41(67)
Educate	58(18)	54(14)	31(33)	40(65)
Entertain	26(8)	4(1)	22(23)	20(32)
Other	32(10)	38(10)	32(34)	33(54)
Total persons answering	31	26	106	163
Total opinions ..	80	58	255	393

The question on what the Press should be doing for Africans provided a large number of non-responses so that the figures were relatively small, but the African journalists, in particular, tended to stress the Social Critic and the Partisan ('Provide editorial guidance') roles.

Overall the Information function is that most heavily stressed in Table 33 with the 'Watchdog' or Social Critic, and the educational functions next, and the editorial guidance or

Partisan role, rather less important. The heavy stress on the provision of information is orthodox - at least in the absence of television. The 'watchdog' role would also bulk large for most Western journalists, as would editorial guidance. The stress on education is, perhaps, more characteristic of a country in the throes of rapid 'modernization'. The really interesting aspect of the Table lies in the differences between the three samples. Though the figures are small, they tend to confirm the assertion that the second African sample is more radical than the first, in that the Social Critic function is relatively more stressed, but the Information and Entertainment ones less so. The emphasis by both African groups on newspapers' Educational function is very striking. For the second sample, this is easily the most important function of all. Further, an even larger proportion of Sample II appear - the replies were not unambiguous - to have ranked Education first among the functions listed. This rather unexpected finding has an interesting parallel in the attitudes of the (admittedly very few: 8) journalists on the Afrikaans-language Press who replied to the questionnaire: they, too, are writing for a readership which is faced - albeit in a much less acute form than the Africans - with the difficult adaptations involved in the move from a rural to an urban society. Certainly the value of education has been very heavily stressed in both African and Afrikaner society (for Africans see e.g. Institute for Social Research, 1955, Ch. 7), though there is some evidence that the formal educational system has inspired less respect among Africans since the coming of 'Bantu Education' (Kuper, 1965, p.183 and generally Chs. 12, 13). Some African journalists were formerly teachers. On the other hand, for English-speaking whites in South Africa with their orientation to business rather than (say) the civil service or teaching, education is less important as a means of social mobility and at the same time less valued in itself. The theme of educating the public was also stressed in a study, by Sherwood, of the African civil servant (Sherwood, no d.) It was, however, included with the social service theme in that study, so cannot be separately quantified.

Some examples of the answers given to Q.25 will help, both to provide the flavour of the replies and to indicate the sort of material from which the content analysis underlying Table 33 was made.

African (Sample II):

(Press duty to Society): '1. Inform. 2. Help society socially and politically. 3. Change the social system.
(Duty to Africans): 1. End racial discrimination. 2. Achieve a better South Africa for all.'

African (Sample II):

(Duty to Society): 'Things like publishing educative stories and informative stories and above all to expose social injustices.'
(Duty to Africans): No reply.

African (Sample II):

(Duty to Society): 'It should be society's watchdog. It should inform and guide. It should educate. It should build, not destroy.
(Duty to Africans): Desist from writing about immorality, scandal and sensationalism.'

African (Sample I):

(Duty to Society): 'Highlighting the real problems of South Africa and putting the African in his true perspective. It is also essential that the Press makes an attempt to mould the character of its readers.
(Duty to Africans): Highlight them as a proud and law-abiding nation.'

African (Sample I):

(Duty to Society): 'Apart from giving people/readers information about (what) is taking place in this our country and the world abroad, the newspapers should show direction to the people and, to a measure, educate the people.'
(Duty to Africans): No reply.

African

(Duty to Society): 'To enlighten them in the regard of material development and to cultivate a feeling amongst Society that every individual or independent Press is entitled to equal privileges.
(Duty to Africans): Teach them necessity to be educated in order to determine their destination and assure the equal rights in society.'

White:

(Duty to Society): 'Reporting truthfully what happens in society. Encourage talking points and growth of arts and general awareness of society's problems.
(Duty to Africans): As above, but also reflecting what is in fact taking place among Africans and the effect laws

are having on them. This applies also to Coloureds and Indians.'

White:

(Duty to Society): 'Enlighten society to the successes - and failures - of the Government in power. Provide a factual (and unbiased) account of events, i.e. be a watch-dog for fair play.
(Duty to Africans): Strongly record any legitimate grievances from them or injustice towards them. Generally to safe-guard their interest to the fullest extent permissible under South African law standards.'

White:

(Duty to Society): 'Relating news factually. Keep readers in touch with the world about them. Influence for the betterment of society.
(Duty to Africans): The same as above.'

Most articulate and incisive was the white journalist who wrote (in part):

(Duty to Society): 'Question is irrelevant to the function of the Press ... The Press has no duty to society and does nothing for society. It mirrors society and, within the changing framework of "public decency" must be prepared to state what is going on within the society. In performing its function, the Press must of necessity act as a catalyst for social change. But ... not as a creator of attitudes. It can accelerate or impede change, but not initiate change.'
(Duty to Africans): No reply.

There are some differences, then, in the way the three samples define the Press' duties to society. Their evaluation of how well the Press fulfills these duties brings to light much more significant differences.

TABLE 34 - How well Press fulfills Functions in Society

	African Sample		White Sample
	Sample I	Sample II	
Well, or very well	4	2	18
Fairly well	4	1	32
Some papers do, some do not ..	11	3	14
Rather mediocre job	1	3	12
Poor, or very poor job	7	11	8
English Press does/Afrikaans Press does not	1	1	9
Restricted by laws or Government	6	2	11

Note: In a few cases more than one comment was made and coded. In these instances the second comment appears in one of the last two lines.

The white sample is happiest about Press performance, the second African sample least, but both African groups are much more critical than are the white journalists. A comparatively minor, but interesting point is the relatively large number of African journalists in Sample I who mention Government (or legal) restrictions on the Press. There is some evidence to show that those who put the information function of the Press first are more satisfied with its performance than those who consider the 'watchdog' function the most important.

Again some of the actual replies to this question will be quoted:

African (Sample I): 'We play our news safe ... maybe sensational ... But to hell with hurting the lives of innocent people.'

African (Sample I): 'The World tries to do these things (righting Africans' wrongs, educating, informing, enlightening them), though it tends to sit on the fence. Ilanga is "completely out" as regards protest, but Post sticks to its guns.'

The comparison between different newspapers will be taken up later.

A third African (Sample I) thought that his paper should change, it had too much rape in it: 'there should be more parliamentary news and foreign news ... and more of the political refugees.'

African (Sample II): 'In a way, which some papers manage to fully.'
African (Sample II): 'The White Press (Daily Mail and Star) fulfill these very well. The Black Press (World) is mainly only commercial, therefore fails.'
African (Sample II): 'It doesn't. It misrepresents the Black man and it uses the results of oppression as a means of justification to condemn the Black man.'

In the last question (general comments on the Press, etc.) this respondent writes, inter alia: 'The Black man has no Press and (not) until such is available will the state of affairs be truthfully reflected.'

Although too few for statistical treatment the views of some of the non-African journalists on the African Press are worth quoting - though they are not claimed necessarily to be 'representative'. A Coloured journalist on the African Press wrote:

> ''Inadequately!!! The South African Press is an invertebrate "body" whose sole function (it appears) is to increase their circulation ... without any thought of ... worthwhile material. The non-White Press, particularly, is guilty of this transgression.' He commented at another point: 'As a journalist I realise that a high circulation makes my job secure but ... the argument that the masses lap up reports of sex and violence should not be the criterion by which a newspaper should formulate its policy.'

A white who was on an African newspaper at the time he replied to the questionnaire but subsequently moved to a white newspaper wrote with deep feeling:

> 'The journalist who strongly disagrees with the Government policy, is often in a position to point out the double standards and injustices prevailing in the country. Over the years the journalist writes about these things ... But sooner or later he realises that no matter ... what injustices he exposes, the situation will always remain the same ... A story appealing to the White man's conscience,

> has always been tossed aside and rejected ... I have become rather blasé and cynical about the whole thing ...'

Some of the views of white journalists on the White Press are now quoted:

> One said: 'The English Press is fighting an uphill battle. It will not succeed, as the Government declines to be dictated to by it. The Afrikaans Press is not interested in the above (the needs of the Africans).'
> Another wrote: 'Our Press is, on the whole, doing a good job with less deliberate slanting than in Britain, for example.'
> A third thought that: 'The English Press fulfill the function of watchdog as far as they can: could do more as far as the world news is concerned.'
> A fourth said, simply: 'Remarkably well.'
> An Afrikaans journalist wrote: 'Not too effectively. Newspapers are always inclined to chose a side - whether this is political or cultural. This detracts from objective reporting.' ('Nie te doeltreffend nie. Koerante is geneig om altyd 'n kant te kies - hetsy polities of kultureel. Daardeur word objektiewe beriggewing vertroebel.')

Several themes came through strongly in a number of the African journalists' replies: that the African Press puts commercial above political or social values, that the Press does not give an accurate reflection of African aspirations or grievances, that it misrepresents Africans or even that there is no African Press at all (because it is not controlled or owned by Africans). The desire for an African-controlled Press was expressed particularly strongly by some journalists on Ilanga, at a meeting with the writer. It is not always clear how far respondents have the African Press in mind in their criticisms of the Press but where this is not explicit it is probably not infrequently implied. Though the extent and depth of such attitudes among African journalists cannot be precisely estimated it is clear that they receive considerable support, and must be taken seriously in any analysis of the African Press's role.

The reasons given by journalists for their choice of occupation throw some further light on journalists' values. Among both Africans and whites the primary reason given was 'to write', 'Interesting life' and 'interest in people' also bulked large, especially among whites. Relevant to the present discussion are the reasons of 'service to the public, idealism' and 'political reform'. It is convenient to present data in tabular form (this is a much abridged version of Table 3, p.8 in St Leger, 1974):

TABLE 35 - Reasons for Becoming a Journalist

	African Sample		White Sample
	Sample I	Sample II	
Writing	21	11	58
Interesting life	4	6	38
Interest in people	7	4	18
Service to public	10	4	14
Political reform	3	3	9
Other	25	15	106
Total reasons	70	43	243
Total persons answering	39	26	107

The socio-political ideals are of relatively small importance, but somewhat more important for Africans than for whites. 'Service to the public' ranks second for Africans, but fifth for whites. Sample I laid particular stress on this motivation. Though the figures here are small, it is of interest to compare them with those of Boyd-Barret, in his (admittedly not completely comparable) survey of entrants to British journalism, where only one percent of the sample said they entered journalism as a 'public service occupation' (Boyd-Barret, 1970). As before a few of the answers are quoted, to give the flavour of the replies (the quotations all refer to the service or political categories):

African: 'To be able to express my convictions, though limited by law.'

African: 'To serve my people by writing.'

African: 'The desire to expose social injustices and get them put right' (this is a quotation from the Attitudes Questionnaire, completed at the same time as this one).

African: 'Love of journalism and to contribute to the progress of the African people...'

A very few journalists 'liked most' about their job the ability to perform a public service or to guide the public, or the contribution they could make to politics or reform. One example (African) is: 'One can wield an influence through one's paper.' The work gives one a 'position of strategy' - one gets to know what people think. Another said that she liked best 'Feature writing on people's living conditions, i.e. Limehill' - clearly a Social Critic role. A third liked most 'the sense of involvement, contributing to exposes, social conscience' - he had joined the Press largely because he saw this social conscience exemplified by his friends on Post and Drum.

The survey of journalists' job aspirations and job satisfaction was based on a 22-question questionnaire applied by McLeod and Rush to United States and South American journalists (McLeod and Rush, 1969: for details see Chapter III). Though the aim of the survey was different from that of the present study, it is worth touching briefly on the main results (see St Leger, 1974 for a fuller exposition). Certain items dealing with socio-ethical attitudes will be dealt with in more detail. The instrument used comprised two 22-item scales, the first asking how important each characteristic was for the respondent, as an attribute of any job he might have and the second elicited the extent to which the job he actually held possessed those characteristics. McLeod and Rush divided their items into 'professional' and 'non-professional' job attributes. An example of the former is 'Opportunity for originality and initiative', of the latter 'Getting ahead in the organisation you work for'. The present author added two 'socio-ethical' or 'partisan' attributes: 'Opportunity to expose social injustices and get them put right' and 'Agreement with one's newspaper's editorial policy'. Two of McLeod's professional attributes can also be classed in these categories: 'Oppprtunity to influence the public's thinking' and 'Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community'.

Taking the results of the survey as a whole (both the Attitudes Scale and a supplementary question on general satisfaction) there appeared to be a fair degree of job satisfaction (Scale II) among black and white journalists. The evidence of the Attitudes Scale and the question on general satisfaction are to some extent in conflict, but the nett conclusion would seem to be that African journalists are probably somewhat less satisfied than white ones, with the second African sample slightly less happy than the first. On the overall job satisfaction score (based on the Attitudes Scale) four out of 23 of Sample I had a nett negative score, six out of 26 of Sample II but only four out of 52 of the white sample. Similarly of those giving an answer on the general satisfaction question, 12 out of 19 of Sample I, 13 out of 22 on Sample II but 32 out of 47 on the white sample reported themselves as 'satisfied' and 'have no wish to leave the profession'. One of the very few (mostly American) studies made of journalists' job satisfaction found a slightly higher proportion (72 per cent) in the 'satisfied' category (Grey and Gerald, 1964).

A factor analysis of the material from the second African and the white sample was carried out, in respect both of aspirations (Scale I) and job satisfaction (Scale II). Results of the factor analysis of aspirations for the two samples is given below, the first five of the ten factors extracted being given in each case. N = 26 for the African and 54 for the White Press sample.

The factors derived are relatively weak ones, that is the proportion of the variance accounted for by each is rather small, and they do not differ greatly in importance, hence their explanatory power is rather low. With this caveat certain features nevertheless appear significant in relation to the subject of this thesis.

Firstly, there is an appreciable difference between the two samples in the importance attached to professional ideals and material ambition. Three of the five factors in the African

TABLE 36(a) - Factor Analysis of Aspirations (Scale I) - African Sample II

Factor	I	II	III	IV	V
Title of Factor	Professionalism /Security	Ambition	Professionalism /Influence	Professionalism /Excitement	Political non-professional
% of Variance accounted for	14.7	11.3	11.3	9.8	9.5
Main Loadings	2 0.948 9 0.936 6 0.832 13 0.553	8 0.902 1 0.801 12 0.621 7 -0.420	17 0.916 16 0.630 20 0.616	10 0.910 22 0.664 13 0.636	15 -0.845 19 0.678 11 -0.663

TABLE 36(b) - Factor Analysis of Aspirations (Scale I) - White Press Sample

Factors	I	II	III	IV	V
Title of Factor	Ambition /Colour	Philistine	Prestige	Alienation	Social Responsibility
% of Variance accounted for	13.2	9.6	9.3	9.1	8.8
Main Loadings	20 0.886 4 0.694 11 0.608 13 0.565	9 -0.808 6 -0.724 13 -0.634	3 0.943 1 0.832 4 0.346	21 -0.800 17 -0.655 2 -0.581 10 -0.439	16 0.830 18 0.785 12 -0.381

sample load heavily on 'professional' items (as defined by McLeod and Rush). Full use of one's abilities (item 9) and opportunity for initiative (item 6) are evidently particularly prized - though, strikingly, security is even more so. In contrast professional aspirations are found, as positive loadings, on only the first and fifth of the white sample factors, and one of these (item 20) stresses professional ambition. Conversely the white journalists lay considerable stress on getting ahead in the organization (item 4) and on prestige (1 and 3). Material ambition or desire for esteem is less important for the Africans. As far as either is emphasised it is the latter, the prestige factor (items 1 and 8) that is stressed, not the hope of progress up the promotion ladder. These differences between black and white may reflect Africans' realistic perception of relative job prospects; they also suggest a greater measure of (expressed) idealism by African journalists, and a measure of cynicism by white ones.

Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the other data adduced, the socially-oriented values, though present, are not strongly stressed by either black or white journalists. They are, however, more important for the former than for the latter, the third and fifth factors, 'Professionalism/Influence' and 'Political/Non-Professional' loading on relevant items. For the whites only the fifth factor was relevant in this regard. It is significant that the third factor for African sample II loads on 'Ability to influence the public's thinking' and the fifth on 'Agreement with editorial policy', for it implies that African journalists draw a clear distinction between a newspaper's ability to influence public opinion and the explicit editorial policy it pursues. If this interpretation is justified it would seem to fit in with the position of the African journalist in South Africa, who would like to think that he is influencing the African public despite the fact (see the analysis of Scale II, below) that he is often out of sympathy with his newspaper's editorial policy.

It is interesting to compare the findings of the above analysis with some other work - admittedly considerably earlier and for different occupational groups - on Africans' job aspirations. Sherwood, in the study already quoted, found that the

social service motif came a clear first both for African clerks and for African professional people (teachers, nurses, social workers) as a desirable attribute of a job they would like. Both groups laid far more emphasis on this attribute than did white American clerks and professionals. Sherwood quotes Allport, in his study of youth in ten nations, as finding that South African Africans 'in mentioning social problems ... stood head and shoulders above all other groups', that is, they were far more concerned with the social service motif (80% mentioned it as against 15% of Harvard students, for example). Sherwood's field work was done in 1955. Brandel-Syrier, in her study of social mobility among African elites in 'Reeftown' in the late '50s and early '60s, based on un- or semi-structured interviewing and observation, came to a rather different conclusion: '... here we saw the jobs [of her 60 'elite'] as means to self-advancement, the careers almost entirely in the service of financial and social improvement' (Brandel-Syrier, op. cit., p.229). These studies are cited for illustrative purposes, not to reach conclusions about the job aspirations of Africans 'in general'; it may, however, be suggested that the Sherwood and Brandel-Syrier data are more complementary than contradictory.

Journalists' aspirations throw light on their ideals, their degree of job satisfaction, on the characteristics and performance of the Press, as they perceive it in relation to their own personal situation as well as in terms of their social ideals. The data on this latter topic are derived from Scale II. They are probably more valid, because less subject to 'response set' than those from Scale I. Tables 37, 38 and 39 below give, respectively, the factor analysis of the second African sample and the white sample (analogous to the data in Table 36, referring to Scale I), a ranking of items of job satisfaction for all three samples, and an examination both of rankings and of scores for the 'socio-ethical' items in the three samples.

Insofar as the object of this chapter is not to examine job satisfaction as such no exhaustive analysis of the three tables will be undertaken. Certain points do, however, call for attention.

TABLE 37(a) - Factor Analysis of Job Satisfaction (Scale II) - African Sample II

Factors	I	II	III	IV	V
Title of Factor	General Satisfaction	Satisfied Ambition	Satisfactory Supervision	Dullness, frustrated Social Service motive	Solidarity Social Service
% of Variance accounted for	29.7	10.5	10.4	8.9	8.2
Main Loadings	9 0.890 18 0.855 16 0.854 6 0.825 5 0.752 22 0.741	2 0.818 4 0.687 11 0.377	15 0.741 11 0.730 12 0.662	8 -0.820 13 -0.769 14 -0.391 15 -0.377	7 0.841 21 0.785 14 0.396

TABLE 37(b) - Factor Analysis of Job Satisfaction (Scale II) - White Press Sample

Factors	I	II	III	IV	V
Title of Factor	General Satisfaction	Professional /promotion frustration	Frustrated social influence	Anti-editorial policy	'Conservative'
% of Variance accounted for	19.01	12.27	11.37	6.97	6.62
Main Loadings	5 0.766 6 0.762 17 0.751 3 0.731	20 -0.845 10 -0.815 4 -0.720	14 -0.825 16 -0.771 13 -0.664 8 -0.589	19 -0.904 15 -0.524	22 0.676 7 0.361

TABLE 38 - Ranking of Items of Job Satisfaction (Scale II)

Type of Item*	No.	Description	Rankings		
			African Sample I	African Sample II	White Sample
Non-professional	1	Job with prestige in the community	1	6	7
"	2	Security in the job	7	12	1
"	3	Job with high prestige in the organisation	15	11	10
"	4	Getting ahead in the organisation	18	15	17
"	5	Being with congenial people	8	2	2
Professional	6	Opportunity for originality	9	13	6
Non-professional	7	Job does not disrupt family life	5	20	19
"	8	Brings one into contact with important people	3	1	9
Professional	9	Full use of abilities	12	6	5
"	10	Opportunity to learn new skills	22	14	21
"	11	Appreciative supervisor	13	17	15
Non-professional	12	Enough money for good living	21	21	22
"	13	Job providing excitement	4	3	14
Socio-ethical	14	Opportunity to expose injustices	16	18	20
Professional	15	Freedom from close supervision	11	19	4
Professional and Socio-ethical	16	Opportunity to influence public	14	9	15

TABLE 38 (continued)

Type of Item*	Items No.	Description	Rankings African Sample I	African Sample II	White Sample
Professional	17	Respect from co-workers	6	8	12
Professional and Socio-ethical	18	Job valuable to the community	2	5	11
Socio-ethical	19	Agreement with editorial policy	19	22	12
Professional	20	Getting ahead in professional career	19	10	18
Non-professional	21	Colleagues will stand behind me in a tough spot	10	4	8
Professional	22	Newspaper respected by other journalists	17	16	3

* See Chapter III, Section 2.

TABLE 39 : Socio-ethical Items : Rankings and Scores

	African Sample I	African Sample II	White Sample
Expose injustices (14)	16th (0.80)	18th (0.37)	20th (0.40)
Editorial policy (19)	19th (0.39)	22nd (-0.65)	12th (0.84)
Influence public (16)	14th (0.90)	9th (0.85)	15th (0.73)
Job valuable to community (18)	2nd (1.67)	5th (1.21)	11th (0.86)

Firstly, though for both samples in Table 37 the main factors are to be categorised as 'General satisfaction', beyond this the vein of frustration and dissatisfaction (negative loadings) running through the white sample does not have its counterpart in the black one (except on Factor IV). Secondly, there is the relatively greater satisfaction of Sample II and the white sample, but not of African sample I, in the professional as opposed to the non-professional aspects of their jobs. This is particularly noticeable in Table 37, in the heavy loadings of Factor I on professional items (6, 9 and 22). It is possible that the proportionately greater number of Africans in Sample II who worked on South African Associated Newspapers, which has, or may be seen to have, higher professional standards than the African Press is relevant here.

Moving from the indirectly relevant theme of professionalism to consideration of how far journalists felt socio-ethical aspirations were actually satisfied in the jobs they held the two most noteworthy points are, first, that Africans are rather more optimistic than whites about three of these items; only in relation to editorial policy (what might be termed the Crusader function) are they much more pessimistic - indeed this item comes bottom of the list for the second African sample, and, together with attitude to pay, is the only item in all three samples which has a negative score. Specifically only nine out of 26 in Sample II are satisfied or very satisfied with editorial policy, 17 dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. The corresponding figures for Sample I are 12 and six, and for the white sample 41 and 12. This finding tends to fit expectations.

Second, is the segregation - noted in relation to aspirations - between a job which is valuable to, or in which one can influence the community, and one where one agrees with editorial policy or even where one can expose social evils. The implications of this interesting dichotomy - and apparent contradiction - deserve further investigation, but any explanation here could only be somewhat conjectural. Does it represent an objective reality, or is it a subjective response to - in fact a rationalization of - the role conflict to which the African journalist is subject?

It seems likely, from the evidence, firstly that African journalists see much of value in other aspects of their jobs - that bringing out a newspaper which, while it is by no means courageous enough in its editorial line, nor diligent enough in exposing injustice, still does provide a worthwhile source of information and interpretation to the public, is something well worth doing. By the same token, as is clear from their motives in entering journalism, or the things liked most, they do find it rewarding in the narrower, professional sense. To this, the socio-political context, though important, is secondary. Secondly, in a very real sense, African journalists have very little choice, short of leaving the profession, in trying to maintain their self-respect and confidence in what they are doing. These two themes could, of course, be much elaborated, analysed and refined, but though relevant, they are not sufficiently central to the argument to warrant an extended discussion here.

A major theme of this thesis has been the different ways in which different newspapers have discharged their roles. These differences, as suggested earlier in this chapter, are an expression of each newspaper's 'personality', a personality which both moulds and is moulded by the particular ethos of the newspaper concerned. Some indices of this ethos are provided by the data of the surveys reviewed in this chapter, although inevitably the numbers of respondents in each newspaper are relatively small. Tables 40 and 41 below analyse the data from Item 19, Agreement with Editorial Policy, and Item 14, Opportunity to expose Injustices in respect of the two main African newspapers, Rand Daily Mail (Africans and whites), other Argus and other white newspapers. The figures for other newspapers are too small to record separately.

World scores low on both items, Post/Drum high, and Rand Daily Mail (African journalists) low on the first and high on the second. It is noteworthy that on both World and more so Rand Daily Mail (especially among the Africans) there is less agreement with editorial policy than there is confidence in ability to expose injustice; in the eyes of their staff, particularly their black staff, these two newspapers fulfill the Social Critic

TABLE 40 - Agreement with Editorial Policy, by Newspaper

	World	Post/Drum	Rand Daily Mail African	Rand Daily Mail White	Star	Other Argus	Other White
Very negative	8	-	2	-	1	-	1
Negative	2	1	2	2	2	1	3
Positive	4	1	-	2	4	7	12
Very positive	2	4	2	1	2	4	7
No answer	6	-	3	1	1	-	2
Total	22	6	9	6	10	12	25

Note: In this and Table 41 figures for World and Drum/Post include a minority of white journalists working on these papers.

TABLE 41 - Opportunity to Expose Injustices, by Newspaper

	World	Post/Drum	Rand Daily Mail African	Rand Daily Mail White	Ilanga	Star	Other Argus	Other White
Very negative	6	1	-	-	2	4	3	3
Negative	1	-	-	1	-	4	1	2
Positive	4	3	1	1	-	-	5	7
Very positive	5	3	6	4	2	2	3	8
No answer	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	5
Total	22	8	9	6	4	10	12	25

function better than the Partisan one. It is of interest to note that the opposite is true of the Star; it draws about the same level of agreement with its editorial policy as other white papers but is much poorer at exposing social injustice. All the figures in Tables 40 and 41 are, of course, very small, so that the conclusions based on them must be very tentative.

An analysis of the African Press (white and African) responses and those of the White Press sample who completed the Attitudes Questionnaire by 'How well does the Press fulfill these functions?' gives a rather similar picture to that of Tables 40 and 41: World journalists are predominantly negative (nine out of 17) in their judgement, Post/Drum and Rand Daily Mail (African) are - perhaps surprisingly - rather more negative, whereas Rand Daily Mail (white), Star and other white newspaper journalists are mostly favourable.

The figures quoted in Table 41 are probably a good reflection of the relative standing of World, Post and Rand Daily Mail, in terms of their image as critics of the injustices and deprivation Africans in South Africa suffer. This image refers to that held by journalists on the African Press - primarily but not exclusively Africans - or others who know the African Press well. This conclusion is derived, not only from the statistical data, but from comments made, either in writing or verbally by several African and white journalists - some of these comments have been quoted above - and from the writer's own impressions during the research. The writer's impression is that Ilanga would come below World and Imvo Zabantsundu below Ilanga. Broadly speaking, the ranking given to these newspapers as social critics, applies also to the degree of social cohesion and 'normative consensus' within each newspaper office, particularly as regards relations between white and black journalists on these papers.

Imvo Zabantsundu, which impressed the writer as a relatively cohesive office, with good relations between the white editor and three African journalists, but which ranks low as Social Critic,

perhaps does not fit perfectly into this scheme, and Rand Daily Mail, where there seems to be a measure of segregation of the African journalists but which in other ways has a high prestige, may not fit perfectly either. Ilanga black journalists appear to be almost in rebellion against the white staff over them - at least verbally - while World, the largest of all the newspapers concerned (in terms of African journalists employed) is comparatively impersonal, and relationships between white and African staff do not appear particularly close, though probably closer at the lower than at the higher levels - the attitude of the white editorial director is business-like rather than personally friendly. Post is a much closer-knit office, with a greater feeling of comradeship between white and black journalists, while Drum was more closely integrated still - Post and Drum appear to have changed to some extent, but not fundamentally, from the time described by Sampson in Drum (Sampson, 1956) and Hopkinson (1963). White and black staff on Drum mixed freely socially, sometimes drinking together after work, for example. This would be only slightly less true on Post, but quite unusual - though not unknown - on World. The effects of these good relationships, not only across the colour line, are likely to be expressed in greater job satisfaction and good morale generally. Indirectly, they are likely to affect - as they are affected by - the quality of the newspaper's content, and in particular of its social witness. Someone who feels accepted, both as a person and as a worthwhile co-contributor to an enterprise, is more likely to give of his best, and to express himself more freely, than one not so accepted. Further, the good relationships mentioned tend to be associated with a greater degree of democratic participation in the running of the newspaper.

The foregoing discussion has admittedly been impressionistic, rather than based on the 'detailed 'hard' evidence - for example actual records of interaction within and outside the office - which would be required for fully-tested conclusions. Hence conclusions must be tentative; nevertheless the writer feels their acceptability is quite high, the more so as they fit well with the data obtained from content analysis.

The next chapter endeavours to analyse the way in which policy is actually made in each newspaper, and to trace the influence on policy of the factors discussed in this and the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XIV
POLICY AND ITS FORMATION

The policy of a newspaper in relation to public issues is not as a rule the result of conscious explicit formulation, but tends to be built up rather by precedent and tradition, within rather wide and often unstated limits. Most journalists, for example, will not be told in so many words what 'line' to follow, but will soon absorb the policy and ethos of a newspaper more or less implicitly, through 'newsroom socialization' (Breed, 1955) (but see Wintour, 1973). One former African Press journalist, asked 'What instructions ... were you given as to the paper's policy ...?' answered 'The whole scene was played by ear, and policy was decided by discussion on each issue as it arose...'. Newspapers, because they are not responsible to a party caucus nor an electorate and are not trammelled by the constraints inevitably accompanying action in the 'real world', can be more flexible and more eclectic, more independent-minded than Government or political figures.

Nevertheless, it is of course, true that most newspapers - except local ones, which tend to seek consensus or avoid conflict, at least on issues which may be divisive of their readers (see e.g. Janowitz, 1967) - do follow a more or less consistent line of policy on the major issues of the day. They do, that is, acknowledge their Partisan role. A few samples of a conscious statement of Post's position have been given (see Chapter VI, p. 115 above) (1958 and 1963). Chapter X and in part Chapter XII have in fact been taken up in describing how the main units of the African Press in South Africa do fulfill and have in the past fulfilled that role, while Chapter VI has given some attention to newspaper policy in an historical perspective. It now becomes important to examine how the policies of the African Press newspapers are made, and to trace the impact of the different forces discussed on the shaping of policy.

In doing so it must be stressed that newspaper policy is one facet of a newspaper's 'personality', of the image by which it is known to the public and even of the image held of it by its own employees. This personality is compounded of numerous attitudes, such as - perhaps most importantly - style, news coverage, typography and lay-out, staff relationships and, as mentioned in the last Chapter its peculiar sub-culture. It is, indeed, one of the contentions of this thesis that there is a marked and reciprocal influence between what may be called (slightly adapting Homans' concepts) the internal and the external systems of a newspaper, or between its internal organisation, social cohesion and ethos and the policies embodied in its pages.

Partly because newspaper policy is implicit rather than explicit, diffuse rather than specific, but more obviously because of the usual barriers to acquiring knowledge of decision-making processes in any organisation, much of the evidence advanced in this chapter must be indirect rather than direct, and conclusions often based on (hopefully reasoned) conjecture rather than knowledge. So, for example, though World Printing and Publishing Company opened all except the most recent of their Minute Books and made available income and expenditure figures for one year, neither of these sources were available for Post. These caveats must be borne in mind in reading the account that follows.

In the ultimate analysis newspaper policy in broad terms is laid down, by, or at least must comply with the wishes of the proprietors, though its day-to-day execution is entrusted to the editor. Of course, the degree to which proprietors seek to control editorial policy varies widely; some proprietors (such as Lord Thomson in Britain) claim that they are interested only in the business side of the newspaper venture, others, like Lord Beaverbrook or John Morton in South Africa, have definite views on the policy to be pursued, and may intervene to a greater or lesser extent in the actual running of their newspapers. Well known South African examples of such intervention are the dismissal of the editor of the Cape Argus, McCausland, for his articles on the Czech crisis, in 1938 and the 'kicking upstairs' of the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Laurence Gandar, for his too liberal

editorial line. He was promoted from editor to editorial director, but this meant a loss of effective editorial control. In very few newspapers, such as the London Times is the editor's independence formally protected by legal provisos. Some, such as the (London) Observer or the (South African) Daily Dispatch are run by a non-profit making Trust, but this, of course, does not in itself necessarily ensure the independence of the editor. Proprietorial control may be concentrated in effect, if not legally, in one man or may be more widely diffused over a Board of Directors, below whom, in turn, stands the manager of the newspaper.

In the case of the World Printing and Publishing Company there is a manager (Ilanga, in Durban, also has a manager subordinate to the one in Johannesburg, at the office that publishes World and Week-end World (and subsequent to 1971, the new Post)), above whom is the company's Board of Directors. Effective overall control is, however, exercised not by the latter but by the Argus Company hierarchy (at least according to one source in a good position to know). The policy of the Argus Company, to which its editors are supposed to conform, is set out in a formal statement, which reads in part:

> 'To serve the Republic of South Africa loyally and to place its advancement and well-being before all else ... To further the cause of racial co-operation and to pursue a sympathetic and benevolent policy in matters concerning the welfare and progress of the non-White population. The Company does not regard the making of profit as an end in itself, but as a means of maintaining and improving the standard of its newspapers.'

Managerial control is exercised primarily by selecting as editor a man who is likely to be in sympathy with the broad lines of policy. Normally he is then left to run the editorial side of the newspaper as he thinks fit, within broad limits which are usually implicit rather than explicit. On World direct intervention from Board or Argus Company level appears to be rare, and when it does occur, takes the form mainly of ex-post facto

criticism. Thus criticisms have evidently been advanced on occasion of the sensationalism in World; for example the publication of a report (with photographs) of an incident when some young men whipped an African girl - paradoxically enough the magistrate subsequently trying the young men for assault commended World because the photographs taken helped to identify the men concerned. A much more serious intervention (during the late '60s) was the dismissal of the then editor of World because of a heavy drop in circulation. This seems to have been due, in the main, to his policy, which tended to be moralistic and eschewed sensationalism! This was a case of intervention on strictly commercial grounds - there is no evidence that Management would have objected to the editor's tone of policy if circulation had continued to rise.

Intervention in respect of editorial policy as such, sometimes direct, sometimes through editorial directors, has been mentioned in Chapter VI. In most instances these were African editors, but on occasion white. Such intervention was inspired by concern about the radical nature of the editorial policy being pursued. How far the concern was due simply to deviation from company policy, and how far to fear of Government or police reactions to the editorial concerned, and possible prosecutions, is not clear. At least one such prosecution (strangely enough, not in South Africa but in one of the then High Commission Territories) is recorded. The appointment of whites with knowledge of the relevant African languages to 'vet' copy written in the vernacular is another example of the same concern, though the ever-present newspaperman's threat of libel actions was probably a subsidiary factor.

On Post and Drum the proprietor, Mr Bailey, took a very keen interest in the day-to-day running of both publications, but especially, perhaps, Drum. Intervention was mainly in the form of suggestions rather than instruction or veto but on one occasion this led to the resignation of the editor, as chronicled in Tom Hopkinson's book (Hopkinson, 1962).

On Imvo Zabantsundu little direct evidence is available but during the latter part of the research period, the manager was the editor's husband, so that the question of managerial control probably did not arise! What degree of control was exercised by the parent company, Afrikaanse Pers, is not known.

So far managerial control over editors has been discussed. African Press editors (or editorial directors, where they exist) are, it would seem, to a very large extent able to shape the policy of their newspaper. The influence of any employee below the rank of editor or assistant editor on the formation of policy is however, very limited, though such employees may occasionally be in a position to modify or even to obstruct the execution of policy. The ability of the rank-and-file journalist to do this depends largely on the degree of expertise of the subordinate staff, particularly as compared with that of the supervisory staff. Stark's article (Stark, 1962), quoted several times before in this thesis, describes the rare situation where the reporters (or some of them) were better qualified than their supervisors, and were, in fact close to indispensable to the paper's functioning. This situation does not occur in the African Press, save to a very minor extent, because the average level of skill is relatively low. 'Sabotage' through exploiting the (white) editors' ignorance of the vernacular has sometimes been possible in the past, and may still be feasible to some extent on the vernacular newspapers, by writing articles with 'double meanings'. 'Sabotage' on Ilethu has been mentioned but this took the form not of changing the policy, but of helping to kill the paper altogether.

The weekly editorial conference on Post, or the twice-daily one on World, does afford some opportunity for those of news editor, sports editor, or chief sub-editor rank to make a contribution but this is probably very limited, as the conference (this, at least, was true of World) deals mainly with short-term, factual news problems - this 'lead' rather than that, or suggestions and discussions on stories to be followed up.

Editorials are written not only by the editor but by various other members of staff. Where there is an editorial director the oversight of editorial writing lies in his hands. He may also suggest subjects for editorials and the general line to be followed, as well as sometimes writing them himself. At Post editorials were evidently composed after an informal pooling of the staff's ideas. At World editorials are written at different times by the editor, news editor and sports editor. It is the editor, where there is an editorial director, or a senior journalist, where there is not one, who initially examines letters prior to publication, but again the editorial director has the final say. Depending on how 'democratic' the newspaper is ideas may filter up to the top from the lower levels; this was considerably more likely to happen on Post than on World. More senior journalists may sometimes be able to exert an influence, for example two (white) journalists on Post claim to have affected a change in policy regarding sensationalism - one by simply failing to submit certain types of copy to Head Office.

The leader writers on World and Ilanga are/were African, those on Post and Inve white. The differences between editorials on World and Post, noted in Chapters IX and XII, are probably in some measure related to this difference as well as to the fact that in the latter case there is no one above the editor, to censor what is written. Personal experience and outlook can sometimes be detected in editorials, for example in the different stances taken by Post and World respectively on Lesotho politics; the former was critical of Leabua Jonathan, the latter not. World's editorial position may have been the expression of, or been influenced by the personal views of one of World's more senior staff who has personal connections with Lesotho. Post's attitude would probably have been more in accord with general 'liberal' opinion.

This, then is a sketch of the framework of policy making. It is necessary to examine how, within that framework, the various forces described in previous chapters exert their influence. First of all, the general views of journalists analysed in chapter XIII, will be particularised in the attitudes and approach to

their task of those who bear the major share of policy making, the editors and editorial directors of the African Press.

The editorial director of World and Week-end World stated explicitly that his aim was to produce a paper modelled on the British Daily Mirror, aimed at readers with Std III education. He felt that before a newspaper could exert any political influence it needed to establish a solid base of support, by giving Africans what they want, for example material on crime, sport and funerals. He thought that Africans, in fact, had little interest in politics - though there was a vigorous reaction when Chief Luthuli died - or in international news. The editor of World had, however, a much more idealistic view. The World was meant (he said) to serve as 'the midwife of a new African society'. Though he did not 'pull punches' for fear of the Government he did tend to concentrate in his editorials on practical issues such as education, or an adequate train service to Soweto. The analysis of editorials above bears out these contentions in part. The remark of an assistant editor (white) on World is worth quoting (though he writes very few leaders): 'I see a very real need for caution about matters on which readers may feel strongly'. This man was more or less 'a-political'.

The editor of Post stated that the newspaper was aimed at 'the housewife with Junior Certificate - good, simple English'. The duty of the Press was to entertain, to keep its readers informed, fight injustices and speak without fear. He claimed to have no political opinions, though this can hardly be credited! It is of some interest that the first editor of the new Drum (1968-1969) told the writer early in his editorial career that the proprietor (Jim Bailey) was constantly pleading for more political fire in Drum, but later said the pressure from Bailey was in the opposite direction.

Insufficient information is available about policy on Ilanga and Imvo Zabantsundu to permit categorical statements.

It would be rather invidious to refer to the political opinions of individuals. The foregoing discussion should, however, be read in conjunction with the general remarks on political attitudes of management and editorial staff in Chapter VI, pp. 138-9.

The personal views of publishers, to a lesser extent editors and to a relatively lesser extent journalistic staff at lower levels are of appreciable importance. More important are the factors, economic, political and social which affect the African Press from the outside.

Secondly, then, economic factors. The importance of these has been demonstrated in Chapter V; they had, by the date of the research, become as, or more important, than political ones in informing the general ethos of the newspapers concerned. This is probably truer on World and its sister newspapers than on Post or Drum but it applies to all the main African Press organs. Put in a slightly different way the 'revenue' goals of these newspapers have become relatively more important in relation to the 'non-revenue' goals (Tunstall, op. cit.). The evidence for these statements is partly circumstantial. The increase in capitalisation, in circulation and in advertising on the various newspapers, but especially World and Post must inevitably emphasise their importance as economic ventures. A greater proportion of effort needs to be expended to ensure that circulation continues to climb, or at least does not fall, that advertisers are attracted - and held - despite the threat of television. In the case of World, of course, the factors mentioned were reinforced by a major organisational change - its take-over by the Argus Company.

The evidence is not only circumstantial, however. Several of the journalists interviewed, or who completed questionnaires, have stressed the change in the character of the newspapers due to economic growth and bureaucratization. One, for example, considered that as Post grew so people were brought in to man it who were efficient but were hardly in sympathy with the ethos of the paper as it had been during the '50s - one senior man on the

managerial side, for example, had (according to the journalist quoted) been heard to refer to it as a 'Kaffir paper'. Another (not on Post) suggested that white journalists now came to Post largely for the high salaries they could earn on it, not because they were dedicated to the paper's ideals. A journalist who had been on World 1955-57 and 1963-65 compared its later character very unfavourably with its earlier - the spirit of comradeship had gone (cited in Chapter VI above, p.114). Another spoke of the dissatisfaction caused by the introduction of white printers on World - to cope with the greater output necessitated by a higher circulation.

The writer did not know Post or World in the earlier period (pre-1960) but his impression of World as relatively impersonal and businesslike has been recorded earlier in this thesis. The senior staff, both managerial and editorial, appeared to be keen and efficient, but with little feel for African aspirations. As mentioned these criticisms would be less true on Post or Drum, but certainly they would apply to some of the staff - if less so than on World. These impressions and the journalists' evidence, suggest, if they do not prove that the atmosphere of the newspapers had changed appreciably during the '60s, and that the change was connected, at least in part, with greater emphasis on commercial values and with greater bureaucratization, at least on World.

On another plane the influence of advertisers is something about which it is very difficult to obtain accurate information. From interviews with managers and others the general impression is that no direct influence is exerted. Within a fairly wide range advertisers are probably not concerned with the politics of a publication in which they advertise; they might, however, be disinclined to advertise in a publication which they thought likely to be banned. Certainly World, in particular, has gone to considerable lengths to attract advertising, for example, by holding seminars on advertising to Africans, but there is nothing to indicate that this has affected editorial policy.

Because the proportion of all advertising which appears in the African Press is so small, and because the market is relatively an undeveloped one, with few luxuries advertised, the infection of the editorial pages by advertising values, as mentioned by Williams (1968), is not a problem in the African Press.

The financial and Directorial links between the African Press and major mining, commercial and financial interests have been dealt with briefly in Chapters IV, V and VI. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain 'hard' or even hearsay evidence of actual influence by such interests on newspaper policy: generally any such effects would be strongly denied by all concerned, at least at editor, management or Board-room level. The ethic of journalistic independence would probably be cited, at all these levels, against any direct or crude attempt to 'bend' the policy of a given newspaper in favour of (say) mining or particular commercial interests. In general the influence exerted would be analogous to that of management over editors, mostly implicit, or through the sharing by all in a position actively to influence policy of common assumptions about the institutions of capitalist society. In short, it would probably be mainly in 'crisis' situations that any attempt would be made to influence newspaper policy.

The rebuke to Mr Paver by the President of the Chamber of Mines about his editorial on the African Miners' strike has been mentioned in Chapter VI. (This, be it noted, was in itself an external not a 'Boardroom' influence.) On the other hand, the very forthright editorial in Post (of 1.10.1967) criticising the level of miners' pay, quoted above, seems an example of a liberal attitude to such criticism, in a newspaper whose proprietor had strong links with mining interests. At the ordinary journalist's level, one mention was made of an article being 'spiked' at Management's command because of its criticisms of the treatment of mineworkers. Another article (in Drum) was, however, claimed to have been successful in effecting an improvement in the treatment of mineworkers. In short, what evidence the writer has been able to collect is insufficient - and in any case too contradictory -

to form the basis for any definite judgement. On the whole it seems likely that an appreciable degree of freedom is allowed - or at editorial or management level - taken. In fact, it could be argued that in the South African context, relatively few really damaging attacks on major economic interests - for example, newspaper incitement to a miners' strike - would not at the same time be a contravention of one or other of the network of laws affecting the Press.

Social factors, especially increased urbanization and education of Africans have been important primarily for their effect on circulation. They do also affect for example, the use of the vernacular, which World dropped a decade ago, and more generally, readers' tastes. Unfortunately, there is little direct evidence on this subject, at least in published form. This is almost terra incognita. What evidence is available suggests that while the two factors mentioned are probably of importance the increase in readership would appear to have been much greater than the advances in education and/or the increases in urbanization would seem to warrant. It seems likely, however, that a rising level of education will lead to an increasingly sophisticated demand in newspapers and magazine material, as has possibly occurred to some extent in Britain and may be happening among Afrikaans-speaking whites in South Africa. This process is likely to be a very gradual one, however. These issues have been discussed in Chapter VII.

It is, however, worth pointing out that there is still a very considerable untapped market among urban, let alone rural Africans, at a low educational level - 77% of urban Africans over 15, for example, read no daily newspaper, and 59% no weekly, while 74% read no magazine (Market Research Africa, 1973). Mother-tongue education at the primary school level since 1954 may also be of some effect in bolstering the circulations of the vernacular papers, which have so dramatically increased in recent years. The greater proportion of Africans living in the Homelands, as shown by the 1970 Census (even allowing for the controversies about these figures) should have the same effect.

Probably the most important influence on policy is the political one. This operates at two levels, firstly, Government policy and second, public attitudes, including those of the journalists themselves. The first can be taken to include the legal curbs on the Press. Seymour-Ure, in his study of the British Press and politics, considers the law of libel to be a very serious inhibiting factor on the Press in doing its duty as public 'watchdog' (Seymour-Ure, 1968, Ch.IV). In South Africa the statutory restraints described in Chapter VI are much more important. The Supression of Communism Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 (see above, Chapter VI, p. 130) and the various laws prohibiting the stirring up of feelings of animosity between the races (the 1927 Native Administration Act, 'Sabotage' and 'Terrorism' Acts all contain such provisions) are particularly inhibiting. The so-called 'BOSS' Act also spreads its net widely, insofar as the activities of the Bureau of State Security are often likely to be important news in South Africa. Other legislation usually deals with a more limited field, such as prisons, but may be important within that area. The most harmful effect of all this legislation is its uncertainty. This also applies to libel. The natural result of this is, to use Horace Flather's simile (quoted on p. 129 above), that editors, not knowing exactly where the mines are planted, give the whole area a wide berth, i.e. tend to be excessively cautious (see also Ginwala, 1972). Hence, probably, the instruction to journalists on one African newspaper to avoid politics except on the leader page. Journalists are likely to develop a form of self-censorship more inhibiting than the actual legislative provisions. As Social Criticism or exposé stories are particularly likely to fall athwart of the threatening legislation, these tend to be the first casualties, while editorials which hammer away on general principles, like many of those in Post, or deal with less sensitive areas, like many of those in World are safe. The provisions of the Publications and Entertainments Act are a particularly good example of this - as mentioned in Chapter VI - both in relation to 'political' matter and to 'pornography'. Allied to all this legislation affecting newspapers as such is, of course, that which can be used against journalists in their personal capacity. This is perhaps even more threatening, at least to those below editorial level. Overseas born journalists are, of course, particularly vulnerable, in that they can be deported. African journalists face, in addition to the overall threats to their freedom - banning, detention, house arrest, or prosecution under

the web of 'political' legislation - action in terms of Urban Areas and other legislation applying only to them.

The actual use made of the many powers the Government possesses is relatively sparing, and it is by no means certain that the courts - where there is access to them as is by no means always the case - would take the same view as the State: examples of this include a series of decisions against the Publications Control Board, and the decision of the Supreme Court in relation to an article by Mr Jaap Marais, the publication of which the police forbade when it was already set in print. (Both sets of occurrences refer to the period 1970-71, when this chapter was originally drafted.)

The effect of Government pressure on newspapers is, of course, most directly felt by editors, and to a lesser extent by assistant editors and sub-editors, but does extend to everyone on the paper. The general principle that 'he who has least responsibility is most bold' is abetted by the fact that those who have responsibility are mostly white, the rank-and-file journalist black, and the latter is naturally inclined to suspect the former of pusillanimity and/or half-heartedness. A number of journalists, white and black, have in fact left the African Press because of its hamstringing by Government pressure. Some have moved to white newspapers - especially the Rand Daily Mail - others have moved into other occupations, others still have left the country. Many others, who remain, cannot write sincerely. Moreover, it is logical to wonder whether a number of journalists or potential journalists who might otherwise have come onto the African Press have not done so, for this reason.

Apart from Government pressures both white and black public opinion is relevant to newspaper policy, the former indirectly, insofar as it effects the outlook of whites working on the African Press. Insofar as white opinion - at least among those groups from whom journalists are usually drawn - hardened during the early 1960s, as a result both of internal subversion and the

troubles in the African states, especially the Congo, so white journalists joining the African Press would, it may be hypothesised, be less favourable towards African aspirations than were their predecessors. The fact that African political movements had largely been reduced to impotence during the 1960s, and the newspapers subjected to increased restrictions, would, of course, itself discourage some liberal white journalists from joining these newspapers. The disillusionment of some white journalists either those still on the African Press, or those who have left it, has been mentioned. This disillusionment is rather in the form of alienation than of a change from liberal attitudes. The flavour of this attitude is expressed by one white journalist who said that his friends were now mostly either dead, in exile or in gaol, and that the work was now only a routine.

It is naturally difficult to test this hypothesis, but observation - and comments by older journalists - tend to suggest that there may be some truth in it, that present-day white journalists often join for salary reasons - or for curiosity - but not for idealistic motives, or are transferred within the Argus Company organisation. The attitudes of white journalists, i.e. those below editorial rank have, as has been pointed out, limited influence on policy, but some of them do affect it. As far as the African newspapers are concerned their position is considerably more vulnerable than that of the white ones, because their readers are not voters, they are not part of the white 'Establishment', consequently action against them would lead to much less protest from the public than that against a white newspaper.

As far as African public opinion is concerned some, but relatively minor, importance attaches to the views of African journalists, at least to those in the higher positions. These latter are often - but not always - rather conservative by African standards. If they were not they probably would not be in those positions. Thus the late Professor Z. K. Matthews was offered an editorship on one of the newspapers some years ago - and told that if he accepted he would 'have a free hand' - but he declined. The implication is that he did so for policy reasons. On the other hand the controllers of the newspapers would be unlikely to appoint very radical men to editorial positions.

More important is the estimate, by those who control the African Press, of African public opinion. This, of course, is largely dormant, politically, and therefore difficult to assess. As Brett's research (Brett, 1963) suggests the African middle class at least is likely to be fairly radical. Since the time of his research it might have been expected to become not basically more tolerant of apartheid, but more willing to use the positive aspects of it for their advancement as individuals or that of the African people generally. Some observers, on the African Press and elsewhere, believe that African opinion has swung in this direction, and the 1968 election results in the Transkei, and the acceptance by the Zulus of a Territorial Authority point in this direction. It is this attitude that very many of the World's editorials seek to appeal to, though Post's on the whole do not. One editor (not of World), in fact, informed the writer that they had wondered whether to swing the paper to support the Government, but had decided against it because a considerable proportion of the readership would have been opposed to this move, even though for many 'half a loaf was better than no bread'.

The writer's Port Elizabeth study found more opposition to the Bantustan policy among better- than less-educated Africans. Two questions were asked on this topic, one asking the informant's own opinion on the policy, the other asking what Africans in cities, white farms, the Transkei and other Reserves thought of the policy. Most informants said they approved of the policy, the figures being: For - 19, Against - 10, Don't know - 14. Answers to the second, projective question however, indicated that the majority of respondents thought that city Africans were against the policy, though most thought Africans in the three other categories were in favour of it. Better educated respondents were more likely to think that city Africans were against the policy. It seems reasonable to assume that people will base their replies to such a question on attitudes perceived among their associates, so that it follows that city Africans, but particularly well-educated city Africans, still oppose the policy. This would suggest that the African working class is more 'conservative' politically therefore more susceptible to a 'moderate' editorial line. Developments since the time of the research have, of course, tended to show that African political feeling was dormant, rather than non-existent, and some account is now being taken of reviving political interest.

Editorial policy is influenced not by the facts of public opinion but by what this opinion is thought to be. It is extremely difficult, in present circumstances, to form a true picture of the former, though a little evidence has been adduced; a fair indication of the latter has been given.

CHAPTER XV
CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters have given an account of the African Press and in particular of its performance of certain socio-ethical roles at a given point in its history; they have also given some indication of how that Press's performance of its Social Critic and Partisan functions has changed over time. An attempt has been made to trace and to assess the relative importance of the various influences operating to affect Press performance. Some evidence has been collected relative to the various tentative hypotheses put forward in Chapter I.

Certain broad themes stand out from this analysis. Firstly, the fact of segregation between white and African newspapers, which reflects the segregation in the society as a whole. As far as news and to a slightly lesser extent editorial comment is concerned, the two sets of newspapers to a very large extent inhabit different worlds, have different emphases, different values and different weltanschaungen. The analysis of subject matter and of editorials in Chapter VIII - XI amply substantiate these points. African newspapers, for the most part, do not aim to interpret the white man's world to the black man, nor to give more than the merest smattering of world or foreign news, with the partial exception of news relating to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. Conversely, the reader of a 'white' newspaper in South Africa receives the barest minimum of news of African life in South Africa, except insofar as it involves major disasters, crime (particularly where the victim is white), political or inter-racial events, or gross abuses. It is probable that there is a gradually increasing amount of 'black' news in white papers, but it is still very limited.

The values of the two Presses differ less than does their subject matter. News values appear basically the same in white and African newspapers, but the latter's emphasis on sex and violence, and the rather franker and more sensational treatment

of these subjects, as compared with the White Press, constitutes a significant difference. This difference is no doubt related in part to the higher level of crime and violence among (urban) Africans but more importantly, to the lower educational level of the African readership. More subtly, as has been shown, not only the style and 'weight' but not infrequently the underlying assumptions and values of editorials differ as between the White and the African Press. The values underlying the former tend in a considerable proportion of cases to be based on, or expressed through, economic or social analysis, rather than an appeal to abstract rights or to emotion. Appeals are fundamentally consensual rather than conflictual; to enlightened self-interest of the whites rather than to the self-interest of the blacks - in the consensual approach, the underlying assumption is that the two sets of interests converge. To an extent the African newspapers' editorials are the converse of this, their appeal being to relatively abstract, if not always clearly-formulated ideals, such as fairness, or to indignation at obvious grievances.

Though this was touched on only tangentually, it is probably in advertising that the two Presses differ least. Advertising in the African Press covers a much narrower range of goods and it includes much less 'smalls' advertising than the White Press, but the values used in advertising copy are often the same in white and in African newspapers, success, sex and social status being some of the most frequent themes.

Despite the differences mentioned, which derive partly from the more limited resources (e.g. in terms of news agency services or foreign correspondents) of the African newspapers, but more importantly from the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the respective readerships, more generally from the plural nature of the nature of the society - despite these differences, broadly speaking the two Presses share a common professional ethos, or subculture. The differences in content are due very largely to differences in the impact of 'external' factors, political, social and economic, rather than to fundamental differences in the approach to journalism as a profession. African journalists, with relatively minor variations, appear to

share the values and aspirations of their white counterparts, in fact, if anything, they stress professional values more than do the whites; they also lay rather more stress on social service values.

Secondly, African newspapers are in general less effective and outspoken in their Partisan and Social Critic roles than at least the more liberal white newspapers, such as Rand Daily Mail. This theme will be developed further later.

Thirdly, they had become considerably less outspoken since 1959, their treatment of political themes less frequent and more cautious, their criticism of social evils rarer and less hard-hitting. World had toned down its comments more than had Post, but both had changed. There is some evidence that the main change, insofar as it can be dated specifically, came about 1962-63.

Fourthly, the main causes of the changes noted were political, firstly, Government pressure on the newspapers - and African newspapers were much more vulnerable than white ones - and secondly, changes in the political situation as a whole, which removed from the scene not only the main source of political news and comment, but the moral support provided for a politically active newspaper by a mass political movement. The vacuum left was not only material, but psychological.

Fifthly, though less important than the political factors, the economic ones strongly reinforced them. Business considerations had naturally been important before the 1960s - the entries in the World Company's minute books, for instance, testify to continual worry over finance - but they had not informed the whole ethos of the white-owned newspapers as they did in the '60s - the black-owned or radical newspapers which had been entirely political organs, had been closed down by the Government by 1963.

That the policies followed by the African Press newspapers were sound professionally (in the narrow sense) and commercially is demonstrated by the steep rise in circulation, from 19,000 in 1962 to 90,000 in 1968 (World) and from 74,000 to 234,000 (Post) in the same period (Table 8, p.143). The primarily commercial (circulation) aims of the editorial direction of Post and World has been documented in Chapter XIV. With the increased urbanisation - even if this had seemed to have reached a peak by 1970 (according to the census) - higher income, hence a larger market for advertisers and gradually improving educational standards of Africans a growth in circulation, advertising and therefore capitalization was to be expected. These in turn were calculated to lead to some change in emphasis on the editorial, as well as on the management side. But it does not follow that the newspapers would have changed to anything like the extent to which they have done, had it not been for the political factors.

It is debatable, but in the writer's opinion probable, that in the absence of further Government pressures than existed in 1959 and with the continued existence of active African political movements, Post and World could have expanded their circulations successfully without sacrificing their 1959 standards of political Partisanship or Social Criticism. Sensationalism can be combined with political fire, though the two can be a heady - not to say explosive! - mixture.

Sixthly, the differences as well as the overall similarities, between different African newspapers, in terms of a number of inter-related factors, including newspaper content and style, performance of socio-ethical functions, ownership and organisation, social cohesion within the office, ethos and tradition, have been demonstrated, if not, perhaps, as rigorously as might be wished, yet sufficiently so (hopefully) to carry conviction.

The first three themes refer directly or indirectly to factual data, mainly content analysis data, and largely quantitative. The latter three, which seek to offer explanations of or

glosses on the first three, refer mainly to circumstantial or indirect evidence, upon which an interpretative structure has been erected. These interpretations have been based partly on analogy from other situations and from whatever regularities have been observed and recorded in the literature of journalism, of industrial sociology or of politics. It is for the reader to judge how far the interpretations are justified.

Coming back to the 'normative' concern of this thesis, the evaluation of the performance of the newspapers examined, it is appropriate at this point to ask how far their achievement could have been 'improved' upon, in the socio-political circumstances in which they found themselves, and to try to assess the impact of their performance on the readership and on the wider society. Though they are on different planes, the two questions are clearly related: no judgement on the appropriateness of a given editorial line can exclude consideration of its probable effects.

Under the circumstances prevailing in the 1960s and later, the African Press was clearly limited by the politico-legal restrictions which have been discussed; had it carried Partisanship of Social Criticism beyond a certain point its newspapers would have faced suspension, closure or prosecution, its staff prosecution, arrest and detention without trial, 'house arrest' or restriction to defined geographical areas, or in the case of foreign nationals deportation. In the case of Africans as well as Indian journalists the appropriate racial legislation, in particular influx control - or administrative action - such as the denial of police cards - could be invoked against them. Although as pointed out in Chapter VI, the vast legislative armentarium possessed by the Government had been seldom used after the closure of the African nationalist and the Communist newspapers up to 1962 and the courts by no means always upheld the prosecution's case, several such cases did exist. The most famous of these was, of course, the Gandar prosecution under the Prisons Act in 1968-69, and the very fact that action under the legislation was relatively infrequently tested in the courts - some of it involving detention without trial, indeed could not be - meant that it was, and is, difficult to know when and on

what grounds to expect a prosecution, banning of a publication, or arrest. On the other hand, editors were under considerable pressure to increase circulation in order to justify the steadily larger capital sums which were required if growth was to be maintained and the increasingly lucrative advertising field tapped.

Given all these limitations, the force of which it is admittedly difficult to judge from the outside, it nevertheless seems a reasonable judgement that the African Press as a whole could have met the challenge to its social responsibilities considerably better than it did. The comparison between Post, World and the Rand Daily Mail has shown not only that the latter's case was generally better argued, the evidence better marshalled and more extensive, but that it was more forthright and outspoken in its criticisms. Given the limited resources and space of the African newspapers and the nature of their readership, an equal weight of argument may have been beyond their reach, but an equal outspokenness was not. As between the African Press newspapers, Post in most instances put its arguments much more vigorously than World, though their force was to some extent diminished by their rather 'slangy', sometimes flippant ('Another De Wot who is "Die Wet"') style. Post was more willing than World to pinpoint its attacks to specific persons. It was, further, prepared on a number of occasions to make a specific statement of its policy, which World did not. World's editorials either avoided major political issues or were written without much evident fire - despite the editor's denial, it did in fact 'pull its punches'. Surprisingly enough, there is some evidence (statement of a previous World staffer) that the newspaper's hierarchy itself wished that World editorials were stronger than they were. From the little evidence that has been collected Ilanga's editorials could also, it seems, have been both more forthright and more consistent.

To summarise, Post could have strengthened its editorials somewhat, especially by a more serious, more obviously concerned style, and possibly by a more consistent choice of subject matter; nevertheless it did do much to fulfill its Partisan role in difficult circumstances. World gave useful editorial coverage to

aspects of African life little dealt with elsewhere, especially local Government and the Bantustans, but on the whole it failed to give any clear, convinced and convincing guidance to its readers. Exceptionally, World editorials did carry conviction - one example is the editorial on housing rights of urban Africans, another that on poor matriculation results - but more often it gave the impression, when approaching major political issues, of being somewhat half-hearted, of following a ritual for the sake of appearance. No information was gleaned direct from Nationalist Government sources on their attitude to World or Post - though one of World staff claimed that a high Government official had said that World performed a valuable service for the African people and the (then) Manager of Post indicated that he and the Proprietor were permitted to hold British as well as South African passports - something normally illegal for South African citizens - so that they could visit the African states freely on behalf of their paper. But there is little doubt but that World had a very wide margin and Post at least some margin between its present performance and the line beyond which it would have incurred the Government's active displeasure.

Insofar as news coverage and treatment constitutes part of the Partisan role both Post and World, as well, probably as Ilanga and Inyo must have given little concern to Government, for, as pointed out above (Chapter VIII, especially Tables 23 and 26) and (Chapter XII, Tables 30 and 32) the amount of political news, but more especially foreign news, was rather limited in the African Press, as compared with both the contemporary White Press and the African Press in 1959, and what there was got comparatively little emphasis, for example, in terms of position in the newspaper. The marked change in the relative use of politics and crime respectively as subject of Post's front-page leads between 1959 and 1968 has been noted. Moreover, political news was as a rule neither 'tendentious' or slanted, nor did it cover subjects not reported in the White Press, calculated to 'fuel the flames' of African nationalism.

The latter point is particularly important, in view of the news coverage of the African Press in the '50s, for example, the

publicising of the doings of the A.N.C., of which an important specific instance was the reporting of the Kliptown Conference of 1955, not to mention the news coverage of African nationalist movements in the Central African Federation at that time. News of the (political) refugees from South Africa, more of which was wanted by one news editor (Chapter XIII, p.288) would have been precisely the sort of news which might have led to visits by the Security Branch, and which the African newspapers were reluctant to print - though some, indeed, was printed. It is clear that the material for political news about African movements in South Africa was limited in 1968, but more could certainly have been published about Africa beyond the Republic. A certain amount of feature material was carried by Post especially on the rest of Africa, though much less by World. In general, this material was well-written but certainly not tendentious - it was not infrequently syndicated.

Short of highly emotive editorials on sensitive subjects, or (say) a panegyric on the role of the Chinese in East Africa, Social Criticism is the most sensitive area for a South African newspaper to cover. Several examples of Government reaction to such articles have been given in this thesis. It is unlikely, for example, that any African newspaper in South Africa would dare to produce another series on the 'farm slaves' such as Drum and Post printed in the '50s (See Chapter XII, above) unless the topic was first publicised in a white paper, as was for example the Limehill situation (see Hachten, 1971, p.254 for comment on the African Press's caution in relation to Social Criticism). The articles mentioned (on farm labour) constituted a heavy and damaging attack, though they were not and would not, even now, probably in themselves be a contravention of the law they might well bring about Government retaliation in various ways, against the newspaper or its staff, whereas milder criticism, or criticism of less sensitive areas, might be relatively safe.

Just where the line can be drawn is very difficult to tell. Bearing all this in mind, it is more difficult than in the case of editorials, to make any definite judgement of newspaper performance. As has been shown, the African newspapers' social

Criticism appears to have declined in both quantity and quality since 1959. As with editorials, however, Post appears to fulfill the role more effectively than World. On balance, it seems likely that Post has quite a creditable record, though it could probably have done appreciably more, while World could have done much more, both in coverage and in the way the material was presented. Its Social Criticism, unlike that in Post, is often reported almost 'deadpan' - there is very little attempt to express or to evoke indignation, or to highlight the gravity or injustice of a situation. Neither Post nor World appears prepared to mount a sustained campaign of Social Criticism, like the Rand Daily Mail. It should be stressed, however, that both World and Post contain much exposure of social abuses that does not appear in the white newspapers - or at least not in the Rand Daily Mail, largely because they 'have their ears far closer to the ground' as far as anything that affects Africans is concerned.

The discussion so far has been in terms of how far the African Press met certain normative prescriptions, and of the reasons for success or failure in doing so. Though any judgement must be partly subjective, the data on which a judgement is based are relatively easily elicited. In turning to a discussion of the social functions of the newspapers, as is now attempted, the analysis must of necessity be based mainly on conjecture, insofar as very little research data exists on which any hypotheses may be tested. Nevertheless there is a considerable body of evidence which does bear indirectly on such an analysis, so that conjectures will hopefully have some plausibility. As in the initial theoretical discussion (Chapter II) the analysis will be approached first from the point of view of manifest, then of latent functions.

The manifest functions, as listed in Chapter II, were (1) To supply information on current events, (2) To interpret and evaluate this information, (3) To educate, (4) To entertain. The manner in which the African Press performed these functions in 1968 (and to a lesser extent, in 1959) has been described. This description was from a normative, rather than an objective, standpoint, and was concerned mainly with the message, and to a lesser extent with the communicator, but very little with the third term of the equation, the recipient of the message.

About this person we know very little indeed - except for some market research data on demographic characteristics. We can say practically nothing with any degree of surety about the impact of the newspaper upon him. Nevertheless, we do know some things, and we can infer others. We know, for example, that the World reader in Soweto is getting a view of (urban) African society that portrays it as composed largely of criminals, 'socialites' and sportsmen with a few politicians, teachers and businessmen thrown in, whereas the reader of Imvo in a rural Ciskei kraal is getting the picture of an African (rural or small-town) society where education, religion, the family and solid conservative if not traditional values still hold sway. Insofar as his newspaper serves the purpose of adult socialization (or education, in the broad sense) these are the sorts of society into which each is being socialized. In either case it will be a society which exists almost in vacuo, or as it were, on an island - events in white South African society, a fortiori in the outside world, which might provide reference groups, or standards of comparison, of emulation - or the reverse - hardly exist at all. This example, slightly caricatured as it is may serve to illustrate some of the inferences that may be drawn as to the 'manifest' functions of the Press. It is, of course, on such inferences that analysis of the latent, or 'second order' functions may be based.

These have been discussed at some length in Chapter II. In what follows it will be necessary to condense them and to concentrate on certain major areas. Both consensual and conflict functions will be discussed. In accordance with the theme of the thesis as a whole most, but not exclusive stress will be laid on the functions which have a political relevance.

First, then, is the integrative function of the Press. The Press, and the mass media generally, tend to increase social cohesion. Those who are consumers of the mass media tend to take a more active part in society than those who are not; they have more friends, know more people, are better informed, more interested in public or community affairs, and they tend to share a common universe of discourse. This is true both in a modern urban

society - such as suburban Chicago (Janowitz, 1967) or the urbanizing but still largely rural Middle East (Lerner, 1958). Conversely, the alienated, whether at the lower or higher levels of the social scale, tend to be outside the media system. The crucial link is, of course, not uni-directional, nor is the pattern of influence simple, but the main point still holds. It seems reasonable to assume that the same would be true of Africans in South Africa. An attempt was made in the writer's Port Elizabeth study to measure the extent to which mass media use was related to social contacts, but no clear picture emerged.

The society into which African newspaper readers are integreated is clearly that of the urban African townships, or, to a much lesser extent, African rural society. It is important to note that Radio Bantu, and the vernacular newspapers, tend to exert their integrative effect within specific language groups, whereas the much larger circulation English-language African Press, the White Press and radio other than Radio Bantu act to blur ethnic or linguistic divisions within African society; this effect is naturally more important in a multi-ethnic area like the Witwatersrand than in (say) Durban, with its vast Zulu majority. In a society where segregation did not exist or was less strong the White Press (or the Press generally) would have an integrative effect across the colour line, but in South Africa as it is the social (and political) cleavages are so deep that while tending to cultural conformity it does not make for social integration.

The equivalent of social integration on the political plane is mobilization. In 'developing' countries, with (usually) an ethnically diverse population and a low level of political awareness, a major part of the role expected of the mass media is the mobilization of the people behind the Government in the task of nation-building. So it is in totalitarian states, and so, too, as regards the Afrikaans Press and the Afrikaner in South Africa. As has been shown, the political lead given by the African Press in South Africa is rather a weak and hesitant one, and in many ways is inferior to that given by the more liberal section of the White Press. Nevertheless, for all its shortcomings - not least

the fact that it is neither African-owned nor controlled - the African Press cannot but help to maintain and to foster in Africans a sense of their political as well as their social identity, their political as well as their social grievances and aspirations. This, as suggested is probably truest in relation to African grievances. Despite the diminution in Social Criticism over the years and the relative lack of 'punch' in many of its criticisms it is in this respect that the African Press, more than the White one (as exemplified by Rand Daily Mail) does serve to keep alive Africans' awareness of the disabilities to which as a group, they are subjected.

The effect of the African Press in mobilising political opinion in the '50s was very considerable, though even then rather by publicity than by advocacy. By 1971, as new African - or black - movements began to appear, both within and outside of the Bantustans, the Press cautiously began to take up its Advocate role again. It remains to be seen, however, whether a future history of the 'Black consciousness' or 'Black Power' movement in South Africa in the '70s would contain as many footnote references to the African Press as (for example) Feit's account of the African National Congress in the '50s (Feit, 1962, op. cit.) or Walshe's history of that organization up to 1952 (Walshe, 1970).

Insofar as Africans read white newspapers - and it has been shown that about two-thirds of African readers of daily newspapers read a white daily and just under half of weekly newspaper readers read a white weekly (see Chapter VII, Tables 8 and 15, pp. 143 and 152 above) - these will also serve as a means of political mobilization, of stimulating and guiding political awareness. Even if the approach of these newspapers is 'liberal' rather than African (or black) nationalist their editorials and features provide solider fare than that of the African Press. It is, presumably the (on average) slightly less sophisticated readers of African newspapers only for whom the African Press is likely to be the more powerful agent of mobilization. It is this stratum who are more likely than those who read both white and African newspapers to take seriously World's masthead claim to be 'Our own, our only newspaper' or, to quote the Bantu Market Data survey

to consider that it 'has typical African spirit' (Chapter VII, Table 23: 62 per cent of informants in that survey thought this), despite the minimal degree of African control over its policy. It should be borne in mind, in considering the relative influence of white and African newspapers, that World, the only African daily, is read mainly in the Transvaal, and within that mainly in the Witwatersrand - Pretoria conurbation, where it competes with Rand Daily Mail and Star, whereas Africans who want a daily newspaper elsewhere in South Africa have little choice but to read a white one. On the other hand, insofar as they read African papers other than dailies this will be Imvo Zabantsundu in the Eastern Cape or Transkei and Ilanga in Natal - Post was distributed all over the Republic. Clearly the African Press has much greater impact relative to white newspapers in the Transvaal than elsewhere, and the reader of the African Press in East London (say) will be subject to a decidedly different editorial approach than one in Johannesburg. There are less differences between the respective white newspapers in the two centres.

The African Press then, does serve, to a limited extent, to mobilize African political energy and emotion, to maintain awareness of common wrongs. It does not, however, provide an ideology nor save to a very limited extent legitimisation for African political striving. An ideology, in the sense of a systematic intellectual basis for policy, or an organised structure of ideas, is not possible for the African newspapers, for it would mean stating explicitly much that had been left implicit, would have necessitated the drawing of concrete inferences from the ideological premises, would have ruled out tactical withdrawals, vagueness or ambiguity in editorial writing. Had all this been done the African Press newspapers could hardly have survived. Especially would this have been true if the ideology accepted had, for example, been that of the Pan-Africanists, or of the African National Congress. Not only would there have been a very real danger from Government but the newspapers concerned might have lost readers who did not agree with the ideology enunciated.

Because of their relatively cautious attitudes in 1968, the African newspapers can hardly be said to have supplied legitimation

for 'their side's' strivings to any great extent. Insofar as they did make clear-cut moral judgements they did, however, legitimate African aspirations. One example is World's editorial on the loss of the urban African's right of home ownership: the desire to own one's own home was a natural, hence legitimate one for anyone, but in particular for the urban African (middle class) person who had won a title to this 'privilege' by his diligence and responsibility. Similarly, Post's article on African mine-worker's pay legitimated - if legitimation was needed - the universal desire to raise the very low wage ceilings under which Africans worked. These examples illustrate the limited degree to which these newspapers provided legitimation for African struggle against white rule.

It is hardly necessary to draw explicit historical parallels or contrasts, because so many spring to mind. One of the most obvious is the role of the Communist and African nationalist organs in South Africa in the '50s (see Chapter VI, ibid.). These did have specific ideologies, did seek to legitimise the Africans' struggle, and to mobilize the people behind it. These newspapers were suppressed, but it is interesting to speculate how successful they would have been had they, and the movements for which they stood, not been destroyed by Government bans or arrests. The Negro Press in the United States apparently did and does serve the functions mentioned, but not, perhaps, with a high degree of success, at least to judge by their small circulation (see Wolseley, 1971). It is, however, significant that the paper of one of the most militant movements, the Black Muslims, has the largest circulation (600,000). The comparison is interesting, but the conditions, in particular the very different population ratios, the far greater cultural differences between the two race groups in South Africa than in the United States and the very different legislative and political backgrounds, make the comparison difficult to interpret.

West African (African) newspapers, particularly in Nigeria and Ghana, were very important agents in mobilising at least educated and 'semi-educated' Africans against British colonial rule. Yet even there Azikiwe's famous West African Pilot

according to Professor Hachten, achieved a circulation of no more than 50,000 'even in its heyday', whereas the Daily Times, a largely non-political but British-owned and managed newspaper with large financial resources, reached 137,000 in 1966 and at the beginning of the Civil War some 50,000 of these went to the Eastern Region, where the Pilot was mainly read (Hachten, op. cit., pp.153-155).

These two comparisons are somewhat closer than others culled from European nineteenth or twentieth century history or American pre-revolutionary history would be - English radical journalism of the early nineteenth century (see e.g. Williams, 1969) and the American experience was quoted earlier in this thesis (Chapter VII, ibid.). The role of the Press in other race-conflict or colonial situations would seem to provide possibly fruitful comparative material, but in the former category the American experience and in the anti-colonialism struggle the West African history are particularly good, and well-known examples. In the rest of Africa, for instance, the indigenous Press usually played rather a small part in hastening decolonization.

Other situations which might fruitfully be compared with the South African one are those of the (opposition) Press in such authoritarian countries as Germany in the early 1930s, Spain since the establishment of the Franco regime or Czechoslovakia before the Russian occupation in 1968. In the first two cases, certainly, Government control of the Press was, however, much more thorough than in South Africa - especially was this so under the Nazi's Press Ordinance of 1935 (Hale, 1964). In none of the three countries, of course, was a major ethnic division of great political importance.

There are, of course, many other parallels possible, for there are, as the Bulletin of the International Press Institute or Index trenchantly emphasise, many countries where Press freedom is either dead, or hampered more or less seriously. Such

do, no doubt, have some light to throw on the situation of the South African Press. Close parallels are few, however, and the examples quoted are certainly some of the most relevant. Very few Presses, it may be argued, have been faced with quite the same mixture of political restriction and economic 'seduction', nor have they as a rule operated in a society with such a high degree of 'pluralism'.

Any attempt to place the African Press in South Africa in international perspective must necessarily be a rather dubious one, nor is the present writer in a position to provide the sort of detailed examination of another national Press which would have been required for any worthwhile comparison. Nevertheless the judgement may be assayed that the African Press did not on the whole perform the 'spearhead' or 'mobilization' function to anything like the extent to which the Presses cited, and a number of others, have done. The reasons for this form the gist of much of this thesis. To do this successfully requires a measure of Press freedom as well as willingness and determination by those who control the Press. This freedom is limited in South Africa but the motivation of the 'communicators' is diluted. Nevertheless it is probable that in many countries the Press has played a much less significant role in politicization or mobilization of dominated groups than it has in South Africa, whether because of more political control by the Government, less development of the Press and mass media, or lack of will.

The extent to which the African Press performed the function of mobilising, or spearheading the African political struggle, has been discussed. It is worth analysing briefly the degree to which it had the opposite effect, that is, acted as an instrument of consensus rather than of conflict, of conformity rather than revolt. In Chapter II, it was suggested that the mass media might do this in three ways:

(1) By laying stress on common interests, and on shared norms and values; the appeal to patriotism is the classic example of this approach.

(2) By substitution of entertainment and sensationalism for serious news.

(3) Through emphasising the values of material success and social status.

(1) The African Press typically does not lay stress on shared interests. It is, for example, far more concerned with the fairer division than with the growth in the national income; the white (or 'establishment') newspapers are more likely to lay emphasis on the latter, or to justify the former on the grounds of the latter - if the blacks are enabled freely to develop their skills and to earn more this will benefit the economy as a whole. This argument appeared, for example, in the Rand Daily Mail several times during the year analysed. This is not to say that there is no recognition at all of 'shared interests' in the African newspapers but it is of decidedly secondary importance. The editorial in Post on African miners' wages provides a good example (Chapter X, pp. 235-37). Though the mining companies' 'enormous profits' are good for 'South Africa as a whole' and therefore 'we are all better off' - a consensus theme - the dominant impact on the reader must be the comparison between 'enormous profits' and the black miners' '40 cents a day'.

Consensus on values is or may be related to the sharing of common interests, but conceptually it constitutes a separate issue. The African Press pays more attention to this aspect than to that of common interests. The most important facet of such consensus is that of common loyalty to the state. This theme, important in the mass media of the great majority of societies, is difficult to sustain in South Africa, because of the obvious fact that the Africans (and other blacks) are basically outside the polity. As Galpin succinctly put it in the title of a book written in the '40s There are no South Africans, or perhaps one should say the whites consider themselves as such, but have no wish to make South African identity a reality for Africans, indeed the policy of apartheid is fundamentally a negation of the idea of a common fatherland.

On the one hand, then, the appeal to a common national loyalty cannot serve the interest of the dominant group in controlling social conflict, on the other there is little reason for the subordinate group to employ this rhetoric either, except - and this brings one to a further strand in the argument - in relation to the common values of justice, liberty and democracy. This appeal is, indeed, sometimes made in the African Press. Post's plea to its readers to work to create a great nation (p.215, ibid.) and, on a rather different plane, World's editorial asking for communication between Government and the urban Africans (p.210, ibid.) or its comments on Seretse Khama's treatment in a South African hospital - editorials which are representative, to a greater or lesser extent, of a number of others - do contain either implicit or explicit reference to common loyalties, to a common endeavour. More generally, the African National Congress, throughout most of its history (1912-1960) emphasized a common patriotism based on political - and at least from the time of the Kliptown Conference - social justice, and democratic rights (Feit, 1962 and Walshe, 1970). From the conflict orientation, however, such a call was in fact an instrument, not of the control but for the instigation of conflict. (This, of course, is not necessarily to impugn the sincerity of those making such a call; the analysis here refers to its sociological functions, rather than to the conscious motivations of the actors.)

As far as Post and World (or other African newspapers) are concerned, appeals such as those quoted on the whole are not calculated to unite black with white in defence of the status quo, but it can be argued that they do in effect serve to damp down conflict, in that they are either too vague to mean anything or too weak to stir anyone's pulse in attacking the established order. In this negative sense the African Press in 1968 did serve, for at least some part of the time, to damp down the embers of conflict.

Appeals to other common values, such as the Christian faith, are occasionally made, and made in a consensual, rather than a conflictual, spirit on other occasions, however, they are a means of testing the expressed Christian sentiments of the ruling whites

against their actions, and 'Black theology' has at least a toehold in the World (as in an editorial which asks 'Why should not God be Black?').

(2) More important as a means of conflict management is the stress on 'sin, sex and sport' in the African newspapers. As has been pointed out this policy, as in other countries, has paid large dividends in terms of circulation, not only on World and Post during the '60s, but more recently, it seems, on Ilanga. At the same time it has enabled the newspapers to steer away from the dangerous waters of political controversy. In a measure Drum may be said to have successfully combined both approaches: but its circulation has not shown any dramatic rises.- a senior member of management staff on Post/Drum said that the old Drum had been famous for its liberal approach, but as a business enterprise it was 'a flop' - and it has not been free from Government harassment since 1968. Newspapers in a free society - the Mirror was a good example in Britain - were able to combine an outspoken, sometimes 'cheeky' political and social critic role, with plenty of 'cheesecake'. It is argued on the African Press that the obtaining of a large circulation by the exploitation of people's appetite for sensationalism and 'light' news enables the newspaper concerned to find a far wider audience for its political message. Without extensive audience research no definite judgement can be made on such a contention, but to the writer it seems a very doubtful one.

It seems probable, not so much that readers' tastes are 'corrupted' by the heavy provision of the sort of material mentioned, but simply that a near vacuum is left where the more serious interests, in political affairs, in social and economic issues, in science and in art, which are equally, or almost equally, the stuff of 'Everyman's' concern, should be provided for.

(3) The emphasis on material advancement and on social status is found particularly in advertisements. Take such-and-such a

correspondence course and you will rise in the firm, or, usually less explicitly, drink ---'s beer or brandy and you will be among the affluent elite - looking forward to a beer as you leave the golf course as one advertisement suggested - are messages which constantly reach the reader of African, as of white newspapers and magazines, together with appeals to strength, size (a beer with a 'big' taste, whatever that may mean) and, of course sex, as well as directly utilitarian or quality appeals. As indicated earlier no value analysis of advertisements has been performed, but even a cursory reading of the African Press strongly suggests the importance of such themes.

For the values carried in advertising the editorial direction of newspapers is hardly responsible, though as Williams has pointed out there is a good deal of feature material which is close to some advertisements in spirit, e.g. fashion pages (Williams, 1968). For the quite widespread attention devoted to 'tycoons' and 'socialites' by the Press it is, however, responsible - see Chapter VIII, Table 23, p. 177 - Post, for instance, had 12.7 per cent of its editorial space taken up by 'social', general and human interest material, Imvo no less than 18.1 per cent; these figures, of course, do not indicate the sub-divisions, as between (say) 'human interest' stories about 'ordinary' people, and the doings of 'top society' in Soweto or East London's African community. Nevertheless, it is clear that very considerable coverage is given to the doings of the African elite - more so, the writer would feel, than is the case with white newspapers and the white elite, e.g. Harry Oppenheimer's family. The whole topic is fascinating, in its relevance to the study of social stratification (see Mia Brandel Syrier's book on the Reeftown Elite for such a discussion couched in very vivid terms - Brandel Syrier, 1971 - or Mafeje and Wilson's study of social status in Langa (1963)). The present concern, however, is with conflict theory and the mass media, to which such a discussion would be tangential. Certainly an impressionistic judgement - though based on considerable reading of African newspapers - is that a relatively small number of names appear constantly in the pages of World or Week-end World.

Besides the 'social' pages African newspapers - more particularly World - do carry a few editorials with the 'rags-to-riches' theme. Though this does indicate one of the African newspapers' ideological facets, it is not heavily stressed - partly, perhaps, because relatively few Africans do 'make good', the opportunities for them to do so being very limited.

In summary while the African Press does - though as yet rather inadequately in terms of the relative volume of advertising (see Chapter V, above) - reflect the ethos of the consumer society and highlights differences of social status and the pattern of conspicuous expenditure that often goes with high status, in Dube as in Houghton, its importance as a prophylactic against revolution is not probably very great. On the one hand this is because it reflects, rather than creates, social trends; on the other because, despite De Ridder's finding in his thematic Appreciation Test study (1961) that the desire for money - together with an ever-present sense of insecurity - was an over-riding concern of urban Africans, and despite the gradually rising standard of living of urban Africans, the social, economic and political cleavages in the society are so deep and the inequalities in life changes so pronounced that the Marcuse theory of the mass media, even if it is an accurate diagnosis for the advanced countries, is only of very limited application in South Africa.

Thirdly, it is arguable that increased prosperity can, in fact, lead to increased dissatisfaction at the point where the top strata of the dominated section see themselves within reach of many of the fruits that should accrue to that position but are denied them - such as greater opportunities for capital accumulation and business investment than the poverty-stricken African community affords. Hence insofar as the mass media stress material values they are indirectly encouraging not consensus but conflict.

The African Press, then, does serve to some extent to reduce the level of conflict in South African society, but mainly because

of what it does not contain rather than through any positive contribution. The degree of its avoidance of political or exposé stories, and the comparatively mild nature of its editorials and feature comment, not its 'trivializing', 'privatizing' or consensus-oriented aspects, is the measure of its cooling of the temperature of group relations. Whether this function is more important than its opposite, the accentuating of conflict, is debatable. In the writer's opinion, in the ultimate analysis, both by virtue of its very existence as a focus, however weak, of African opinion, and the extent to which it does, in fact, express African aspirations and African grievances, it does serve as an instrument of Africans' struggle, hence of social and political change, rather than as a means of perpetuating the status quo of white rule.

Some sections of the White Press are powerful allies in Africans' struggle; they are less trammelled by the restrictions imposed by Government; as Potter has said, they are 'the real opposition' in South Africa. But, as this study has shown, they do not and cannot identify with Africans' needs and aspirations in the same way that the African Press can - despite the partial sense in which this Press is African. Their Social Criticism relating to Africans (at least insofar as this is adequately represented by the Rand Daily Mail, as seems likely) is not as extensive as that of the African newspapers, nor their editorial concern for African affairs as great, while their arguments, though based partly on justice and common humanity, are ultimately designed to appeal to whites rather than to blacks. In short, they are different because the racial constituency to which they are responsible is different.

This is not to deny the tremendous service the liberal white newspapers have performed and do perform to South African society as a whole - by far the larger part of which is African - but to make a point analogous to that of the Black Power advocates, that Africans can and must be served, at this point in time, by an African Press, in the sense of one which is responsible to them and not to the whites. If it be argued that a truly African Press is one that is owned and managed by Africans the point can

be conceded, and the desirability of this admitted. But - and it is an important qualification - it should be noted that it is debatable whether such a Press, in the South Africa of the 1960s, would have been more, or as free, as the white-owned African Press, to perform its Partisan and Social Critic roles, or indeed whether it would have survived at all.

The African Press in South Africa has had a varied history which in part parallels as well as reflects the history of race relations in the country. Born as a branch of missionary endeavour, later important as the voicepiece of an at first nascent and later virile African nationalism, linked for a time to militant political and economic movements - especially the Communist Party and the I.C.U. - it was from 1932 largely to be dominated by the 'paternalistic' liberalism of the Bantu Press group. The incursion of Bailey into the field in the '50s meant a more liberal, freer approach. Together with the World group, it reaped the harvest of a growing potential readership and market, while at the same time establishing a tradition and providing a spur to literary endeavour which has surely left an indelible imprint on the development of African writing in South Africa. From the political point of view Drum in particular has had an impact on the history of its times, while World, as well as Post, has served to some extent as a forum for debate on African politics. Nevertheless the white ownership of both these newspaper groups has inevitably meant, in the South African context, a dereliction from their truly African representativeness, even if this has been more of symbolic than of practical importance.

The picture that has been drawn is in primary colours, with broad brush strokes rather than attention to subtle nuances of policy, to changes other than radical ones, to individual efforts at variance with the overall trends. Some editors have been more liberal, or more daring or more imaginative than others; some editorials, feature or news articles have sailed closer to the wind than others. The limits of what is possible - or desirable, in a situation where a small stimulus can lead to bloodshed - will be defined differently, depending on the observer's point of

view. The conclusions reached in this chapter do, however, the writer would claim, fairly reflect the general outlines of the evidence adduced, and the writer's own experience.

The differences in the development of the African Press in South Africa and the other areas quoted stem, then, from differences in the social, economic and particularly the political contexts. A 'paternalistic' or 'white liberal' Press would not have survived in Nigeria or Ghana for political reasons - it would, in a comparatively free political climate, have been outbid politically by indigenous newspapers like Azikiwe's; in the United States such a newspaper would not have survived for economic reasons: the competition with white newspapers not to mention the electronic media would have been too great. Insofar as the Negro population hence the Negro market was less segregated in the United States - particularly the North - than in South Africa - segregated not only physically, but to some extent culturally and linguistically - so the appeal of a newspaper specifically directed to blacks to white advertisers and white newspaper ownership would be less strong than in South Africa. Only in a situation where rapid economic growth was combined with heavy but not completely crushing political restrictions could such a Press flourish as that which has been described.

It is now (1974) six years since the main field work underlying this study was done. Certain changes - in particular the demise of Post, as an independent newspaper appealing mainly to Africans - as on Argus newspapers it is now directed largely to Indians in Natal - and the expansion of the vernacular newspapers' circulation - have occurred since 1968. It is always dangerous to make forecasts for the future. On balance the changes noted for the 1968-1974 period have probably meant a weakening of the African Press's role. On the other hand the somewhat more fluid political climate, the change of Government in the former Portuguese territories and the development of the Bantustans may on well observed to encourage the African Press to play a stronger role; this will surely be so if, as is forecast, an African newspaper(s) is established under African control, in the Bantustans - the foundation of a newspaper in and for Kwa Zulu has been planned, though not effected at the time of writing.

Given present political conditions the African Press is likely to continue as, basically, a social rather than a political reflection of a divided society. Given a substantial change in the political climate, which is probably unlikely in the near future but possible in the somewhat longer term the present African Press may become a real expression of African political aspirations.

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Note: This bibliography is divided into three parts:- A - Books and chapters in books; B - Periodical articles and C - Other, including official and market research reports, surveys, theses and other unpublished material.

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APPENDIX

This appendix contains the following items:-

1. General Questionnaire (English, revised version)
2. General Questionnaire (Afrikaans version)
3. Covering letter to the above (English)
4. Attitudes Questionnaire, including list of items and Scales I and II
5. Long Schedule
6. Port Elizabeth Readership Survey Questionnaire, Sections A, B and C (English version)

Col. 9 10 11

Questionnaire No.

AFRICAN PRESS STUDY

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR JOURNALISTS

1. Employer (i.e. Newspaper(s), Magazines(s), etc. for which worked)..... Col.13 Col.14
.....

2. Job on Newspaper, etc. (or if a stringer, main occupation other than journalism)..... Col.16
.....

3. Sex: (please ring code) Col.18

Male	1
Female	2

4. Place of birth:..... Col.20
Please tick: Rural
Urban

5. Date of birth (month and year)..... Col.22
.....

6. Where lived up to age of 21 (please give dates of moves)..... Col.24
.....

7. Home language(s)..... Col.26
.....

8. Languages spoken fluently, or read or written with ease: (please tick as appropriate)

Language	Speak	Read	Write

9. Highest educational attainment (include qualifications attained by part-time education or correspondence course) (specify exactly)..... Col.28
.....
.....

10. Marital status (ring appropriate code): Col.30

Single (never married)	1
Married	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4

11. If married (widowed or divorced) number of children (please ring code) Col.30

None	5
One	6
Two	7
Three	8
Four or more	9

12. Date of marriage..... Col.32
.....

13. If married (widowed or divorced) wife's/husband's occupation: Col.34
a) just before marrying you.....
b) now..... Col.36

14. Religious denomination (if any)..... Col.38

15. Father's occupation (if retired or dead, please give his main occupation when working)..... Col.40
.....

16. What are the occupations of your three closest friends?..... Col.42
.....
.....

17. Newspaper(s) read the day before completing the questionnaire (dailies) or in the last 7 days (weeklies): Col.44 45
a) At work.....
..... Col.47
b) At home, or elsewhere.....
.....

18. Do you belong to any Societies, Clubs or Associations? (please specify) Col.48
Trade Union or Professional Association..... 1
.....
Political..... 2
.....
Cultural, or dramatic..... 3
.....
Religious..... 4
.....
Social..... 5
.....
Sports..... 6
.....
Other..... 7
.....
No associational membership

19. Do you hold any position in any of these Societies or Associations? (e.g. Chairman, Secretary) (please specify Association and position)..... Col.51
.....
.....

20. Jobs held during your working life (please specify as exactly as possible, e.g. sports reporter, not just 'reporter': if more than one job held at the same time please give details of both):

Job	Employer	Place	Date Started	Date Left	
					Col.53
					Col.55

21. Income:
a) Self, from main job: Col.57
R per month
b) Self, from subsidiary jobs (specify): Col.59
R per month
c) Total family income from all sources (e.g. wife's income, contributions by children, etc.) Col.61
R per month

22. What training in journalism (including in-service training and correspondence courses) have you received? Col.63
.....
.....
Note: 'Journalism' here includes such related fields as press photography, if relevant to particular job done.

23. What were the reasons for your deciding to become a journalist (please rank them in order of importance) Col.65
.....
.....
..... Col.66
.....
.....

24. What are the things you like most and what least about your work? Col.68
.....
..... Col.70
.....

25. What things should the Press be doing for Society? (Please rank in order of importance) Col.72
.....
.....
For Africans in South Africa (if different from above)? Col.74
.....
.....

26. How well does the Press in South Africa in fact fulfill these functions? Col.76
.....
.....
.....

27. Please rank the following occupations in terms of their social prestige (write a number from 1 (top) to 10 (bottom) against each occupation). Col.78

Teacher in secondary school	( )
Clerk in Government Dept.	( )
Minister of religion	( )
Doctor	( )
Lawyer	( )
Social Worker	( )
Journalist	( )
Teacher in primary school	( )
Hospital nurse	( )
Businessman	( )

28. Any other points you would like to make about the Press in South Africa, or comments about this survey:
.....
.....
.....
.....

Date questionnaire filled in:.....

Notes

Kol. 9 10 11

Vraelys No.

VRAELYS VIR JOERNALISTE
EN VERWANTE WERKERS

Kol.13

1. Werkgewer (D.w.s. koerante, Tydskrif (te) ens. waarvoor u werk)..... Kol.14
.....

2. Pos by koerant ens. (of, indien deeltydse joernalis, hoofberoep buite die joernalistiek) Kol.16
.....

3. Geslag (maak asseblief 'n kring om die gepaste syfer) Kol.18

Manlik	1
Vroulik	2

4. Geboorteplek: Kol.20
Maak asseblief 'n kruisie: Landelik
Stedelik

5. Geboortdatum (maand en jaar) Kol.22
.....

6. Plek(ke) waar u tot ouderdom 21 gewoon het Kol.24
.....
.....

7. Huistaal (-tale) Kol.26
.....

8. Tale wat u vlot kan praat, of maklik kan lees of skrywe: (trek asseblief 'n kruisie onder die toepaslike hoofde)

Taal	Praat	Lees	Skrywe

9. Hoogste onderwyskwalifikasie behaal (sluit in kwalifikasies deur deeltydse studie of korrespondensiekursusse behaal) (spesifiseer presies) Kol.28
.....
.....

10. Huwelikstaat (maak 'n kring om toepaslike syfer) Kol.30

Ongetroud	1
Getroud	2
Geskei	3
Weduwee/Wewenaar	4

11. Indien getroud (geskei of weduwee/wewenaar) aantal kinders (maak asseblief 'n kring om toepaslike syfer) Kol.30

Geen	5
Een	6
Twee	7
Drie	8
Ten minste vier	9

12. Huweliksdatum Kol.32
.....

13. Indien getroud (geskei of weduwee/wewenaar) eggenoot se beroep: Kol.34
(a) Net voor u en hy/sy getroud is .....
(b) Nou Kol.36

14. Kerkverband (indien enige)..... Kol.38

15. Vader se beroep (indien afgetree of dood, sy hoofberoep toe hy werksaam was)..... Kol.40

16. Wat is die beroep van u drie naaste vriende/vriendinne? Kol.42
.....
.....

17. Koerant(e) wat u gelees het die dag voor u hierdie vraelys ingevul het: Kol.44 Kol.45
(a) By die werk: .....
.....
(b) By die huis, of elders: Kol.46
.....

18. Behoort u tot enige verenigings of klubs (spesifiseer asseblief)? Kol.49
Vakbond of beroepsvereniging..... 1
.....
Politieke Party 2
.....
Kultuur- or dramavereniging 3
.....
Kerkvereniging 4
.....
Maatskaplike klub 5
.....
Sportklub 6
.....
Ander 7
.....
Geen 8

19. Is u ampsdraer in enige van hierdie organisasies (Bv. Voorsitter, Sekretaris)? (Spesifiseer asseblief organisasie en amp) Kol.51
.....

20. Poste wat u gedurende u werksloopbaan beklee het (spesifiseer asseblief so presies nmoontlik b.v. 'sportverslaggewer', nie net 'verslaggewer' indien meer as een pos terselftertyd beklee is, gee asseblief besonderhede van albei) Kol.53

Pos	Werkgewer	Plek	Begin-datum	Datum van Vertrek	Kol.53
					Kol.55

21. Inkomste:
(a) Self, uit hoofberoep: Kol.57
R per maand
(b) Self, uit bykomende werk (spesifiseer) Kol.59
R per maand
(c) Totale gesinsinkomste uit alle bronne (b.v. vrou se inkomste, bydraes deur kinders, e.n.s.) Kol.61
R per maand

22. Watter opleiding in joernalistiek (insluitende opleiding in diens en korrespondensiekursusse) het u ontvang? Kol.63
.....
.....
Aantekening: 'Joernalistiek' sluit hier in sulke verwante gebiede soos persfotografie indien van toepassing op die spesifieke werk gedoen.

23. Wat is die redes waarom u belsuit het om 'n joernaliste word (rangskik hulle asseblief volgens rangorde van belangrikheid)? Kol.65
..... Kol.66
.....
.....

24. Van watter aspekte van u werk hou u (a) die meeste en (b) die minste? Kol.68
.....
..... Kol.70
.....

25. Watter dienste behoort die Pers aan die Gemeenskap te lewer (rangskik hulle asseblief volgens rangorder van belangrikheid)? Kol.72
.....
.....

26. Aan die Bantoe in Suid-Afrika (indien verskillend van bo)? Kol.74
.....
.....

27. Hoe doeltreffend vervul die Suid-Afrikaanse-pers hierdie funksies in werklikheid? Kol.76
.....
.....
.....

27. Rangskik asseblief die volgende beroepe volgens hulle maatskaplike aansien (skryf 'n syfer van 1 (bo) tot 10 (onder) langs elke beroep). Kol.78

Onderwyser in sekondere skool	( )
Klerk in Staatsdepartement	( )
Predikant	( )
Geneesheer	( )
Regsgeleerde	( )
Maatkaplike Werker	( )
Joernalis	( )
Onderwyser in laerskool	( )
Verpleegster	( )
Sakeman	( )

28. Enige ander opmerkings wat u omtrent die Pers in Suid Afrika, en omtrent hierdie opname wil maak:
.....
.....
.....
.....

Datum waarop die vraelys ingevul is: .....

Opmerkings

Department of Sociology
and Social Work,
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown, C.P.

21st February, 1968.

Mr/Mrs/Miss.....
.....
.....

Dear .....

I am making a study of the Press, more particularly the African Press, in South Africa, and for this purpose would like to get as comprehensive and accurate a picture as possible of the social characteristics and the views of South African journalists (and people in related jobs), both those working on the African Press, and in other fields. As far as I know this survey is the first of its kind, and will, I hope, provide valuable information about our Press.

I would, therefore, be most grateful if you could kindly complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it to me in the envelope provided. Some of the questions may seem rather personal, but the information requested is relevant and valuable for the picture I am trying to obtain. The information you provide will, of course, be treated as confidential. Should you wish to expand on the answer to any question there is space on the blank page at the end. I should particularly welcome any views you may wish to volunteer, and your comments on the survey as a whole.

Thank you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

LECTURER IN SOCIAL WORK
(AND SOCIOLOGY)

QUESTIONNAIRE ON JOURNALISTS

Twenty-two characteristics which a job in journalism may have are listed below. Could you please indicate on the attached sheets, (A) How important each is to you as something you would like in any journalistic job you might have, irrespective of how far your present job has this characteristic; and (B) How far your present job does have each characteristic.

1. Having a job with prestige in the Community.
2. Security in the job, in that it is fairly permanent.
3. Having a job with high prestige in the organization.
4. Getting ahead in the organization you work for.
5. Being with people who are congenial and easy to work with.
6. Opportunity for originality and initiative.
7. A job that does not disrupt my family life.
8. A job that brings me into contact with important people.
9. Full use of one's abilities and training.
10. Opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge.
11. Having a supervisor who appreciates the time you spend in improving your capabilities.
12. Earning enough money for a good living.
13. A job that provides excitement and variety.
14. Opportunity to expose social injustices and get them put right.
15. Freedom from continual, close supervision over one's work.
16. Opportunity to influence the public's thinking.
17. A job where one has respect for the ability and competence of one's co-workers.
18. Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community.
19. Agreement with one's newspaper's editorial policy.
20. Getting ahead in one's professional career.
21. Working with people who will stand behind one in a tough spot.
22. Working for a newspaper respected by other journalists.

ATTITUDES QUESTIONNAIRE

(A) SCALE I

Please indicate the importance of each job characteristic to you by making a vertical mark across the appropriate horizontal line below, as in the example given:-

Promotion on Merit

Extremely Important to me — Of no Importance to me

In this example 'Promotion on Merit' is very important as a desirable characteristic of a job hence the mark is near to the 'Extremely Important' end of the line. Please be sure to refer to the full question when you make your mark.

If you feel you cannot or do not wish to answer the question, please write No Answer or N.A. boldly across the line.

Q.1 Job with prestige in the community

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.2 Job security:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.3 Job with Prestige in Organization:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.4 Getting ahead in the Organization:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.5 Congenial people:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.6 Originality, etc.

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.7 Not disrupt family life:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.8 Brings me in contact with important people:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.9 Full use of abilities, etc.

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.10 Opportunity to learn new skills, etc.

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.11 Appreciative supervisor:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.12 Money:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.13 Exciting, varied job:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.14 Opportunity to expose social injustices:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.15 No close supervision:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.16 Influence public:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.17 Respect for co-workers' ability:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.18 Job valuable to community:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.19 Editorial policy:

Extremely Important — Of no Importance at all

Q.20 Getting ahead professionally:

Extremely Important ——— Of no Importance at all

Q.21 Support:

Extremely Important ——— Of no Importance at all

Q.22 Newspaper respected by other journalists:

Extremely Important ——— Of no Importance at all

(B) SCALE II

Please indicate the extent to which your present job possesses the characteristic in question by making a vertical mark across the horizontal line, as in Scale I.

Q.1 Job prestige in the community:

Very high prestige ——— Very low prestige

Q.2 Job security:

Very secure ——— Very insecure

Q.3 Job prestige in organization:

Very high prestige ——— Very low prestige

Q.4 Getting ahead in organization:

Very good prospects ——— Very poor prospects

Q.5 Congenial people:

Extremely congenial ——— Extremely unpleasant

Q.6 Originality, etc:

Very good opportunities ——— Very poor opportunities

Q.7 Not disrupt family life:

Not disrupt it at all ——— Disrupt it very badly

Q.8 Brings me in contact with important people:

Quite often brings one in contact	Never does so

Q.9 Full use of abilities, etc:

Full use of abilities	No use of abilities

Q.10 Opportunity to learn new skills, etc:

Plenty of opportunity to learn	No opportunity to learn

Q.11 Appreciative supervisor:

Have appreciative supervisor	Have got very unappreciative supervisor

Q.12 Money:

Earning quite enough	Earning far too little

Q.13 Exciting, varied job:

A great deal of excitement, etc.	Very dull, monotonous

Q.14 Opportunity to expose social injustices:

Very much opportunity	No opportunity

Q.15 No close supervision:

High degree of freedom from continual close supervision	Very close, continual supervision

Q.16 Influence public:

Much opportunity to influence	No opportunity to influence

Q.17 Respect for co-workers' ability:

High respect	Very poor opinion

Q.18 Job valuable to community:

Job very valuable to community	Job of no value to community

Q.19 Editorial policy:

Complete agreement	Strongly oppose

Q.20 Getting ahead professionally:

Great deal of opportunity to get ahead — No opportunity to get ahead

---

Q.21 Support:

People will support me fully — People will not support me at all

---

Q.22 Newspaper respected by other journalists:

Highly respected paper — Paper looked down on

One extra question:

Please mark (X) the answer below which most accurately reflects the way you feel, in general, about your profession of reporting and editing the news:

___ I am satisfied with my profession and have no wish to change to another occupation.

___ I am dissatisfied with my profession but not to the extent that I would like to change to a different occupation.

___ I am dissatisfied with my profession and would like to change to a different occupation.

___ I am uncertain as to whether I would like to change to a different occupation.

Notes

QUESTIONNAIRE

BANTU PRESS STUDY NO._____

STUDY OF JOURNALISTS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. EARLY LIFE

1. Where born.....
2. Date of birth.....
3. ..... brought up .....
4. Brothers' and sisters' occupations? .....
.....
5. Schools attended (self) .....
.....
6. Main extracurricular interests at school .....
.....
7. Prefect or senior (etc.)? .....
8. Age left school ..... and
9. Standard attained .....
10. Military service (and unit, rank) .....
.....
11. Post-school education (period, qualifications obtained, main subjects, which preferred) .....
.....
.....
12. Extracurricular activities .....
.....
13. Association with journalism at School or College? ...
.....
14. Any outstanding events or people which or who have influenced your life at School or College? .....
.....
15. Closest friends during same period? .....
.....
16. Political attitudes and/or activities when at College and in succeeding years? .....
.....
17. Father's political views? .....
.....
18. Religious beliefs in School and College? Changes? ..
.....

II. OCCUPATION

1. When first thought of becoming a journalist (or whatever present job on paper is) .....
2. Reasons .....
.....
3. Influence (direct or indirect) of any person in becoming a journalist .....
.....
4. Training in journalism (or press photography), formal or informal .....
.....
5. Different jobs held during working life:

Job	Employer	Place	Date Started	Date Left

6. Degree of satisfaction in jobs .....
.....
.....

7. Experiences on first newspaper or magazine job? .....
.....
.....

8. Editor on first newspaper or magazine worked for ....
.....

9. Other historical material on jobs .....
.....

10. (If Reporter): How do stories come to you? .....
.....

10a How did stories come to you in last seven days? .....
.....

	Routine coverage (e.g. police, courts)	News Editor	News Editor	Sources	Own Ideas	Other
	.....					
	.....					
	.....					
	.....					

11. How often per week do you see (a) your superiors (Editor, News Editor, etc.)? .....
(b) Juniors? .....
(Editors only) .....
(c) Management .....
(Managers) .....
(d) Businessmen .....
(e) Others, e.g. politicians .....
(Editors, Managers, only) .....
Advertisers' pressure, direct or indirect, on the newspaper .....
.....

12. About how many hours do you work per week?
(a) Standard time .....
(b) Overtime .....
(c) Related activities, e.g. addressing meetings on behalf of your paper .....

13. Degree of satisfaction with your present job:
(a) What do you like and what do you dislike about it
.....
(b) With your work as a journalist .....
.....

14. How far were the expectations you held on entering journalism fulfilled? .....
.....

15. Which two assignments (reporting, photographic, editorial, feature) have given you most pleasure to do:
(a) In 1968 .....
(b) In your whole career .....

III. RELATIONSHIP WITH COLLEAGUES

1. Who are your closest friends at work? 1
.....

2. How often do you see:
(a) these people .....
(b) other colleagues off the job (e.g. in last 14 days .....

3. How does this compare with other offices you have worked in? .....

4. Is this a happy office? .....

5. How does it compare in this respect with other offices in which you have worked? .....
.....

IV. ATTITUDES (RE JOB)

1. What things should the Press be doing for society (please rank in order of importance): .....
.....
.....
2. For Africans in South Africa (if different from above):
.....
.....
3. How well does the Press in South Africa in fact fulfill these functions? .....
.....
4. What does the 'man in the street' want out of his newspaper? How does this differ as between different races and social classes? .....
.....
.....
5. At which groups in society would you say your newspaper is primarily aimed? .....
.....
6. If you were made editor of your newspaper what sort of changes would you introduce (if any)? .....
.....
.....
7. Who, in your opinion, are:
(a) the three best journalists in South Africa? .....
.....
(b) in the Bantu Press field? .....
.....

V. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY

1. How much free time per week? .....
2. Leisure-time activities (last week)? .....
.....
.....
3. What books have you read in the last two months?

Author	Title	Subject
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

4. (a) Associational memberships, now .....
.....
(b) In the past .....
.....
5. (a) Positions held on same, now .....
.....
(b) In the past .....
.....
6. Church affiliation: .....
7. Marital status: .....
8. If married, wife's/husband's occupation now .....
.....
(If married, widowed or divorced), wife's/husband's occupation prior to marriage: .....
.....
9. Wife's/husband's associational memberships: .....
.....
10. Wife's/husband's attitude to your work: .....
.....
11. In general, how does your work affect your home life?
.....
.....

12. Three (or more, less) best friends, and their occupations (may include friends at work): How long known?

Name	Occupation	Length Known
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

13. Other friends (with occupations, etc.)

Name	Occupations	Length Known
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

14. Other material about friends .....
.....
.....

VI. POLITICAL OPINIONS

1. What are your own political opinions? .....
(About Bantustans, Group Areas, franchise) .....
.....
.....

2. Those of your friends at work, and other colleagues?
.....
.....

3. How often do you discuss politics with your colleagues?
.....

4. How far do your own political views coincide with those supported by your newspaper? Are you in general more radical or more conservative than your newspaper?
.....

5. Have you had any instructions at any time about the political content or style of your writing? (Editors, Managers). For instance, have you had instructions to follow any particular political line editorially?
.....
.....

6. What contacts have you had with the Government about your newspaper's policy or practice (exclude routine matters)? (Manager, Editors) .....
.....

VII. What were the main landmarks in your career as a journalist?

.....
.....
.....
Any other comments: .....
.....
.....

Notes

Questionnaire No.
Col.1 Col.2 Col.3

— — —

STUDY OF THE BANTU PRESS

SCHEDULE ON

ATTITUDES, VALUES AND MASS-MEDIA

USE OF URBAN AFRICANS

SECTION A

1. Address:..... Col.4

2. Sex:..... Male 1
Female 2

3. Day of week:..... Monday 3
Tuesday 4
Wednesday 5
Thursday 6
Friday 7
Saturday 8
Sunday 9

4. What languages can you read and/or speak with: (a) Reasonable ease or fluency, or (b) with difficulty? Col.5

Xhosa: Read with ease 1
Speak fluently 2
Zulu: Read with ease 3
Speak fluently 4
English: Read with ease 5
Speak fluently 6
Afrikaans: Read with ease 7
Speak fluently 8
Other Bantu (specify) ..... Read with ease 9
Other Bantu (specify) ..... Speak fluently 0
Other (specify) ..... Read with ease X
Other (specify) ..... Speak fluently Y

Col.6

Xhosa: Read with difficulty 1
Speak with difficulty 2
Zulu: Read with difficulty 3
Speak with difficulty 4
English: Read with difficulty 5
Speak with difficulty 6
Afrikaans: Read with difficulty 7
Speak with difficulty 8
Other Bantu (specify) .....
Read with difficulty 9
Other Bantu (specify) .....
Speak with difficulty 0
Other (specify) .....
Read with difficulty X
Other (specify) .....
Speak with difficulty Y

Col.7

5. Tribe: .....

Col.8

6. Clan: .....

Col.9

7. Position in household:

Head	1
Wife of head	2
Son of Head or daughter	3
Other relative	4
Unrelated	5
No answer	6

8. Are you in a job at present (or working for yourself)? If not are you looking for work, or are you at school or college, retired, 'resting' or a housewife?

Answer: Employed	7
Not working, but seeking work	8
Not working, but not seeking work	9
No answer	0

9. If working, what work are you doing? Col.10

10. (If working) How long have you been doing your present job? Col.11

Under one year	1
1 and under 2 years	2
2 and under 5 years	3
5 and under 10 years	4
10 years or more	5

11. Migration history, with places and dates: Col.11 Col.12

Place	From	To

12. Where were you born? Col.13
.....

13. When were you born? Col.14

Age:	
18-24	1
25-29	2
30-34	3
35-39	4
40-44	5
45-49	6
50-54	7
55-59	8
60+	9
Don't know, no answer	0

14. Educational standard attained: Col.15

No schooling at all	1
Passed Std.II or less	2
Passed Std.III	3
Passed Std.IV or V	4
Passed Std.VI	5
Passed Std.VII	6
Passed Std.VIII	7
Passed Std.IX	8
Passed Std.X	9
Post-school, other than University (specify)	0
University	X
No answer	Y

15. Do you have a radio or radiogram in the house in working order? Col.16

Yes	1
No	2
No answer or don't know	3

16. To what radio programmes did you listen yesterday? — Col.16
4
5
6
7
8
9
0

17. How long did you spend listening to the radio — Col.17
(a) Yesterday?
Under 30 minutes 1
30-59 minutes 2
1 and under 2 hours 3
2 and under 3 hours 4
3 hours or longer 5
(b) The day before yesterday:
Under 30 minutes 6
30-59 minutes 7
1 and under 2 hours 8
2 and under 3 hours 9
3 hours or longer 0
No answer X

18. How often have you been to the bioscope in the last 4 weeks? — Col.18
Not at all 1
Once 2
2 - 4 times 3
5 - 8 times 4
9 times or more often 5
Don't remember or No answer 6

19. What films did you see in the last 4 weeks (give titles and types, e.g. comedy, love, war, etc.)
..... 7
..... 8
..... 9
..... 0
..... X
..... Y
..... Col.19
.....
.....

20. Can you tell me how you spent your leisure time (or all your time if not working and not a housewife) during the last seven days, up to and including yesterday? (Show respondent a list of leisure-time activities) and which of these activities (or any others) did you take part in on each day, and roughly between what times? — Col.20
1st day 1
..... 2
..... 3
2nd day 4
..... 5
..... 6
3rd day 7
..... 8
..... 9
4th day 0
..... Col.21
..... 1
5th day 2
..... 3
..... 4
6th day 5
..... 6
..... 7
7th day 8
..... 9
..... 0

21 (If literate at all - See Q.4) Did you read or look through any of these newspapers during the last 3 months (show list)? When did you last read or look through each one?

(a) Read yesterday: Col.22

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
Daily Dispatch	3
Imvo Zabantsundu	4
World	5
Post	6
Evening Post (Week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

(b) Read within the last 7 days, but not today or yesterday: Col.23

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
World	3
Imvo Zabantsundu	4
Cape Herald	5
Post	6
Evening Post (Week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

(c) Read within last 3 months, but not within the last 7 days: Col.24

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
Imvo Zabantsundu	3
Post	4
Cape Herald	5
Evening Post (Week-end edition)	6
World (week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

22. (If illiterate) Has anyone read to you from any of these newspapers during the last 3 months (read list of newspapers aloud)? Col.25

(a) Read yesterday:

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
Daily Dispatch	3
Imvo Zabantsundu	4
World	5
Post	6
Evening Post (week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

(b) Read within the last 7 days but not yesterday or today: Col.26

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
World	3
Imvo Zabantsundu	4
Cape Herald	5
Post	6
Evening Post (week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

(c) Read within last 3 months, but not within the last 7 days: Col.27

Eastern Province Herald	1
Evening Post	2
Imvo Zabantsundu	3
Post	4
Cape Herald	5
Evening Post (week-end edition)	6
World (week-end edition)	7
Sunday Times	8
Other newspaper (specify)	9
None	0

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO READ A DAILY NEWSPAPER WITHIN THE LAST 7 DAYS AND/OR A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER WITHIN THE LAST 3 MONTHS.

23. How did you get the last copy of the daily newspaper read yesterday or within the last 7 days (if more than one newspaper take the first one listed only)? Col.28

By delivery to home	1
Bought it on the street	2
Bought it from shop or stall	3
Purchase own copy some other way (specify)....	4
Borrowed it	5
Read it in Library	6
Other (not purchased) (specify)	7
Did not read daily newspaper within last 7 days	8
No answer or unusable	9

24. What item did you read first in the newspaper(s) you read yesterday and on what page was it? Col.29

.....

25. What second? Col.30

.....

26. What subjects did you read in the newspaper(s) you read yesterday?

	Col.31	Col.32
Sport	1	1
Political: Foreign	2	2
" : South Africa	3	3
Foreign news (non-political)	4	4
S.A. news 'serious'	5	5
" " 'social'	6	6
" " 'court and crime'	7	7
Editorial or feature	8	8
Advertisements	9	9
Other (specify)	0	0
Don't remember etc.	X	X
Did not read newspaper yesterday	Y	Y

27. How long did you take to read the newspaper(s) you read yesterday? Col.33

0 - 9 minutes	1
10 - 19 minutes	2
20 - 29 minutes	3
30 - 44 minutes	4
45 - 59 minutes	5
60 - 89 minutes	6
90 and over	7
Don't remember, no answer etc.	8
Did not read newspaper yesterday	9

28. How long have you been reading the newspaper(s) you read yesterday? Col.34

Under 6 months	1
6 and under 12 months	2
1 and under 2 years	3
2 and under 3 years	4
3 and under 4 years	5
4 and under 5 years	6
5 and under 10 years	7
10 and under 15 years	8
15 years or more	9
Did not read newspaper yesterday	0

29. In general what do you think of the newspaper(s) you read yesterday? (Select only 2 - see instructions) (cover the following points if not raised in discussion: accuracy of news reports, adequacy of news coverage, racial fairness, belief in advertisements, morally objectionable content and general satisfaction)
Col.35 Col.36

Col.37 Col.38

Col.39 Col.40

30. If the newspaper(s) you read yesterday printed a news item which conflicted with a broadcast report of the same event which would you believe? Col.41

First newspaper: Believe ..... certainly	1
	2
	3
	4
Believe radio certainly	5
Don't know	6
Refuse to reply	7
	Col.42
Second newspaper: Believe ..... certainly	1
	2
	3
	4
Believe radio certainly	5
Don't know	6
Refuse to reply	7

31. If you did not understand a new Bill before Parliament would you take the advice of the ..... (first newspaper read yesterday) on its meaning and probable effects? Col.43

Yes certainly	1
	2
	3
	4
No certainly not	5
Don't know	6
Refuse to reply	7

32. What sort of people read the ..... (first newspaper read yesterday)? Col.44
.....

33. Have you discussed any items in the newspaper(s) you read yesterday with anyone else during the past 2 weeks? If so please give details (topic, with whom discussed). Col.45
.....

ASK ALL

34. What magazines have you read or looked at within the last 3 months? (Show list) When did you read the last copy of each?

	Col.46	Col.47
	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	5
	6	6
	7	7
	8	8
	9	9
	0	0

35. How long have you been reading the magazine(s) you read regularly? Col.48

	Under 6 months	1
	6 and under 12 months	2
	1 year and under 2 years	3
	2 years and under 3 years	4
	3 years and under 4 years	5
	4 years and under 5 years	6
	5 years and under 10 years	7
1	10 years and under 15 years	8
	15 years or more	9
	Did not read magazine in last 3 months	0

36. What items did you read in the last magazine you read (If it is one you read regularly)? Col.49

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
0

LITERATES ONLY

37. What books have you read in the last 2 months (go back in time)? Col.50

	Title	Author	Subject	How obtained
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
0.				

Col.51

ASK ALL

38. (If married) Wife's/husband's occupation Col.52

.....

39. Wife's/husband's education: Col.53

	No schooling at all	1
	Passed Std II or less	2

	Passed Std III	3
	Passed Std IV or V	4
	Passed Std VI	5
	Passed Std VII	6
	Passed Std VIII	7
	Passed Std IX	8
	Passed Std X	9
	Post-school other than University (specify)	0
	University	X
	No answer	Y

40. Wife's/husband's date of birth — Col.54

Age	18 - 24	1
	25 - 29	2
	30 - 34	3
	35 - 39	4
	40 - 44	5
	45 - 49	6
	50 - 54	7
	55 - 59	8
	60+	9
	Don't know or no answer	0

41. Wife's/husband's tribe — Col.55

42. Number of children in family (a) under 18 ..... — Col.56
(b) 18 and over .....

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
0	
x	
Y	

43. Do you own any land in the rural areas? (If a married woman question refers to husband) — Col.56

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3
No answer	4

44. Does your father own any land in the rural areas?

Yes	5
No	6
Don't know	7
No answer	8

45. Where do your parents live? (If dead, where did they live)

In town or city	9
In rural area (not reserve)	0
Reserve	X
No answer or don't know	Y

46. To what church do you belong, if any? — Col.57

Anglican	1
Methodist or Presbyterian	2
Dutch Reformed	3
Roman Catholic	4

	Other (European) churches	5
	Separatist church not European or Zionist	6
	Ethiopian type	7
	Separatist church Zionist	8
	Other	9
	African traditional religion	0
	No church or religion at all	X
	No answer	Y
47.	How often have you been to church in the last 2 months?	Col.58
	More than once a week	1
	Once a week	2
	Less than weekly but at least 4 times	3
	2 or 3 times	4
	Once	5
	Not at all	6
	No answer	7
48.	Do you belong to any associations, clubs, or societies (give full name) for instance:	Col.59
	Trade Unions	1
	Political Party	2
	Welfare or Charitable organisation	3
	Artistic, cultural or dramatic society	4
	Social club	5
	Church society	6
	Sports club	7
	Other	8
	No associational membership	9
	No answer	0
	Do you or have you in the last 5 years held any official position in any of the associations or societies you belong to (chairman, secretary, treasurers etc.) or in your church (excluding full or part-time paid jobs)?	Col.60
	Trade Unions	1
	Political Party	2
	Welfare or Charitable organisation	3
	Artistic, cultural or dramatic society	4
	Social club	5
	Church society	6
	Sports club	7
	Other.....	8
	No associational membership	9
	No answer	0
	No position held	X
49.	(If married) What job would you like (a) your eldest son and (b) your eldest daughter to follow, if there was a free choice and the education and money available?	Col.61
	(a)	(1 - 5)
	(b)	(6 - 0)
	Don't know	X
	No answer	Y
50.	(a) Whom are the three friends you see most often? Where do they live?	
	1. Name	
	Address	
	2. Name	
	Address	
	3. Name	
	Address	

(b) What is their occupation? Col.62

1. ..... 1 2 3 4
2. ..... 5 6 7 8
3. ..... 9 0 X Y

51. How often have you seen each in the last week? Col.63

Friend 1: Daily or more often (i.e. at least 7 times) 1
4 - 6 times 2
3 - 4 times 3
once or twice 4
not at all 5
Don't remember or no answer 6

Friend 2: Daily or more often (i.e. at least 7 times) 7
4 - 6 times 8
3 - 4 times 9
once or twice 0
not at all X
Don't remember, or no answer Y

Friend 3: Daily or more often (i.e. at least 7 times) Col.64 1
4 -64 - 6 times 2
3 - 4 times 3
once or twice 4
not at all 5
Don't remember or no answer 6

52. Is there someone around here whom you can trust to keep you abreast of what is going on?

Yes 7
No 8

If iso, who? .....

Related 9
Unrelated 0
Don't know, no answer X

53. Do you consider there are different social classes in African society (i.e. groups of people who mix socially mainly with each other and consider themselves, or are considered, better or worse than others)? Col.65

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 3

54. If yes, please specify these groups in this community.

..... 4 5 6

55. In which of these groups would you place yourself?

..... 7 8 9 0

56. Please rank these occupations in terms of their social prestige. (Give respondent 20 cards with names of occupations on them, or read names out to him if he is illiterate) Col.66 Col.67

57. If for some reason you were to live in some other country than South Africa which would you choose? Col.68

.....

Why? Col.69

.....

58. If you were made editor of a newspaper, what kind of paper would you produce? Col.70

.....

.....

59. If you were put in charge of a radio station, what kinds of programmes would you like to put on? Col.71

.....

.....

60. What is the biggest problem that people in the same circumstances as yourself face in life? Col.72
.....
.....

61. What is your total household income? Col.73
Self R.....
Wife R.....
contributions by Children R.....
other R.....
TOTAL R.....

62. Language of interview: Col.74
English 1
Xhosa 2
Other (specify) 3

63. What is your name? .....
Date(s) of interview(s) .....
Time(s) of interview(s) Col.75
Col.76
Col.77

Notes

SECTION B

NEWSPAPER READERS ONLY

1. What do you think have been the most important subjects that the newspaper(s) you read regularly have been writing about in the last 12 months or so?
(a) In the world as a whole? Col.36

(b) In South Africa? Col.37

2. Can you remember reading any bits of news about any of these subjects in the last month? If so, what were they, and in what newspapers? Col.38

3. Which newspaper gives you most information on each of the subjects you have mentioned? Which comes second, for each subject? Third?

Subject	Most Information	Col.39	Newspaper with Second	Col.40	Third	Col.41

ASK ALL

4. How do you get most of your news about what is happening in the Transkei and about what the politicians say about it? Col.42

Newspapers	1
Magazines	2
Radio	3
Books	4
Word of mouth	5
Other (specify)	6
No answer	7

NEWSPAPER READERS ONLY

5. Do the newspaper(s) you read regularly (i.e. ....) give you much information (a) On the Bantustans and (b) On the Transkei in particular? 8 9

(If more than one newspaper read, ask) Which is the most useful, which second, and so on, down to the least useful? 0
Most useful ..... Second: X
Third: ..... Y

6. Can you remember reading any news about the Bantustans in general or about the Transkei in particular in the last month? Please mention as many things as you can remember. In which newspapers (or magazines) did you read them and when? Did you hear any such news on the wireless or from other people?

News Item	Date	Newspaper or Magazine	Col.43	Radio	Col.44	Word of Mouth	Date	Col.45

7. Can you remember any editorials or articles which you have read lately, dealing with the Bantustans issue, or with the Transkei in particular? If so, please give details (what paper(s) and/or magazine(s), when, what were the main points made)? Col.46

8. How often have you visited the Transkei? Please give details (when, for how long, for what sort of reasons). Col.47

9. Have you any friends or relatives living in the Transkei? If so, who (names not necessarily required, relationship or other identification would do, e.g. brother, old school friend)? Where in the Transkei do they live? What work do they do? When did you last see them?

Person	Where he/she lives	Occupation	When last seen	Col.48

10. Can you name the following: Col.49
(a) Prime Minister of South Africa 1
(b) Leader of the Opposition 2
(c) Leader of the Progressive Party in Parliament 3

11. Please give the names of any three members of the Transkei Cabinet, with their portfolios (the subjects for which they are responsible). Col.49 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

Name	Portfolio

12. Please name and leader and two other members of the Transkei opposition. Col.50

13. What are the main items in the platform (political principles, and programme) of: Col.51
(a) The Transkei National Independence Party?

(b) The Democratic Party?

14. Is there an Urban Bantu Council in Port Elizabeth? Col.52
Yes 1
No 2
Qualified answer 3
Don't know or no answer 4

15. Can you tell me the names of at least three members 5
(a) of it (if answer to previous question is yes or) 6
(b) of the local Advisory Board (if the answer is no)? 7 8 9 0

16. What would you say is the attitude of (a) Africans in the cities (b) Africans on European farms (c) Reserve Africans (not in the Transkei) (d) Africans in the Transkei to the South African Government's Bantustan policy? Why? Col.53
(a)

Col.54

(b)

(c)

(d)

17. What do you think of this policy? Col.55

18. Are you a registered Transkei voter? Col.56
Yes 1
No 2
No answer 3

19. (If yes) Did you vote at the last General Election?
Yes 4
No 5
No answer 6

20. (If yes) Are you prepared to tell me for which party you voted?
Yes T.N.I.P. 7
Democratic 8
No answer 9

21. For which party will you vote in the coming elections? Col.57

22. Name as many independent African States as you can, and their rulers (Prime Ministers, Presidents, Kings etc.) Col.58

State	Ruler	State	Ruler	Col.59

23. Which of these countries has the largest proportion of its African children at school: Col.60

South Africa 1
Zambia 2
Tanzania 3
Don't know 4

24 (a) Which of these countries has most (largest no.) workers in mining?

Zambia 5
Rhodesia 6
Congo (Kinshasha) 7
Kenya 8
Don't know 9

(b) Which has most in industry (apart from mining)? Col.61

Zambia 1
Rhodesia 2
Congo (Kinshasha) 3
Kenya 4
Don't know 5

25. Which of the newspapers you read keeps you best informed about the independent African States? 6
Which is second best? Third? 7
First ..... Second 8
Third 9
Could you tell me about how they do this? 0
X
Y

26. In which of the independent African States would you most like to live, and why? Col.62

What would be your second choice? Why?

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Unde-cided	Dis-agree	Disagree strongly	D/K	Col.63
27. In Kenya the different races live very happily together.							1
Comments:							2 3 4 5 6
28. Jomo Kenyatta is a wise, far-seeing leader.							7 8 9 0
Comments:							X Y

	Col.64
29. The independent African states are on the whole politically unstable.	1 2 3 4
Comments:	5 6

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Unde-cided	Dis-agree	Disagree Strongly	D/K	Col.64
30. The independent African States are on the whole making very satisfactory progress in establishing themselves as modern, independent States. Comments:							7 8 9 0 X Y

	Col.65
31. Nationalization of foreign companies by the Governments of the independent African States is justified if these companies are sending much of the profits out of the country. Comments:	1 2 3 4 5 6

32. (If under 25 years of age) Were you taught anything about the Black African States as school? If so, what, and in what subject(s)?	7 8 9 0 X Y
33. Have you met anyone from any of the independent African States? If so, please give details.	Col.66 1 2 3 4 5
34. Have you discussed the independent African States, in general, or individually, with anyone in the last 3 months? If so, with whom?	6 7 8 9 0 X Y
35. What did you talk about in relation to these states (or that state)?	Col.67

ASK NEWSPAPER READERS ONLY

35. Have you read any editorials or articles in newspapers or magazines dealing with any of the independent African States in the last 6 months? If so, please give details (source, arguments put forward or facts quoted).	Col.68
36. Were any of these articles or editorials brought to your notice by anyone else? If so, by whom?	Col.69

37. Did you tend to agree or disagree with the views expressed in any of these articles or aeditorials? Please give details. Col.70

38. What are the last 5 news items of importance you can remember reading or hearing about the independent African states? How did you hear each, on the radio (specify programme), newspaper (which?), word of mouth, other (specify). Col.71

	News item	Radio	Newspaper	Word of mouth	Other	
1.						Col.72
2.						
3.						Col.73
4.						
5.						

ASK ALL

39. What do you see as the condition of South Africa in: Col.74
(a) 5 years' time

Col.75

Col.76

(b) 20 years' time

Col.77

Col.78

Notes

SECTION C

1. What qualities should one look for:
(a) In a girl friend? Col.36

(b) In a boyfriend? Col.37

2. (a) In a prospective wife? Col.38

(b) In a prospective husband? Col.39

3. Please give your opinion of the following statements. Do you agree, agree strongly, disagree, disagree strongly, are you evenly balanced between agreement and disagreement, or have you no opinion at all (Don't know).

	Agree strongly	Agree	Evenly Balanced	Disagree	Disagree strongly	D/K	
(a) Love (romance) is the best basis for marriage. Why do you think this?							Col.40 (1 - 6)
(b) Full sexual intercourse before marriage is allowed for:							

	Agree strongly	Agree	Evenly Balanced	Disagree	Disagree strongly	D/K	
a) engaged couples							Col.40 (7 - Y)
b) for men but not for (decent) women							Col.41 (1 - 6)
c) anyone							(7 - Y) Col.42
d) no-one							(1 - 6)

Why do you think this?

(c) Ukumetsha is allowable before marriage for:

a) engaged couples							Col.42 (7 - Y)
b) for men but not for (decent) women							Col.43 (1 - 6)
c) anyone							(7 - Y) Col.44
d) no-one							(1 - 6)

Why do you think this?

(d) Oral contraceptives should be freely available:

a) only to married people							Col.44 (7 - Y)
b) to both unmarried and married persons							Col.45 (1 - 6)

Why do you think this?

(e) Wives should be treated as equals — Col.45 (7 - Y)

Why do you think this?

(f) In choosing a wife one should pay attention to a person's family and social class — Col.46 (1 - 6)

Why do you think this?

(g) Payment of labola makes it more likely that a wife will stay with her husband — Col.46 (7 - Y)

Why do you think this?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Evenly Balanced	Disagree	Disagree strongly	D/K	
(h) If a husband falls in love with another woman he should divorce his wife and marry this woman. Why do you think this?							Col.47 (1 - 6)
(i) If a wife falls in love with another man, she should divorce her husband and marry this man. Why do you think this?							Col.47 (7 - Y)
(j) The father of an 18 year old girl should know with whom she goes out in the evening. Why do you think this?							Col.48 (1 - 6)
(k) The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents. Why do you think this?							Col.48 (7 - Y)
(l) Children should be allowed to express themselves as freely as possible, as long as they do not endanger themselves or others. Why do you think this?							Col.49 (1 - 6)
(m) How do you think most Europeans would answer the last question? Why do you think this?							Col.49 (7 - Y)

4. There are many jobs that have to be done in or for the home, for example earning money for the family, cooking, mending things that get broken, looking after the children, paying the rent, buying groceries. Which jobs do you think the husband should do, and which should the wife do? Which jobs should both husband and wife share, and to what extent should each be prepared to help the other?
Husband's jobs: Col.50

Wife's jobs: Col.51

Jobs which should be shared: Col.52

5. How does this work in the households of Col.53
and of ..... (mention two best friends - see section A, Q.50)? Col.54

6. How does this work out in your own household (if married)? Col.55

7. What happened in your parents' household? Col.56

8. How do most European couples in this country allocate jobs in the home? Are there any differences between different groups of Europeans e.g. rich Col.57 Col.58
and poor, English or Afrikaans speaking?

9 How do you know about this? Col.59

9. What spare-time (pleasure) activities do you do separately from your wife/husband, and which together? Col.60 Col.61

10. Various decisions, big and small, have to be made in any family, e.g. where to live, what school to send the children to, who they should play with, whether to go and see a certain film, etc ... Who makes the various decisions in your family (specify who makes each type of decision). (Probe: Are there any other types of decision that have to be made?)
Type of Decision — Person who makes it Col.62
Col.63

11. ASK LITERATES ONLY: Have you read any books or articles in magazines or newspapers dealing with any of the above questions (the qualities to look for in a husband or wife, what each person should do in marriage, oral contraceptives, etc). If you have read any please give examples. Col.64

12. ASK ALL: Now you can tell me a little about your child(ren) (ask only of those who have one mor more children aged 2 - 18):
How is each getting on at school?

13. What are their (his/her) interests and achievements, apart from school? Col.65

14. Can you tell me who are your children's chief friends (those of whom they see most)? (If more than two children take the two eldest, if all the same sex, or if not all same sex the eldest boy and the eldest girl).

What jobs do their fathers do (or their mothers, if they have no father in the house)? Col.66 Col.67

15. Have you ever forbidden your children to play with anyone? If so, why? Col.68

16. As far as you know have any of your children had boy friends (for girl) or girl friends (for a boy)? (Ask only of parents who have children aged 15 or more.) Col.69

If so, was this with your approval, or permission?

At what age did they first have boy friends/girl friends?

17. ASK LITERATES ONLY: Have you ever written to the advice (e.g. 'Aunt Sally') column of a newspaper or magazine about boy or girl friend problems, problems with your parents or relatives or your own children, particularly in adolescence? Col.70

If so, please give details (what was your problem, and what answer did you get, etc.). Col.71

18. ASK ALL: Have you discussed any of these matters with your friends? If so, please give details. Col.72

19. Have you discussed any of these problems with your parents, or other relatives? If so, please give details. Col.73

Notes

SPARE TIME OCCUPATIONS

Day	12.00 a.m. – 6.00 a.m.	6.00 a.m. – 8.00 a.m.	8.00 a.m. – 12.00 p.m.	12.00 p.m. – 2.00 p.m.	2.00 p.m. – 5.00 p.m.	5.00 p.m. – 6.00 p.m.	6.00 p.m. – 7.00 p.m.	7.00 p.m. – 8.00 p.m.	8.00 p.m. – 9.00 p.m.	9.00 p.m. – 12.00 a.m.
1st Day										
2nd Day										
3rd Day										
4th Day										
5th Day										
6th Day										
7th Day										

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