

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE MEDIA WITH SPECIFIC
REFERENCE TO SENIOR STAFFING AT THE
INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS CAPE
(THE CAPE ARGUS AND THE CAPE TIMES) AND
MEDIA24 (DIE BURGER)**

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DECLARATION

I, Clement Roland du Plessis, hereby declare that this assignment is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

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ABSTRACT

Before 1994, the year in which South Africa conducted its first democratic elections, newspapers did little to reflect the demographics of its country and more specifically its regions.

This assignment delves into the progress made regarding transformation with specific reference to senior staffing at the Cape Argus, Cape Times and Die Burger since 1994. A comparison is drawn between what went before and after 1994 in the staffing structures of the newspapers mentioned.

In terms of content the assignment lists and studies a number of issues regarding transformation as per the topic. Histories of the above-mentioned newspapers are recorded. The South African Human Rights Commission's views on transformation in the media are mentioned as well. The views of these newspapers and those of Government are also shared.

Changes have been made, although this has been at a pedestrian pace for a number of reasons. These changes need to be tracked through for more empirical work than has been possible in this assignment.

These newspapers have set themselves targets and they are optimistic that in the near future many more changes would be made.

The prospect for future research of this topic is far from being saturated. The three media houses discussed are committed to transformation.

ABSTRAK

Voor 1994, die jaar waarin Suid-Afrika se eerste demokratiese verkiesing gehou is, het koerante baie min gedoen om die demografie van die land en omliggende streke te weerspieël.

Hierdie werkstuk ondersoek die vordering in transformasie wat ná 1994 gemaak is, met spesifieke verwysing na senior personeelaanstellings by die Cape Argus, Cape Times en Die Burger. 'n Vergelyking tussen personeelstrukture van hierdie koerante voor en ná 1994 word getref.

'n Aantal aspekte ten opsigte van transformasie word bestudeer en die geskiedenis van bogenoemde koerante word opgeteken. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Menseregtekommisie se siening oor transformasie in die media word bespreek, asook die siening van hierdie koerante en dié van die regering.

Veranderings, hoewel teen 'n stadige tempo, is vir 'n aantal redes aangebring.

Hierdie koerante het vir hulself doelwitte gestel, en hulle is optimisties dat heelwat meer veranderinge in die nabye toekoms aangebring sal word. Transformasie blyk 'n prioriteit by elk van die genoemde koerante te wees.

Die studie het nie die onderwerp uitgeput nie en verdere navorsing kan gedoen word.

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Addendum A: Jennifer Crocker, Assistant Editor Cape Times

Addendum B: Chris Whitfield, Acting Editor Cape Argus

Addendum C: Bun Booyens, Assistant Editor Die Burger

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Section One

1. INTRODUCTION

The Cape Argus is an afternoon newspaper. The Cape Times is a morning newspaper. Both newspapers, although in competition with each other, are owned by the Independent Newspapers. Die Burger is a rival newspaper to the Cape Times and is owned by Media24.

The primary objective of this study is to determine how these newspapers have transformed since 1994 with regards to the nature of its staff at management level.

For the purpose of this study it has been decided to conduct structured interviews with the assistant editor of the Cape Times (Jennifer Crocker - Addendum A), the acting editor of the Cape Argus (Chris Whitfield - Addendum B) and the assistant editor of Die Burger (Bun Booyens - Addendum C).

The structured interviews are analysed to determine how the respective respondents have addressed the process of transformation in a changing newspaper environment since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994.

The discussion is concluded with a critical analysis of the questionnaires that the respondents have completed.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The debate around media transformation often surfaces in the media in the form of a race debate. The term “transformation” begs the question “from what, to what” (Steenveld, 1998: 47)? It necessarily implies a particular understanding of the kind of society as it is, and a vision of where that society wants to go.

The ANC’s government position is clear: it supports a capitalist state that is non discriminatory with respect to race, gender, age, sexual orientation (etc), in which “affirmative action” is applied as a policy with respect to race and gender - but not to class, sexual orientation, age (etc).

South Africans have been raised on “identity politics”: a conservative version

(Steenveld, 1998:4-7). In this version South Africans are divided into groups. Each group was said to have its “own identity or culture” which was deemed to be inherent, God-given, biological, unchanging and therefore essential.

There is another version: here identity is not inherent, not biological, not fixed. According to eminent media theorist Stuart Hall, it is posited as being continually formed and transformed in relation to the way people are addressed by the different social/political/cultural systems which people inhabit.

Given the complex ways in which the categories “white and black” have been constructed in South Africa, in H.A. Giroux’s words, “is to create a political vocabulary and project for rethinking a politics of cultural difference predicted on broader conceptions of race and identity” (Giroux 1993: 10).

South Africa faces the problem of constituting a new national identity. Who belongs; how do they belong; what are their rights and obligations, how historically do individuals see their past racial/gender/class constructions and relations to various communities, and how does this impinge on their membership of the “nation”; with what rights and responsibilities.

The media play a crucial role because they “construct for us a definition of what race is, what meaning the imagery of race carries, and what the ‘problem of race’ is understood to be” (Hall 1995: 20).

A more positive role that the media could play would be to construct an understanding of identity based on that view “the self as a historical and cultural formation is shaped in complex, related, and multiple ways their interaction with numerous and diverse communities” (Fraser 1992, qtd Giroux 1993: 10). This perspective would necessarily challenge the current essentialist view of “blackness” and “whiteness”. This race essentialist view of the media attributes the cause of the problem to the colour identity of the media, rather than to their economic foundation. The problem with the media is not solely the “whiteness” of their ownership, but the fact that they are capitalist enterprises. Therefore it would be

illogical to castigate the media for being capitalist enterprises, when the national economy operates on this basis.

This brings back to the issue of “transformation” and the nature of the “new” South African state. Transformation begs serious reconsideration of what is socially and politically possible, given the economic foundations of the state.

A number of left-wing commentators have taken a dismissive view of media transformation since 1994. Sandile Memele (1999: 17) declares that “the more things change, the more they stay the same”. In his view, transformation is simply a device by the bourgeoisie to ensure the continuation of a system that exploits. According to the Black Lawyers Association, “despite recent changes at ownership level, the political agenda of the media has not changed” (cited by Braude, 1995: 49). In its submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said that “nothing had changed”. In similar vein, the ANC declared in its annual report for 1999. “On the media front, after five years of democracy little has changed in the media environment. The ANC is still faced with primarily hostile press corps as part of the media is still primarily owned and controlled by antagonistic forces with minority interests. The result has been a continuous onslaught of negative reporting about the ANC and the ANC-led government.” The ANC went on to add: “In the same breath, however, we need to acknowledge those few journalists and media that refuse to descend into the easy route of ANC-bashing but continue to report objectively.” (ANC: 2000)

Former Cape Times editor Ryland Fisher “does not think that transformation simply means replacing white staff with black”.

He adds: “However, it is important for newspapers to roughly represent the demographics of the province or the country that they serve.” (see Fisher, 2000: 13)

Fisher says this is important for the Western Cape, for example, where the majority of the population is Coloured. Fisher questions whether it would be advisable to have the majority of a newspaper’s staff being African. He says, though, it is important to have “a significant number of Africans on any newspaper staff, even in the Western Cape. There are very few Africans employed at Independent Newspapers Cape.

Cases like these are a necessity of transformation, of affirmative action, of anything just to change the demographics of a company. Fisher says that being too concerned with getting the demographics right has led to real transformation being overlooked. He believes that “our newspapers” continue to report from a mainly white, privileged paradigm. Most South African newspapers, even those with black editors, continue to perpetuate this paradigm. Fisher cites the coverage of Hansie Cronjé and Allan Boesak cases as examples.

On transformation well into the new millennium, Fishers fears that the Cape Times, which has changed quite a bit under his editorship, is going back to what it was before 1994: basically a newspaper aimed at white liberals. He says his leaving of the Cape Times is a reversal for transformation.

However, the new editor John Scott says it “grieves him” that Ryland Fisher questions both his and Independent Newspapers Cape’s commitment to transformation.

Says Scott: “He (Fisher) more than anybody should know that leading black members of our executive including Moegsien Williams (executive editor), Ishmet Davidson (general manager), and Bonnie Jutzen (HR executive), would not tolerate anything less than total commitment to employment equity in its fullest sense. To suggest otherwise is an insult to their integrity.

“Nor would I have been appointed editor of the Cape Times had I not enjoyed the fullest confidence of Cape MD Shaun Johnson in my own resolve and ability to play a major role in this process. For the past six months we have all put a massive effort into producing a comprehensive five-year employment equity plan.” (See Scott 2000: 13)

To analyse the South African media using the term transformation - for the purpose of this thesis, Die Burger, Cape Times and Cape Argus - “there is arguably no absolute definition.” (Berger 2000: 31)

Transformation in South Africa is not only about race: it is also about transformation from a non-democratic dispensation to a democratic one. In other words, media transformation is a shift from the advantaged (White people) to the previous disadvantaged people (Black people) who are given opportunities based on potential and/or merit.

2.2 TECHNIQUE USED

The quantitative research method was used as it is largely based on the measurement of quantity or amount. This method manipulates variables and attempts to control natural phenomena. Research questions or hypotheses are constructed and they are tested against the facts of reality (G. M. du Plooy, 1995: 32,33). A structured interview was used to gather data. Questions were both in English and Afrikaans. Each questionnaire consisted of 14 questions and they were accompanied by a cover letter in the respective language of the newspapers.

2.3 THE INTERVIEWS

The structured interview was used in an attempt to shed more light on transformation in the media with specific reference to the senior editorial staff and newsroom of the Cape Argus, Cape Times and Die Burger. The questions centred around the composition of staff, the training, policies on affirmative action, restructuring of newspapers and their staff's contribution to democracy.

Section Two

3. HISTORY OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS

3.1 INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS

Independent Newspapers is the biggest print media (and online newspaper) group in South Africa since buying Argus Holdings. The Argus Group was founded in 1889 by Francis Dormer. The Argus has always maintained close links with the mining industry. First there were links with the mining entrepreneur, Cecil John Rhodes and today with big mining houses (For a historical overview of Argus see: Rosenthal, 1956). The Argus Printing and Publishing Company adapted with the times and was known as Argus Holdings until its sale to the Irish (Financial Mail, 1991-08-09: 79).

Before the sale the Argus company was controlled by Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI), an Anglo-American affiliate. The newspapers in the Argus stable were Argus (Cape Town), Daily News (Durban), Diamond Fields Advertiser (Kimberley), Post Natal (Durban), Pretoria News (Pretoria), The Star (Johannesburg), Sowetan (Johannesburg) and Sunday Star (Johannesburg). Argus Holdings controlled the biggest publisher of free local newspapers (knock-and drops) and local newspapers, CTP/Caxton and also Natal Regional Newspapers. O'Reilly's multinational group Heinz bought a controlling share in Argus Holdings in 1995 and the Argus group became the largest company in O'Reilly's international Independent Newspapers (K.G. Tomaselli, 1997: 13).

3.2 NASPERS/MEDIA24

In August 2000 Naspers announced that it is in the process of restructuring. A new name for the biggest Afrikaans Press Group was in the making. A name change was due because of technology, the internet, and Naspers' vision of becoming part of the global village.

As a result, Media24 was born on its 85th anniversary, which include on line productions. Media24 is an integrated multimedia group. The 24, in Media24, represents around the clock news. The name Naspers was adopted during the second half of 1997.

Die Burger was its first newspaper which was established by a few Bolanders in 1915 with Dr DF Malan, who later became Prime Minister of South Africa, as the newspaper's first editor. In 1916 Naspers published their first magazine Huisgenoot.

For more than eighty years, Media24 (Nasionale Pers) covered news across the breadth and width of all communities. Nasionale Pers, with its capital letters, has become a nasionale pers in small letters. (Naspers supplement in Finansies and Tegniek: 10 October 1997: 6,7).

Through its publications Media24 has spoken to all the people of South Africa. Media24 crossed the colour barrier in 1949 when it formed Via Afrika, which has since become pioneer in the sale and distribution of books and especially school books in black languages. Through Via Afrika Naspers went into partnership with prominent black people. In all instances where Via Afrika was formed in black communities, the community could buy shares. Media24 retained the 51 majority share, while 49 percent was sold to the community. It was not until 1984 that Naspers moved again in the black market when it bought the magazine, Drum, and the newspaper, City Press, from J.R.A. Bailey. This move shocked the newspaper industry because of Naspers' long association with the National Party government. The apprehensive black employees were given employment conditions that allayed their fears. Under Ton Vosloo, chairman of Naspers, City Press later became a separate company under the chairmanship of a black person, Dr. Oscar Dhlomo. Here the black community had the majority share of 51 percent and Naspers had 49 percent. Naspers crosses the language barrier in 1965 when it founded the women's magazine Fair Lady. Since then many others followed like the English version of Huisgenoot, You, Drum, Women's Value and True Love. The big newspapers in the Naspers stable are Die Burger, Beeld, Volksblad and Rapport. The big magazines in the stable of eleven are Huisgenoot, You, Sarie, Drum and True Love.

4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEWSPAPERS

4.1 CAPE ARGUS

The Cape Argus is as much a part of Cape Town as Table Mountain and the South Easter. Maybe it hasn't been around forever but it has existed during one of the most incredible times in human history. For the past 142 years the Cape Argus has recorded almost unbelievable events like the invention of the automobile, the telephone and the computer. Its pages have carried reports of local and world wars and analysed momentous national and international events. As time has passed its reporters have watched as their typewriters were tossed out for computers, and horses replaced with cars.

The Cape Argus first rolled off a noisy old steam press in Longmarket Street from January 3, 1857 until today when, once again, it hit the streets of Cape Town bringing the latest news to the people of the city.

4.1.1 The beginning

The Argus was born at a time when Cape Town was a thriving colonial port of 32 000 ex-patriat inhabitants - all desperate for news of their old countries and eager to play a part in the building of this far-away outpost.

When the new, four page newspaper went on sale, the Victoria Falls had only just been "discovered" by the explorer David Livingstone and the trip from Beaufort West to Cape Town took three days.

The newspaper was named The Argus after the dragon with a hundred eyes which guarded the Golden Fleece in Greek mythology.

The first issues were written and produced at a little office in Adderley Street by Brian Henry Darnell and Richard William Murray, the joint proprietors and editors.

Mr Darnell provided the capital for the new venture and Mr Murray was responsible for the editorial content. His writing skills were highly regarded in the port and the books he wrote later in life are now valuable Africana.

The printing press, situated on the same site as the presses which print the newspaper today, was owned by Saul Solomon, a Cape Town entrepreneur and gentleman.

The front page, like all newspapers of that time, was covered in advertisements. For sale was a “Palanquin” carriage, gunpowder, cigars, jams and “stamped embroidery work for the ladies”. The main story was of a mutiny on an English ship in Table Bay and the paper carried news from America that was “only 15 weeks old”, from England (seven weeks old) and Australia (six months old).

The launch price was six pence a copy and circulation stood at about 500 after the first year.

4.1.2 Newspapers in Cape Town

The Argus was a morning newspaper which came out on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It contracted reporters throughout the colony and articles were regularly posted from far away places like Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth.

There was some stiff competition in the newspaper world of early Cape Town and when the Argus first came out there were four other newspapers vying for a very limited number of readers.

A year later there were eight and the combined circulation was 3 500.

The newspaper was by no means the oldest in the city and already some vigorous battles had been fought between early editors and the authorities over press freedom.

Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn had founded the South African Commercial Advertiser in 1824 and, with the printer George Grieg, they had a tough time with the Cape Colony governor Lord Charles Somerset who wanted to keep a check on what they published.

In the first two years the Argus' circulation grew in leaps and bounds and soon stood at 1 500 an issue yet, despite this overwhelming success, its financial situation was desperate (apparently the editors' lifestyle was very extravagant) and the printer Saul Solomon bought the publication in 1863.

Although money was tight, the newspaper was rich in reputation. It already had a name for straightforwardness and plain-speaking - just the sort of read the colonists enjoyed.

4.1.3 Early news gathering

News gathering was a far cry from what it is today (there were no telephones or even a telegraph in the colony yet) and to stay ahead of the pack, the editor had to keep a boat ready for his reporters to row out to ships passing the Cape.

When a ship was sighted The Argus boat put to sea. The story the reporter brought back would often make headlines and be billed as "News of a later date than that received by mail".

The first news team to arrive at a ship and then get back to town with the story had the scoop. The reporters also couldn't get everywhere on foot and the editor had to pay for a cart and horses to be on standby so his staff could race to a story before the opposition.

One of the newspaper's biggest rivals The Cape Times was established as a "morning daily" in 1876 - a time when the Argus was still coming out only three times a week.

The Argus editor Mr Francis Joseph Dormer was worried his paper would lose out to the new daily and persuaded the owner, Mr Solomon, to make a do of a daily issue at the vastly reduced rate of one penny.

By 1880 the paper was a daily, competing head on with the Cape Times for circulation. The competition between newspapers on the streets of the city became vicious with each one trying to undercut the other in price and reporters working round the clock gathering news.

4.1.4 Morning to afternoon

Mr Dormer moved his office to Johannesburg and launched the Star, an evening newspaper, which was a success from day one. He decided the Argus too should be an afternoon paper and he negotiated with the leadership of the Cape Times to drop their evening edition and focus on being a morning paper.

4.1.5 Moves

By 1922 the newspaper had grown so big that it moved from Longmarket Street to its present day site, then Argus House in St George's Street and now called Newspaper House.

At the time the building was described as the largest and most modern newspaper office in Africa. Ten years later though it was expanded and modernised.

During the two world wars the newspaper carried detailed reports of the fighting in north Africa and Europe and watched many of its reporters give up journalism for war.

But it was decades later during the 1980s that the Argus was to undergo the most fundamental change since its inception.

Reporters were told to ditch their typewriters for computers and overnight the newspaper operation became faster, slicker and bigger.

The printer's trays and brass lettering which were once essential tools in the works were sold as antiques and the printing presses upgraded to cope with changing technology.

By the 1990s the computer had changed the face of journalism.

Old professions like that of the compositor or "linotype operator" who once cut and pasted columns of news into a dummy newspaper ready for printing became redundant. Instead the newspaper was put together on screen by sub editors whose metal rulers and dictionaries were replaced by word counters and spell checks.

Now, in a news room which once had no telephone, reporters surf the Internet for information, e-mail contacts around the world and carry cell phones.

4.1.6 Into the 90s

In 1995 Andrew Drysdale, the editor who steered the newspaper through the 80s and early 90s, retired and was replaced by Shaun Johnson.

Just over six months after re-launching the newspaper, Mr Johnson was appointed editorial director of Independent Newspapers and Moegsien Williams became the first black editor in the newspaper's history.

He continued the work Shaun Johnson had begun during the relaunch, pressing his reporters all the time to "see beyond the obvious".

Today Moegsien Williams is Executive Editor at Independent Newspapers and Chris Whitfield is Acting Editor.

The goal of the Argus is to be straightforward and plain-speaking and give readers insight and facts about their city, country and the rest of the world which they won't find anywhere else.

■ Shaun Johnson was appointed managing director of Independent Newspapers Cape in mid-1999 (Independent Newspapers Cape Town).

4.2 CAPE TIMES

The Cape Times was formed in 1876 and is one of the oldest newspapers in the country. At the time the English press advocated liberal values and press freedom. The Cape Times, like most major English newspapers in the country, were closely associated with the mining housings. The South African Associated Newspapers (SAA), owners of the Cape Times became a different company called Times Media Limited (TBL). TBL sold their interest in the Cape Times to Argus Holdings. When the Irish multinational company Heinz, led by the Irish businessman, Tony O'Reilly, became the majority shareholder in Argus Holdings, the

Cape Times had a new owner. While the Cape Times' main target group was the white English reader, the Cape Times is today read by more Coloureds and blacks than whites. The newspaper is distributed mainly in the Cape Peninsula (ABC 2000). The Cape Times was also known for its support to the liberal parties during the time of National Party rule. It has attempted to move into the black market with editions for this particular population group, but resistance led to the special "township" edition being scrapped. It decided to integrate the black newspaper into the main section and today the majority of readers are Coloured. Since the relaunch of the Cape Times in 1995 it has become an authoritative, dominant and outspoken daily morning newspaper in Cape Town. It is servicing the needs of upmarket readers, emphasising business news and providing in-depth coverage of current issues (<http://www.inc.co.za/inc/cape-newspapers/ct-br/>). The one to two pages of business news were replaced by a national business section called Business Report. In 1996 Moegsien Williams became the first black editor of the Cape Times. He was appointed in 1997 to lead the Cape Argus, the afternoon newspaper of the Independent Newspapers in Cape Town. Ryland Fisher, who was Williams' deputy, became editor of the Cape Times in June 1997. John Scott succeeded him January 1, 2000.

4.3 DIE BURGER

THE Nasionale Pers (Naspers) was formed in 1915 in the wake of Afrikaner nationalism and during an era when the emphasis was on the economic empowerment of Afrikaners - Afrikaans speaking whites. Die Burger was die group's first newspaper and its aim was to serve as an instrument of Afrikaner nationalism. Since its existence it has played an important role in the development of the Afrikaans language and it has been closely associated with the National Party (NP) and at one stage the NP had representation on the board of Die Burger. This close association formally ended in the 80s. In an attempt to broaden its readership, Die Burger in 1968 introduced the Burger Ekstra which was aimed at Coloured readers. This meant that special pages in the newspaper was reserved for Coloureds. These pages were only carried in the newspapers that were distributed in the Coloured towns. Furthermore this news was accommodated on the financial pages of the newspaper. This practise was stopped in the early 90s when the election for a democratic government was imminent. Die Burger was

relaunched in 1994 and its racial editions were replaced by integrated zonal editions like: Die Burger Platteland, Metropool, Laat and Laaste. Die Burger is distributed throughout the Western Cape which include the rural towns of the province. When Naspers closed the Oosterlig, the Eastern Cape morning newspaper, Die Burger launched its Burger-Oos-Kaap. Die Burger is the only Afrikaans daily that is distributed at the same time in two cities, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Their circulation is listed separately. Die Burger has three free-sheets (knock-and-drops) in the Western Cape, Metro-Burger, City Vision and TygerBurger. They also have three free-sheets in the Eastern Cape, PE Express, PE Vision and UD Nuus.

Since 1995 Die Burger has had their project The Newspaper in the Classroom. Through this project Die Burger teaches teachers how to use the newspaper in the class (webred@burger.naspers.co.za). The project runs throughout the year and is presented to all schools in Die Burger's circulation areas.

This project has been a success as many pupils at mostly Coloured schools were inspired to produce their own school magazines for the first time. Die Burger supports the following values: a multiparty-democracy, a free-market economy, personal freedom, freedom of the press and a fully fledged status for Afrikaans. Die Burger is against the abuse of power, maladministration and corruption.

5. CIRCULATION

This section will compare the circulation figures for the first half of 1994 with the first half of 2000. The Monday-Friday editions of Die Burger, Cape Argus and the Cape Times will show comparisons.

In 1994 the Cape Times had a Saturday edition which was scrapped in 1996. Since then it is distributed from Monday to Friday.

The Cape Times sold daily 57 947 copies for the period January-June 1994. For the period January-June 2000, the Cape Times sold 51 126 copies.

The Cape Argus sold daily 97 966 for the period January-June 1994. For the period January-June 2000, The Cape Argus sold 79 243 copies.

Die Burger sold daily 93 266 for the period January-June 1994. For the period January-June 2000, Die Burger sold 87 539 copies. Its Saturday edition sold 99 636 copies.

5.1 READER PROFILE

The Cape Times and Cape Argus compare readership within the Cape Peninsula.

The Cape Times has 255 000 average issue readers. About 223 000 readers live in the Cape Peninsula (2000). The Cape Times had 303 000 readers in 1994.

The Cape Argus has 351 000 average issue readers. About 325 000 readers live in the Cape Peninsula (2000). The Cape Argus had 460 000 readers in 1994.

Die Burger has 469 000 readers in the Western Cape and about 180 000 readers in the Cape Peninsula (2000). Die Burger had 417 000 readers in 1994.

5.2 RACE COMPOSITION

5.2.1 The majority of the Cape Times' (102 000) readers were Coloureds (40%), while the second largest group (99 450) is whites (39%), followed by blacks (53 550) with 21% in 2000. In 1994 the majority of the Cape Times' readers - 139 000 (45,9%) - were Coloureds, while the second largest group is whites. They accounted for 126 000 readers (41,6%), followed by blacks with 38 000 readers (12,5%). See figure 5.2.1

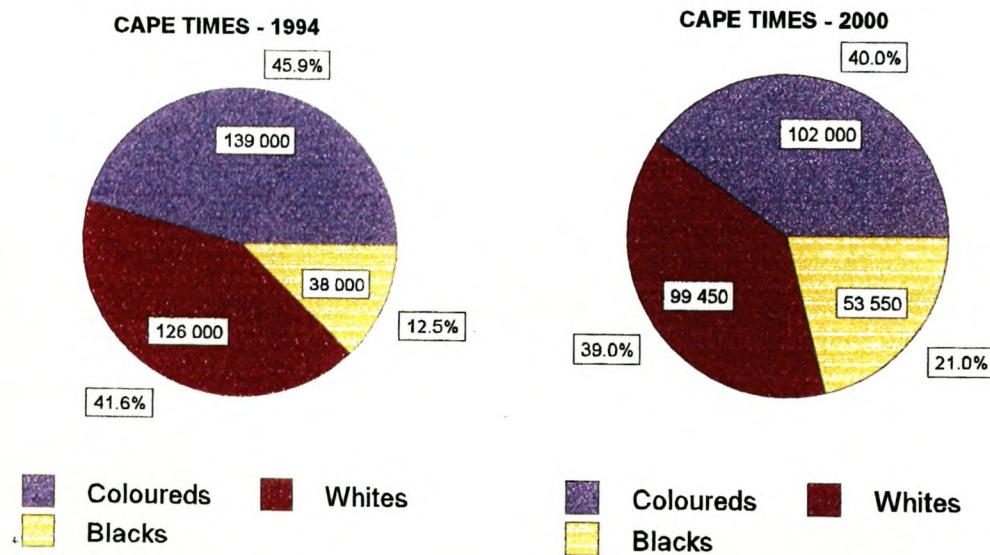


Figure 5.2.1

5.2.2 The majority of the Cape Argus' (193 050) readers were Coloureds (55%), while the second largest group (105 300) is whites (30%), followed by blacks (52 650) with 15% in 2000. In 1994 the majority of the Cape Argus' readers - 268 000 (58,5%) - were Coloureds, while the second largest group is whites. They accounted for 149 000 readers (32,5%), followed by blacks with 43 000 readers (9%). See figure 5.2.2

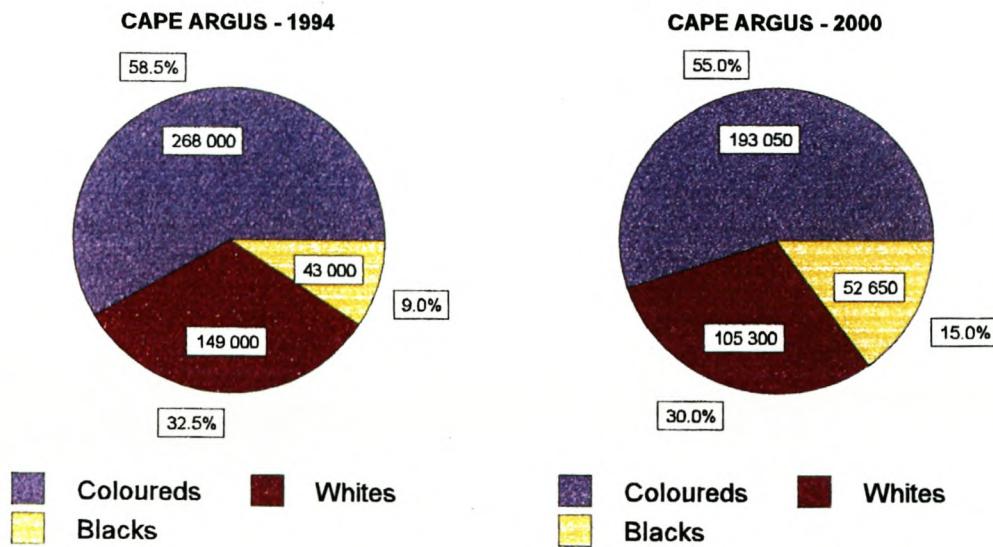


Figure 5.2.2

5.2.3 The majority of Die Burger's (248 570) readers were Coloureds (53%), while the second largest group (215 740) is whites (46%), followed by blacks (4690) with 1% in 2000. In 1994 the majority of the Die Burger's readers - 204 000 (48,8%) - were Coloureds, while the second largest group is whites.

They accounted for 198 000 readers (47,6%), followed by blacks with 15 000 readers (3,6%). See figure 5.2.3

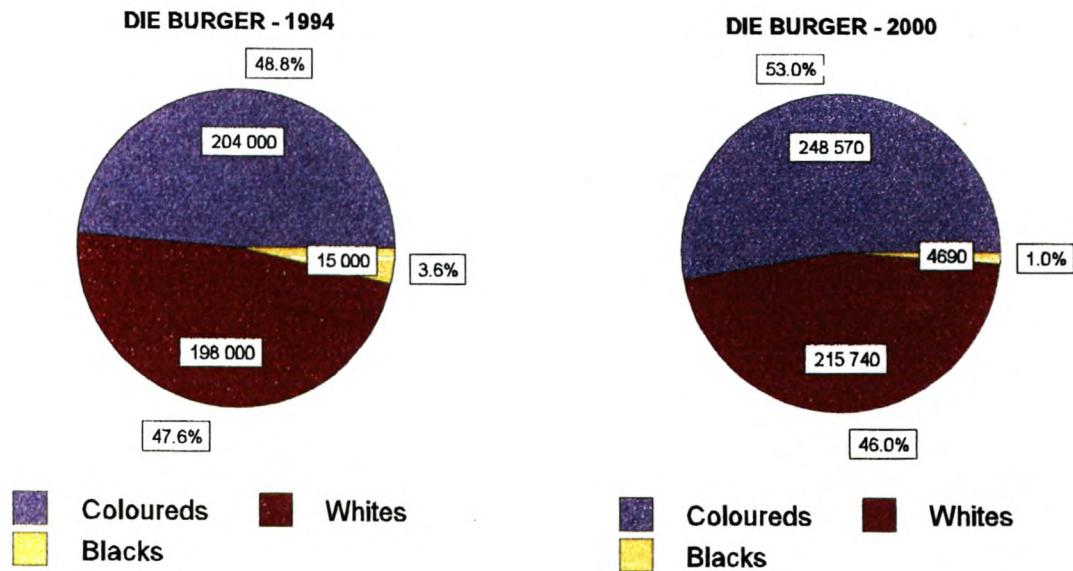


Figure 5.2.3

Section Three

6. THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (SAHRC)

6.1 The Background

The South African Human Rights Commission was of the opinion that the media was racist and wanted the media to take part in the inquiry into racism in the media. On Friday, February 18, 2000, the South African Human Rights Commission spokesman Siseko Njobeni has confirmed that the following media organisations had been subpoenaed to testify at its hearings into racism in the media: Mail & Guardian, Sunday Times, Radio 786, e.tv, Cape Times, Cape Argus, The Sunday Tribune, Daily News, Ilanga, Independent on Saturday, You, Sunday Independent, Saturday Star, Business Report, Business Day, Rapport, SAFM, SABC television, The Star and City Press. The Citizen, Beeld and Die Burger also confirmed having received subpoenas (Sapa, Saturday Argus and MediaWeb correspondent, 19 February 2000). The hearings will seek responses from editors to allegations of racism in specific stories, and information on the guidelines used to handle race and incidents of racism in news reporting and commentary.

6.1.1 The Claudia Braude Report

Independent researcher Claudia Braude prepared the interim report for the Media Monitoring Project in November 1999 after being commissioned by the HRC to research the incidence of racism in the media.

Her report and another by the Media Monitoring Project were used by the HRC as a basis for subpoenas issued to more than 30 journalists and editors to appear at the hearing.

However, Ms Braude and colleague Edward Bird said they were concerned the HRC had misinterpreted their report and that it was being used to violate press freedom.

Mr Bird said the commission's actions could be interpreted abroad as "SA McCarthyism".

Braude also said the media had refused to co-operate with the investigation and had prejudged her research.

"There was a campaign by the media to discredit the process. . . it was clear that a lot of journalists felt threatened," Braude said. (Cape Times, 7 March 2000)

Braude said the media had been "hostile" to the HRC's investigation. Journalists to whom she had spoken had been afraid to go on record about racism.

She defended some of the controversial findings in the report, including her description of two birds on a dirt bin as a racist symbol of degeneration of Johannesburg under black management. The picture, which appeared in the Star, was taken in Kampala, Uganda.

6.1.2 The Human Rights Commission

The Human Rights Commission spokesman Siseko Njobeni said he was confident that the editors of media organisations subpoenaed to testify at its hearings into racism in the media would show up.

"A subpoena was a legal document and placed a legal obligation on the person to whom it was served. Failure to honour it constituted a criminal offence," Njobeni said. "The HRC would not like to see itself getting involved in that kind of action - using its powers of laying criminal charges.

"We are confident that the editors will attend the hearings." (Cape Times, 7 April 2000)

However, several news organisations described the subpoenas - which carry a six-month jail term or a fine if ignored - as an assault on press freedom and reminiscent of the Cold War McCarthy hearings into communism in the United States.

Subsequently the HRC conditionally withdrew subpoenas forcing newspaper editors to appear at an inquiry into allegations of racism in the media on February 28, 2000.

The HRC withdrew more than 30 subpoenas but warned it could re-issue them if editors and news organisations did not show up at hearings starting on March 1, 2000.

"The Commission (HRC) has decided to withdraw the subpoenas but it reserves the right to reinstate them should such be warranted," said Njobeni. (Cape Argus, 24 February 2000)

The HRC said the subpoenas were necessary to ensure attendance at the hearings after the media failed to respond sufficiently to its earlier request to answer allegations of racism.

The HRC said it had dropped the subpoenas after meetings with the South African Editors Forum (Sanef) and a group representing major newspaper proprietors.

South Africa's top human rights body labelled the country's white-owned media a racist institution and said the industry should look at fresh ways to stamp out prejudice. The statutory South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) said its two-year investigation into the post-apartheid media, which included cross-examining of editors under oath, showed that the media reflected racial prejudices.

The HRC urged the media to scrutinise itself.

The report said self-examination by the media and further debate was necessary because of the crucial role the media played in building South Africa's fledgling non-racial democracy.

"We believe that the inquiry into racism in the media ... was an exercise in public accountability.

"It is because we affirm the right and duty of the mass media to subject public representatives to scrutiny, that they too, their policies and practices should be put under the microscope.

"Accountability does not threaten press freedom. Ultimately, the authority and integrity of the media will be enhanced by the extent to which media organisations and practitioners subject themselves to scrutiny as they themselves do," the report said. (Cape Argus, 25 August 2000)

Turning to the racial composition of newsrooms, the HRC called for greater representivity in accordance with the Employment Equity Act. It was suggested that media management vigorously address the issue of the training and recruitment of black staff, especially sub-editors.

Further the report said: "We encourage editors to organise newsroom discussion groups from time to time with a view to sensitising journalists to the manner in which racism creeps into their copy." (Cape Argus, 25 August 2000)

Schools of journalism were encouraged to introduce racism as a module in the training of journalists and media workers. Journalists should also be exposed to the diversity that formed the fabric of South African society, for example, by way of trans-cultural dialogues.

“These would help all South Africans understand and appreciate the value of cultural diversity in our country.” (Cape Argus, 25 August 2000)

One of the key observations made in the HRC report on the media is that racism is parasitic. The HRC, whose mandate was to investigate racism in the media, notes that racism often attaches itself to other defensible, socially acceptable discourse and action.

For instance, a black person who is chosen, in competition with a white person, to fill a vacant position, is assumed to have had the benefit of affirmative action and to have been chosen only because of his or her colour.

Instead of openly admitting that they are opposed to the appointment of the black person because of their racial prejudice, those against the appointment would hide behind concepts such as “reverse racism”. The apparent breach of the norm, that white people are the best for the jobs, means the white person who does not get the job feels discriminated against.

The report further gives another example of racism assuming a justifiable position. Depending on the manner in which crime is reported, the implications may be that crime, corruption and incompetence are inherent in black culture or sense of being.

The HRC has concluded that there is substance to the charge that some crime reporting in South Africa lends itself to the charge that corruption in the public service resides with black people.

Whereas the report states that there is racism in the media industry, as shown by the few number of blacks in senior positions especially sub-editors, the commission did not find blatant advocacy of racial hatred. Instead it has found evidence of condemnation of hate speech.

One of the major obstacles in the eradication of racism, the report says, is denial and evasion. Racism is usually denied or unacknowledged largely because of the apartheid legacy.

“A most sophisticated form of denial is the constitutional argument. It simply restates the view that the constitution protects all rights and there is equality,” the report states.

“To be concerned about racism is to deny that there is equality or seek protection beyond what the constitution guarantees. Acknowledgement of racism is an important prerequisite to dealing with it in a healthy rather than in a pathological manner.”

The HRC observes that the concentration of media ownership can stifle media diversity and prevent the proper reflection of the entire South African story.

The issue of ownership is critical because even the publications edited by Africans still project white views.

The report urges the private sector and the government to fund initiatives aimed at achieving diversity in the media, and suggests that one way of dealing with the problem would be to diversify the media which would ensure the publication of a variety of opinions.

“The point is made that South Africa’s media continues to be controlled by white people and act for white interests and reflect the world view of the white minority.

“The pace of change and transformation has been very slow. The country’s publications are grossly unrepresentative of the population.

“There are few black people in positions of authority, which leads to an inadequate representation of the South African story,” according to the report.

(Cape Argus, 24 August 2000)

6.1.3 HRC chairman Barney Pityana

HRC chairman Barney Pityana said the country’s media remained a racist institution.

“The media is a racist institution, consciously or unconsciously, and operates in a stereotypical manner,” said Pityana after the HRC issued its long-awaited report. Media ownership in South Africa, Pityana said, remains predominately in white hands nearly a decade after apartheid was ended and many publications express mainly white, suburban concerns and fears. Pityana said that self-regulation had clearly failed and that the industry had to come up with fresh ideas on how to deal with charges of racism or else new parliamentary legislation would have to be considered.

“There is institutional and structural racism in South Africa and the media is part of that. The systems of self-regulation are not working,” Pityana said. (Reuters, 24 August 2000)

“To the extent that the South African media reflected a persistent pattern of racist expressions and content of writing that could have been avoided, and given that we take seriously the fact ... such expressions cause or have the effect of causing hurt and pain, South African media can be characterised as racist institutions.” (Cape Argus, 25 August 2000)

He said the both the codes of conduct of the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Press Ombudsman needed to be reviewed and tightened up.

The media, through the SA National Editors' Forum, should initiate a pilot project on effective monitoring and accountability of the media in South Africa within the context of the Constitution.

The forum could possibly suggest the establishment of a statutory mechanism to be introduced, Pityana said.

6.2 Reaction

6.2.1 Moegsien Williams

Moegsien Williams, Sanef council member and executive editor of Independent Newspapers Cape said, "We are hoping common sense will prevail. Sanef will be meeting the full commission - except Mr Pityana, who is in Geneva - to ask for two things.

"We want the commission to withdraw the subpoenas, and we want to explore ways for the commission to continue its work on racism under circumstances in which no editor feels he or she has been coerced."

"As has already been pointed out, we are concerned about racism generally in the country. It is part of our legacy, and we have to deal with it.

"We concede that newspapers and the media are not squeaky clean when it comes to racial insensitivity, and stereotyping certain groups, and we acknowledge that it is problem.

"Generally, editors were hopeful we would be able to discuss and debate the issue on this level.

"But the manner in which the HRC has gone about this enquiry has left much to be desired.

"Their preliminary findings, deductions and conclusions were completely far-fetched and baseless, if not downright farcical.

"Secondly, their attempt now to try to compel editors to come and testify at the inquiry is also a rather *kragdadige* (heavy handed) way of doing things, and is unbecoming in a democratic South Africa." (Cape Argus, 25 February 2000)

6.2.2 Kevin Jacobs

Cape Town Press Club chairman and editor of You magazine - (a product of Media24) - Kevin Jacobs said, "Your shameless borrowing of heavy handed tactics from the PW Botha handbook on how to deal with the media should be an embarrassment to the HRC.

"We hope and trust enlightened guidance and commitment to the letter and spirit of South Africa's constitution will lead you to reassess your action."

(Saturday Argus, 19 February 2000)

7. THE NEWSPAPERS VISION FOR THE ACCELERATION OF TRANSFORMATION

7.1 INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS EMPLOYMENT EQUITY POLICY (INCLUDING CAPE ARGUS AND THE CAPE TIMES)

For decades apartheid discriminated against the majority of the people of South Africa. It has left a legacy of inequality which can be found in disparities in employment and the unequal distribution of jobs which created pronounced disadvantages for certain categories of people within the national labour market. Within Independent Newspapers there was also discrimination as a result of which many of their staff were severely disadvantaged.

Independent Newspapers committed itself to redressing these past discriminatory practices by ensuring that those designated groups in the company will in the future be fully integrated into the company.

Independent Newspapers committed itself to eliminating discrimination based on race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, physical disability or any other factors based on the inherent requirements of the job and the employees' ability to do the job.

Employment Equity is regarded as one of the key strategic issues for Independent Newspapers to address, immediately and in the future. Independent Newspapers will strive to achieve the

company's goal to transform and restructure itself to reflect the realities and diverse cultures of the communities in which it operates.

Employment Equity is an investment in the future and must ensure the continued survival, growth and competitiveness of the company in a changing South Africa and world/global order.

Designated groups mean black people, women and people with disabilities.

The term black refers to Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

Numerical goals mean the targets, objectives and the time frames to achieve the equitable representation of suitably qualified people from designated groups within each occupation category and level in the workplace, which will be specified in the Employment Equity Plan.

Workplace mean Independent Newspapers Cape, The Cape Argus and the Cape Times.

The main objectives of the Employment Equity Policy are:

Promoting and achieving equal opportunity and fair treatment within each work force for suitably qualified persons through the elimination of unfair discrimination.

Elimination of unfair discrimination in employment policies and practices within each workplace.

Positive measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experience by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce.

These measures will include affirmative action for suitably qualified people, additional training and development for people from designated groups, making reasonable accommodation for people from designated groups in the workplace to ensure diversity, identification and elimination of employment barriers.

These objectives will be achieved in terms of relevant employment policies and the workplace implementation plans.

Measures will include:

Championing the policy internally, setting numerical goals within specified workplaces and within agreed time frames, encourage diversity, allocating resources to those levels in the company where racial and gender imbalances are most marked, human resources development, reforming recruitment and selection procedures, training and development and monitoring progress.

Numerical goals are a key component of the employment equity policy.

Different workplaces will have different numerical goals and timings depending on the demographic profile of the regions concerned and the readership of their newspapers.

Independent Newspapers has engaged professional services to audit its employment policies and practices. The company will take the necessary corrective action to eliminate unfair discrimination within the time frames set out in the company's employment equity plan.

Training and development programmes, whose objective is to support the company in meeting its employment equity commitments, are a key component of the policy.

Independent Newspapers undertake to meet the obligations imposed on it by the Act with regard to:

The audit of the employment policy and practices and the corrective action required to remove discriminatory policies and practices, the preparation, implementation and monitoring of the equity plans and the report to the Director General, signed off by the chief executive officer.

Independent Newspapers undertakes prior to the drafting and submission of its Employment Equity Plan to take reasonable steps to consult and attempt to reach agreement with employees represented on all levels on the analysis, preparation and implementation of its Employment Equity Plan. The company undertakes to disclose all relevant information during the process. (Independent Newspapers, 1998)

7.2 DIE BURGER

Die Burger regards employment equity as a strategic priority and says its intention is to carry out its objectives in this regard. Die Burger strives to be sensitive to the way in which people are managed, as well as to the environment in which business is done. Employment Equity is being integrated with Die Burger's business orientation, as well as the way in which it does business.

Die Burger believes that present and future challenges can be met only with proficient and motivated staff. Within the framework of employment equity, Die Burger strives to respect employees' dignity, maintain fair labour practices, to communicate openly and honestly, to respect employees' rights to freedom of association, and to provide a safe working environment.

Employment equity has the following specific focal points:

Focal point 1: Absence of unfair discrimination in the workplace.

Die Burger commits itself to removing all forms of unfair discrimination, whether direct or indirect, in policy, management practices, conditions of service and labour practices, in order to establish a work environment in which opportunities, treatment and expectations are based on practices which do not relate to race, creed, sex, beliefs or any other arbitrary ground.

Where discrimination does occur, it may relate only to job requirements and/or market trends and/or operational requirement of the business.

Focal point 2 : Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is not a goal in itself, but rather a planned process by means of which employment equity can be established in the workplace. It is regarded as a temporary measure with clear objectives, aims and time frames, with the ultimate goal of establishing equal opportunities and equitable representation within the workplace.

Affirmative action requires the implementation of measures to address the inadequate representation of the designated groups in the staff composition. In this it requires the implementation of initiatives to promote the accelerated recruitment, promotion, training and development of people from these groups.

By setting critical mass targets, equitable representation of designated groups will be achieved on all levels in the workplace. The focus of the staff of the Die Burger will be comprised in a such a way as to serve the target markets (now and in the future) effectively. This will occur while taking into account the demography within which Die Burger does business.

Focal point 3 : Equal opportunities

The removal of unfair discriminatory practices and the implementation of affirmative action measures will create a work environment in which applicants and the employees are given equal access to employment opportunities. This will enable employees to develop their full potential in accordance with Die Burger's operational requirements.

General realisation of potential and economic empowerment constitute objectives within a framework of equal access to recruitment, promotion, training and development.

Focal point 4 : Welcoming and utilising diversity

Die Burger aims to develop a work environment and culture which is experienced as non discriminatory and in which diversity is welcomed. The goal is to establish a relationship of mutual trust, co-operation and self-confidence.

The aim is to integrate diversity within the workplace with the way in which business is done, in such a way that Die Burger benefits from it (Employment Equity, Die Burger, December 1997).

8 RESTRUCTURING OF NEWSPAPERS

8.1 INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS CAPE (CAPE ARGUS AND CAPE TIMES)

With restructuring it was hoped that the newspapers would reflect some changes if not major changes in its content when reporting the news and bring about changes in its staff complement.

“There is no doubt that in the past few months of restructuring, we have allowed ourselves to lose focus and to forget about our vision,” said Rory Wilson, managing director of Independent Newspapers Cape (Open House, Independent Newspapers Cape, May 1999).

During May 1999 Mr Wilson said the restructuring exercise affected every corner of the worldwide Independent Group.

He said every person who works for the company must be treated fairly and grow with the company.

In the same staff newsletter, Open House, Andrea Weiss (white female), newly-appointed news editor of Cape Argus at the time, said: “I would suggest that our first task is to rebuild our newsrooms so that we are able to respond effectively to all the demands that are placed on us.

“For a long time, we have been bringing our papers in on the proverbial wing and a prayer. We live in one of the most violent, volatile, and, yes, vibrant cities in the world, but we’ve battled to reflect this. We’ve been spread thinly, both in numbers and in terms of reflecting the true demographics of our society.”

Weiss said as they take on new staff, they have to be clear about where they are heading. At present she said their core readership is Coloured (59%), predominantly male and urban.

“ . . . we have to make sure we have a spread of staff with good contacts across the city,” she said (Open House, May 1999).

As news editor she said “we should take care to harness talent”.

In the process of restructuring in 1999, the position of news editor was filled by a white female and the position of back desk editor was filled by a white female.

And on the sub editors desk, two white females have been appointed to co-ordinate the content of the leader and op-ed pages respectively.

“This move is aimed at giving subs a greater role in shaping the mix of the newspaper,” said Stephen Wrottesley, chief of staff of Cape Argus (Open House, May 1999).

Bonnie Jutzen of Human Resources said that over 70 staff vacancies existed after retrenchments.

“ . . . an excellent window of opportunity for managers to reassess their staffing requirements in the context of the bigger transformation picture as the restructuring created ‘space’ for the introduction of some exciting new development positions.”

Independent Newspaper’s affirmative action policy is a temporary strategy to achieve the company’s goal of equal opportunity for all. This policy should become an integral part of the group’s goal to transform and restructure itself to reflect the realities of the new South Africa. The process of transforming this organisation, which has already begun, should be extended to totally transform the company’s culture to reflect and value the diversity of its people (Independent News, December 1996, No 5).

8.2 DIE BURGER

Die Burger was first published on 26 July 1915 as a newspaper for white Afrikaners. The paper was bound by two guide lines; first journalism was done on the basis of integrity and secondly to change as circumstances change (Die Burger, 26 July 1995).

As Die Burger always had readers of colour, the company felt that it should address the needs of the Coloured community and in 1968 Die Burger Ekstra was established. Circulation of Die Burger soared so much so that in 1978 Die Burger outstripped the Cape Times.

In 1994, with South Africa reaching a democracy, Die Burger Ekstra was incorporated into the main edition of the newspaper. Die Burger Ekstra no longer exists.

9 GOVERNMENTS VIEW OF EVENTS IN THE MEDIA SINCE 1994

9.1 NELSON MANDELA

The Mandela government believed that O'Reilly would open the doors for real transformation to take place.

Hence the appointments of black figures such as Ryland Fisher as editor of the Cape Times and Moegsien Williams as editor of the Cape Argus. O'Reilly started his venture in South Africa after he got the go-ahead from the ANC to invest in South Africa.

Sam Moeti, chairperson of the Parliamentary portfolio committee on Communication, said the ANC-led government felt that there was a need to create a substantial broad and diverse print media industry, in the number of products on offer and in ownership terms.

“People previously excluded from the publishing process must be integrated into it. The formerly disadvantaged, need to be groomed and trained and incorporated in existing publishers at significant corporate levels and in significant numbers.”

(Moeti, S: 14 April 1997)

Eight months later, President Nelson Mandela launched his harshest attack to date on the South African media at the ANC's 50th national conference on 16 December in Mafikeng, North West Province.

“The bulk of the mass media in our country has set itself up as a force opposed to the ANC. In a manner akin to what the National Party is doing in this sphere, this media exploits the dominant positions it achieved as a result of the apartheid system to campaign against both real change and the real agents of change. To protect its own privileged positions it does not

hesitate to denounce all efforts to ensure its own transformation. The media uses the democratic order as an instrument to protect the legacy of racism.”

(Mandela: 16 December 1997)

He accused the media of not hesitating to denounce all efforts to ensure its own transformation which is consistent with the objectives of a non-racial democracy, as an attack on the media. Referring to attacks by the media on the ANC, Mandela said these attacks were interpreted as freedom of thought, speech and the press which the world must welcome. He said when the roles were reversed and the ANC exercised their right of freedom of thought and speech to criticise the media for its failings, it is being seen as an attempt to suppress the freedom of the press for which the world must punish the ANC.

Mandela said the ANC was not asking for any favours from the media and was expecting none. The ANC was not going to apologise for demanding that the media had a responsibility to inform society. Mandela followed this speech with an interview on SABC 3 (18 December 1997) and referred to the black and Coloured editors in the Independent Newspaper group as “tokens”.

Mandela asked why newspapers were controlled by whites while they have competent Coloureds, Indians and Africans.

When asked whether he discounted the black editors for example the Cape Times (Fisher), The Cape Argus (Williams) and the Sowetan (Aggrey Klaaste), Mandela said that there could be power without responsibility.

“As long as these newspapers are owned by a white conservative minority, those promotions are simply tokens without power,” said Mandela. (Mandela: 18 December 1997)

9.2 THABO MBEKI

The Mbeki government, even today, is still pressing on with statements about social transformation. His comments follows hot on the heels of his predecessor Mandela about transformation.

“In our many interactions with Directors-General in the past year, we raised a number of issues . . . that we believe are critical if we are to achieve our objectives of, amongst others, making government work in an integrated way, building the capacity necessary to meet the

challenges of ensuring a better life for all, and the need for each one of us to develop a macro perspective and think strategically beyond the confines of our immediate line functions.

"I believe that the launch of the Presidential Strategic Leadership Development Programme is an important step in this direction. If we are to develop this macro perspective, work in an integrated way and build the capacity and expertise necessary to face the challenges of the modern world, we should, ourselves, understand correctly the world that we live in." (Speech, Strategic leadership development programme, Pretoria, 23 July 2000)

The strategic leadership programme should further equip government to be in a position to plan correctly, implement those plans correctly, utilise correct tools to audit the path traversed, and also, assist government to anticipate the future, while at all times ensuring that government's eyes are focused on the transformation destination.

Said Mbeki: "Transformation happens within the context of the process of the integration of our Region and the renewal of our Continent in a globalized World." (Speech, Strategic leadership development programme, Pretoria, 23 July 2000)

Furthermore Mbeki said, government is aware that as part of the process of dealing with the legacy of the past, government continues to deal with an important matter of making the public service representative. This task will continue until the public service reflects the true picture of all the people of South Africa because it is part of our efforts to bring about a truly non-racial and non-sexist country, while at the same time, this programme should help government to attract the best people to serve the country.

Referring to affirmative action Mbeki said that one hears few exhortations from the media to try harder, like the famous car hire company that was unhappy at being second but did something about it. It should be obvious enough that government need more, not less, affirmative action (Speech to Pretoria Press Club, 25 July 2000).

"The media should go and have a look at experience elsewhere, and then judge our comparable efforts. And they should, in fairness, have a close look at the successes achieved, which are so often the rule and not the exception. And they should look at what we are doing in terms of training for successful management and operation of services," said Mbeki.

Minister in the office of the president Essop Pahad said: "Despite some changes with regard to media ownership, the voices, particularly print media, remain in a few hands.

“Despite greater black and female participation in decision making, the country’s media still do not adequately cater for the multiplicity of information needs within our vast country.

“This emergence of community voices in radio needs to be sustained and spread more widely, including into print.” (Sunday Argus, June 10, 2000)

Dr Pahad said government had met the various stakeholders, including media owners, the advertising industry and non-government organisations, in a bid to diversify ownership through, among other things, the provision of funds through private sector funded initiatives.

9.3 BLACK EDITOR’S RESPONSE TO MANDELA’S CRITICISM

Within days after Mandela’s Mafikeng speech on the media, Moegsien Williams, editor of the Cape Argus and chairman of the South African National Editors’ Forum (SANEF) , who is also coloured, challenged Mandela to define tokenism. Williams said that whether his appointment to the Cape Argus had been on the basis of ability, or because he was black, was not for him to say.

“But my record and those of the other editors speak for themselves,” said Williams.

(Saturday Star, 8 December 1997)

Williams said transformation in the media, as in the government, was not an easy process, and getting newspaper staff to reflect the demographics of their readership would take some time. He expected the government to have some understanding for that as few ministers can show him and the country a perfectly transformed government after three years into the democracy. In summing up Mandela’s criticism, Williams said that if it was genuinely aimed at helping the media and at pointing out the need for transformation, then he would say Mandela was right, But if it was an attempt to get the media to be more sympathetic to government, then Mandela was wrong.

He posed the question whether Mandela would have made these comments about transformation if the South African media were like the Zimbabwean media, who were almost entirely uncritical of government?

Williams said that SANEF was to engage the government and political organisations in ongoing constructive debate on these issues, to develop a better understanding of the media.

Fisher, who with Williams were the only editors at the ANC conference, responded with an open letter to Mandela (Cape Times, 22 December 1997).

According to Fisher he was part of a SANEF delegation that met Mandela in June of 1997. There Mandela spoke about the media being controlled by whites, in many cases conservative whites, who are unable to reflect the aspirations of the majority. Fisher wrote that Mandela added that many black journalists did not feel free to write what they wanted because of pressure from white editors.

“I have always respected your right, just like any other citizen, to criticise the media, but was amazed at the anger with which you raised your criticism. However, I accept that, historically, politicians will always find fault with the media. And vice versa”. (Fisher)

Although he was not surprised by the criticism of Mandela, Fisher wrote that he was nonetheless disturbed.

Referring to Mandela describing him and fellow black editors as “tokens”, Fisher reminded Mandela of his and Williams’ struggle with the previous government. According to Fisher, he was the news editor at the alternative newspaper, South, while Williams was the editor. They refused to accept the illogical arguments of the then Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, and challenged him in court. Although they lost, the two of them made their point.

They both spent time in detention because of their strong belief in democracy and freedom of expression and were quite prepared to sleep in prison cells if required.

On Mandela’s allegations of tokenism and that he was part of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy, Fisher pleaded “not guilty on both accounts”.

He would readily admit that he and his colleagues sometimes fail in their duty to inform the public properly. Fisher wrote that the media like the President, are grappling with transformation not only in their newspapers but also in society. Although they have tried to analyse and report on the country’s complexities to the best of their abilities, Fisher admitted that sometimes there are issues and incidents that even their combined expertise and social experience cannot help them to comprehend.

Fisher said the media are working to improving this situation and hope soon that they will be able to plea not guilty to the charge of failing to inform the public properly.

He said he will respond to Mandela's criticism in the way he knows best and that is by trying to produce consistently good journalism every day.

9.4 DIE BURGER'S RESPONSE

In an editorial, Die Burger, the newspaper said that when politicians are in trouble, they go to the convenient punch bag which is the media.

The newspaper described the criticism as not unexpected as he had accused the media before that they longed back to the days of apartheid, twisted facts and that they were against democracy (Die Burger 18 December 1997:14).

Die Burger conceded that the media were not above criticism but they play a crucial role as part of civil society to keep a critical eye on the political scene and to act as democratic watchdog.

9.5 EDITOR'S RESPONSE TO MBEKI'S CRITICISM

There has been no public response by editors to Mbeki's comments about transformation. However, the editors and the office of the president have been in official dialogue regarding transformation.

10 STRUCTURE OF SENIOR EDITORIAL STAFF

10.1 CAPE TIMES

This newspaper is headed by a white male editor. The position of deputy editor is vacant and black male is the news editor. A Coloured male is the chief sub. The position of picture editor is vacant.

10.2 CAPE ARGUS

This newspaper is headed by a white male acting editor and a white male acting deputy editor. The news editor is Coloured. A white female is the chief sub. The position of picture editor is filled by a white male.

10.3 DIE BURGER

This newspaper is headed by a white male editor and a white male deputy editor. The news editor is a white female. A white female is the chief sub.

Die Burger has a white male heading its photographic department but not under the title of picture editor.

Section Four

Perceptions

11. ANSWERING OF QUESTIONNAIRES

11.1 VIEW ON THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

Jennifer Crocker, assistant editor on the Cape Times, says transformation is necessary but that it cannot be legislated or enforced by another agency.

“We should be open to challenge when people believe we are getting it wrong in transformation as with every other area of our business,” she said.

The Cape Times is fully committed to the Equity Legislation which will go some way to address the process of transformation. She believes the more representative the Cape Times newsrooms and subs rooms are the more likely they are to move along in the process. The Cape Times need to critically evaluate its stances and be constantly be aware of shifts that are taking place within the company. Newspapers are microcosms of society and an environment of open debate and levelling of the playing fields goes a long way to helping in the (transformation) process, she said.

On the question of allaying the fears of the advantaged on the Cape Times Crocker feels that this is not the role of the newspaper.

Fielding a question about the impatience of disadvantaged journalists, Crocker says that the Cape Times has an equity plan to which it is committed.

Chris Whitfield, acting editor of Cape Argus, says the process has been frustrating because the state and private sector poaches quality people. He says the Cape Argus cannot hold on to very talented people. But he says the Cape Argus is committed to the process.

To move the process along Whitfield believes in doing it thoroughly, and the approach to the transformation process needs to be done methodically. He says, if this is not done, the process will fail as it has in the past.

About the fears of the advantaged, Whitfield says there is no sheltered employment. In addressing the impatience of the disadvantaged Whitfield says the change will be very marked in five years time and that it is important to stick to the targets the Cape Argus has set out.

Bun Booyens, assistant editor of Die Burger, says there is too much accusations made about transformation and the facts need to be presented.

He believes the facts about transformation need to be communicated. He says this is also necessary to expedite the process of transformation.

About allaying the fears of the advantaged, Booyens says the employment equity plan doesn't mean reverse discrimination.

11. 2 TOKENISM

The Cape Times have black journalists in positions on merit. The Cape Argus has promoted people too quickly, but Whitfield says there are black people who deserve to go as high as possible.

Die Burger believes that no publication can afford a token senior journalist on an important beat.

11. 3 PERCENTAGE OF TOP MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE (BLACK - INCLUSIVE OF COLOURED, INDIAN AND BLACK)

The Cape Times did not have any figures in this regard, but there are vacancies.

In 1994 the Cape Argus did not have any in top management. Today the Cape Argus has 50% black in top management.

Die Burger's editorial management structure totals 15 of which four comes from the designated groups.

11.4 THE IMPACT OF BLACK OWNERSHIP ON THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

The personal view of Crocker is that black ownership makes no impact on the process of transformation.

The Argus believes black ownership would have a good impact on the process of transformation.

Die Burger urges broader media ownership. Naspers has tried to diversify its shareholder profile through the Welcome shares offer about two years ago.

11.5 RACE AND GENDER IN THE NEWSROOM

At the Cape Times there are mostly black women. In terms of race and gender in the Argus newsroom Whitfield says that, probably, they have 50 percent Coloured, 40 percent white and 10 percent black in the newsroom. The subs room, for example, would be 70-80 percent white. The sports department would be 60-70 percent white, he says. The newsroom is probably the most transformed area of the paper. Weekend Argus is predominantly white.

Die Burger did not have these figures available.

Section Five

12. DISCUSSION OF ANSWERS

The three media houses are committed to transformation although the process of transformation is far from complete. There have been changes, in terms of race, since 1994. Prior to 1994 there were no people of colour in senior editorial positions. Although there are people of colour in senior editorial positions today, they agree that more needs to be done to reflect the demographics of the Western Cape region.

There is agreement on diversifying the newsroom and top editorial management positions. In this regard South Africa's Employment Equity legislation is used as a backbone for its transformation programme.

On many of the questions relating to figures, none of the respondents were able to provide information. Questions relating to the circulation figures are accurate as supplied by the All Media Product Survey 2000.

In the past not all journalists were trained. Now there is a move to employ trained and skilled journalists.

The newsroom at the Argus and Cape Times have more people of colour as reporters than sub editors, chief sub-editors and assistant editors. On four positions questioned at Die Burger - which include the editor, deputy editor, news editor, chief sub-editor - all are white. The fifth position, which is a picture editor, is not a position held at Die Burger.

At the Argus for the same mentioned positions, they've got three white (one female) and two black people employed. At the Cape Times the editor is a white male, the position of deputy editor is vacant, the news editor is black, the chief sub editor is Coloured and the position of picture editor is vacant.

These newspapers have set themselves targets and they are optimistic that in the near future many more changes would be made.

13. CONCLUSION

The fact is that there was a shift/change in South African media in the first six years of the country's democracy - in legal context, ownership and staffing, and in race, even in gender and class.

Obviously the situation is much better than it has ever been, but nevertheless remains far from ideal. For as long as this abnormal situation remains, especially with the gross under-representation of Africans in top editorial positions, accusations of lack of representativeness will continue legitimately to be levelled at the media.

Criticism from white editors and commentators is dismissed easily as coming from "a white-controlled and white dominated media," and from the few senior black journalists as coming, as former President Nelson Mandela said in 1997, "peace-time heroes", ambitious individuals courting promotion and who have therefore sold out (Leadership Edition 1998). Content and political role and representation of race need more research, but at the very least things have not stayed the same. There have been changes. Some of these changes accorded with transformation, some contributed to transformation, some ran counter to transformation and some counted directly as transformation. All of these changes need to be tracked through for more empirical work than has been possible in this thesis. That there is still a way to go in expanding the role of South African media in deracialisation, democratisation and socio-economic transformation is not disputed. But the media landscape of 2000 is different compared to that existing before 1994. Its transformation may be less than what was wrought in politics and political institutions; its contribution to transformation in these and other spheres may be uneven and contradictory.

Yet, transformation there has been.

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ADDENDUM A

QUESTIONNAIRE/VRAELYS

NAME/NAAM

Jennifer Crocker

TITLE/TITEL

Assistant Editor Opinion
Cape Times

1 How far are you with the process of transformation since 1994 ?

1. Hoe ver het u gekom met die transformasieproses sedert 1994?

We have a firm commitment to the transformation of newspapers and news coverage, although this must be qualified by saying that transformation often means different things to different people. We are committed to reporting fairly, in an unbiased manner on all communities and interest groups. Fairness of comment and openness to the many diverse views and beliefs held in the country is striven for. We are of course, like every other industry, still in a process of transformation.

2. According to the African National Congress submission to the Human Rights Commission, the media have not been transformed satisfactorily. How do the media fulfil its obligation with regards to transformation at each level of the industry ?

2. Volgens die ANC se voorlegging aan die Menseregtekommissie is die media nie bevredigend getransformeer nie. Tot hoe 'n mate vervul die media hul plig met betrekking tot transformasie op elke onderskeie vlak van die bedryf?

I would deny that the ANC's statement was entirely based on fact, although there may be fact in it. There are shades of perception here. The reality is that transformation is on the agenda at the Cape Times and we have made some major paradigm shifts since 1994.

3. What is your view on the process of transformation in the media ?

3. Wat is u mening oor die transformasieproses in die media?

That it is necessary but that it cannot be legislated or enforced by any agency. We should be open to challenge when people believe we are getting it wrong in transformation as with every other area of our business.

4. What can be done to expedite the transformation process ?

4. Wat kan gedoen word om die transformasieproses te bevorder?

Obviously the Equity Legislation which we are fully committed to will go, some way to addressing the pace of the process. The more representative our newsrooms and subs rooms are the more likely we are to move along in the process. We need to critically evaluate our stances and be constantly aware of shifts that are taking place around us. Newspapers are microcosms of society and an environment of open debate and levelling of the playing fields goes a long way to helping in the process.

5. How does transformation allay the fears of the advantaged ?

5. Hoe sal transformasie bevoordeelde medialui se vrese verminder?

When all people feel included and respected in all areas of life that I suppose would make for a more integrated and happy society, but I don't think it is specifically the responsibility of newspapers to take on this role. We can play a positive part in reflecting how the broader community is coping with dealing with this reality.

6. Disadvantaged journalists are impatient with the slowness of the process of transformation. How do you intend to accelerate this exercise?

6. Benadeelde joernaliste is ongeduldig met die stadige pas van transformasie. Hoe beplan u om die proses te versnel?

We have an equity plan that we are committed to.

7. How do you feel to suggestions that a few black trained journalists are tokens in senior positions?

7. Hoe voel u oor aantygings dat 'n paar opgeleide swart joernaliste in senior posisies bloot TOKENS is?

This is not the case at the Cape Times, our black journalists are in positions that they hold by merit.

8. Are you able to supply ABC fugures for your profile of readership from June 1993-June 1994, June 1999- December 1999 and January - June 2000 ?

8. Kan u ABC syfers voorsien vir u lessersprofiel van Junie 1993 tot Junie 1994, Junie 1999 tot Desember 1999 en Januarie 2000 tot Junie 2000?

See Circulation 5.2.1

9. What percentage of your top management structure is black (Black is inclusive of Coloured, Indian and Black) ?

9. Watter persentasie van u topbestuur is swart? ("Swart" sluit in swart, bruin en Indiërs.)

Don't have the figures and as we have a lot of vacancies at the moment it would be less than helpful to do so.

**10. How does black ownership impact on the process of transformation in the media ?
10. Watter invloed het swart eienaarskap op die transformasieproses in die media?**

Personally I doubt that it does at all.

11. Some editors, in submissions to the Human Rights Commission, have, conceded that there are few black sub-editors. What are you doing to change this ?

11. Sommige redakteurs het in voorleggings aan die Menseregtekommissie toegegee dat daar min swart subredakteurs is. Wat doen u tans om hierdie situasie te verander?

With training and adhering to an equity plan.

12. What percentage of your newly-appointed staff are university or/and technikon-trained journalists in 2000 in comparison to 1994 ?

12. Watter persentasie van u nuut-aangestelde personeel het universiteits- of technikon-opleiding in 2000 in vergelyking met 1994?

No idea most of our staff come to us via the tertiary education system.

13 . With reference to the previous question, what is the breakdown in terms of race and gender ?

13. Met verwysing na die vorige vraag - wat is die samestelling ten opsigte van ras en geslag?

Mostly black women.

14. What is the race of the Editor, the deputy editor, news editor, chief sub, and picture editor ?

14. Wat is die ras van die redakteur, adjunkredakteur, nuusredakteur, hoofsub en fotoredakteur?

Editor - White, Deputy Editor - Vacant, News Editor - African, Chief Sub - Coloured, Picture Editor - Vacant

Questions for the thesis on transformation in the media on Independent Newspapers, Cape (The Cape Times and Cape Argus) and die Burger.

ADDENDUM B

QUESTIONNAIRE/VRAELEYS

NAME/NAAM

Chris Whitfield

TITLE/TITEL

Acting Argus Editor

1 How far are you with the process of transformation since 1994 ?

1. Hoe ver het u gekom met die transformasieproses sedert 1994?

If you look at what newspapers were like then and now, there is a marked (absolute) difference, most particularly in the content of the newspaper we certainly have come a long way from what were a very conservative, very white newspapers in the early nineties. In terms of staffing levels we've got some distance to go. We do, however, have definitely made progress and as you know the normal editor of the Argus is a Coloured man Moegsien Williams who will be returning in January. There are other senior positions other than white. I'd be lying to say that it was perfect but what we have done now we have a very ambitious and well thought through equity plan in place and I'm sure that once that is achieved the aim is to achieve it within five years. The process will be complete.

2. According to the African National Congress submission to the Human Rights Commission, the media have not been transformed satisfactorily. How do the media fulfil its obligation with regards to transformation at each level of the industry ?

2. Volgens die ANC se voorlegging aan die Menseregtekommissie is die media nie bevredigend getransformeer nie. Tot hoe 'n mate vervul die media hul plig met betrekking tot transformasie op elke onderskeie vlak van die bedryf?

The ANC's submission to the Human Rights Commission, quite frankly wasn't very good. But I would agree with them if they made a statement that it hasn't transformed satisfactorily as an industry. There are a lot change that must still take place and can still take place and we can only honestly say we are transformed when our newspapers reflect the demographics of the region in which they are sold.

In post 1994 we thought we could retrench/retire, just generally get rid of older white members of staff and we put in a lot of money into that. We thought we could replace them with suitable people of colour, but the reality we have discovered is that it is very hard to find people. It is a historical thing and we really battle to replace people. We have changed our emphasis now. You know, you do get the Moegsien William's (black editor) and the Joe Aranes' (black news editor) and people like that. We have developed a bottom up process and that is what our equity programme is about. We are recruiting very aggressively, from students level up who can come through and transform the industry from the bottom. And on a slightly higher level we also going out to other industries, for example, the teaching profession and academics.

**3. What is your view on the process of transformation in the media ?
3. Wat is u mening oor die transformasieproses in die media?**

The process of transformation has been a bit frustrating and I think we obviously very committed to it and we are driving towards it, but it has been a tough process, in particular keeping quality people, there is so much competition out there - the private sector poaches people, the state poaches people. You get very talented people coming through and you can't keep them.

**4. What can be done to expedite the transformation process ?
4. Wat kan gedoen word om die transformasieproses te bevorder?**

Expedite suggests a short-term thing. The reality of our own experience is that you can't. The reality is that you must do it very thoroughly. You must approach it methodically and have an objective and have a target and that is what we have done. We have now come to a point where I believe that we absolutely set in the right direction and that we will achieve these aims. As for as expediting things I don't think there is a short term answer as much as one would like it. I think that is where newspapers generally have failed in the past.

**5. How does transformation allay the fears of the advantaged ?
5. Hoe sal transformasie bevoordeelde medialui se vrese verminder?**

Transformation IS the fear of the advantaged. I get a lot of forty something white males coming to me and saying there is no future in this for me and I might as well get out. And what I say to them is if you want to keep a job and make a career you just have to prove your own ability and be judged in the future like everybody else. There is no sheltered employment.

**6. Disadvantaged journalists are impatient with the slowness of the process of transformation. How do you intend to accelerate this exercise?
6. Benadeelde joernaliste is ongeduldig met die stadige pas van transformasie. Hoe beplan u om die proses te versnel?**

We have an elaborate equity process that will certainly accelerate the exercise. Change will be very marked within a year and by five years we will have reached the stage where I don't think anyone will doubt that we have transformed. We just have to stick to our targets.

**7. How do you feel to suggestions that a few black trained journalists are tokens in senior positions?
7. Hoe voel u oor aantygings dat 'n paar opgeleide swart joernaliste in senior posisies bloot TOKENS is?**

There have been cases where people have been promoted too quickly. Some of the best journalists are black people and they deserve to go as high as possible. Some companies would cynically promote the wrong people, but I hope we don't do that.

- 8. Are you able to supply ABC fugures for your profile of readership from June 1993-June 1994, June 1999- December 1999 and January - June 2000 ?**
8. Kan u ABC syfers voorsien vir u lezersprofiel van Junie 1993 tot Junie 1994, Junie 1999 tot Desember 1999 en Januarie 2000 tot Junie 2000?

See Circulation 5.2.2

- 9. What percentage of your top management structure is black (Black is inclusive of Coloured, Indian and Black) ?**
9. Watter persentasie van u topbestuur is swart? ("Swart" sluit in swart, bruin en Indiëer.)

In 1994 we didn't have any in top management. Now probably there's 50 percent black in top management.

- 10. How does black ownership impact on the process of transformation in the media ?**
10. Watter invloed het swart eienaarskap op die transformasieproses in die media?

It is absolutely wrong that the media should be in the hands of predominantly white people and there has been transformation in Times Media Limited (TML). Black ownership would have an impact on the process of transformation and a good impact. You have to bring in people who have experience of a different lifestyle and that will consequently affect management and that goes right down the whole way, for example, a news editor who is familiar with the Cape Flats is going to be a better news editor than one who is familiar with an exclusive area of Cape Town.

- 11. Some editors, in submissions to the Human Rights Commission, have conceded that there are few black sub-editors. What are you doing to change this ?**
11. Sommige redakteurs het in voorleggings aan die Menseregtekommissie toegegee dat daar min swart subredakteurs is. Wat doen u tans om hierdie situasie te verander?

I concede that there are a few black sub editors. It is a huge problem. What we are trying to do. We are trying to recruit people directly into jobs and we have preferential employment practices now. A black sub editor is ideally our first choice and the second thing is training. We are trying to find people who, for example, a reporter who might make it as a sub editor.

- 12. What percentage of your newly-appointed staff are university or/and technikon-trained journalists in 2000 in comparison to 1994 ?**
12. Watter persentasie van u nuut-aangestelde personeel het universiteits- of technikon-opleiding in 2000 in vergelyking met 1994?

I doubt whether anyone has done a study on that and won't be able to tell you. However, there is a definite shift to get trained people.

13 . With reference to the previous question, what is the breakdown in terms of race and gender ?

13. Met verwysing na die vorige vraag - wat is die samestelling ten opsigte van ras en geslag?

Probably 50 percent Coloured, 40 percent white and 10 percent black in the newsroom. The subs room, for example, would be 70-80 percent white. The sports department would be 60-70 percent white. The newsroom is probably the most transformed area of the paper. Weekend Argus is predominantly white.

14. What is the race of the Editor, the deputy editor, news editor, chief sub, and picture editor ?

14. Wat is die ras van die redakteur, adjunkredakteur, nuusredakteur, hoofsub en fotoredakteur?

Editor - black male, Deputy Editor - white male, News editor - black male, Chief sub Editor - white female, Picture Editor- white male.

If you were to ask me that question in a year's time, at least three of those positions would be black.

ADDENDUM C

QUESTIONNAIRE/VRAELYS

NAME/NAAM

Bun Booyens

TITLE/TITEL

Assistant Editor Die Burger

1 How far are you with the process of transformation since 1994 ?

1. Hoe ver het u gekom met die transformasieproses sedert 1994?

Die Burger uses South Africa's employment equity legislation as backbone for its transformation programme. Die Burger has instituted a formal Employment Equity plan in 1997 which will run until June 2000. All "transformation" related targets are contained in this plan.

2. According to the African National Congress submission to the Human Rights Commission, the media have not been transformed satisfactorily. How do the media fulfil its obligation with regards to transformation at each level of the industry ?

2. Volgens die ANC se voorlegging aan die Menseregtekommissie is die media nie bevredigend getransformeer nie. Tot hoe 'n mate vervul die media hul plig met betrekking tot transformasie op elke onderskeie vlak van die bedryf?

The ANC's submission to the Human Rights Commission contains some assumptions and assertions that were seriously challenged at the hearings and since. I cannot speak for "the media", but I think it is unrealistic to expect "the media" to be fully "transformed" at "every level" within six years of full democracy within a rapidly changing society. My overall impression though, is that the media could have done better over the last five years. They have not tackled the problem consciously enough.

3. What is your view on the process of transformation in the media ?

3. Wat is u mening oor die transformasieproses in die media?

Too much of what is being said about transformation is being stated as accusations, not facts. If we want to speed up the process, we will need to communicate facts about "transformation" to each other.

- 4. What can be done to expedite the transformation process ?
4. Wat kan gedoen word om die transformasieproses te bevorder?**

As above.

- 5. How does transformation allay the fears of the advantaged ?
5. Hoe sal transformasie bevoordeerde medialui se vrese verminder?**

I honestly don't know. If a well-planned employment equity plan is in operation, the "advantaged" will see that transformation doesn't mean reverse discrimination.

- 6. Disadvantaged journalists are impatient with the slowness of the process of transformation. How do you intend to accelerate this exercise?
6. Benadeelde joernaliste is ongeduldig met die stadige pas van transformasie. Hoe beplan u om die proses te versnel?**

No information.

- 7. How do you feel to suggestions that a few black trained journalists are tokens in senior positions?
7. Hoe voel u oor aantygings dat 'n paar opgeleide swart joernaliste in senior posisies bloot **TOKENS** is?**

Beslis nie die betrokke joernaliste wat ek ken nie. In this regard journalism is a merciless profession: it simply won't tolerate tokenism, because too much is at stake. No publication can afford a token senior journalist on an important beat. You will simply be scooped out of business.

- 8. Are you able to supply ABC fugures for your profile of readership from June 1993-June 1994, June 1999- December 1999 and January - June 2000 ?
8. Kan u ABC syfers voorsien vir u lesersprofiel van Junie 1993 tot Junie 1994, Junie 1999 tot Desember 1999 en Januarie 2000 tot Junie 2000?**

See Circulation 5.2.3

- 9. What percentage of your top management structure is black (Black is inclusive of Coloured, Indian and Black) ?
9. Watter persentasie van u topbestuur is swart? ("Swart" sluit in swart, bruin en Indiëer.) ?**

We measure it in terms of the Employment Equity legislation's "designated groups" which include the groups you mention above, but also women. It then depends on what is defined as "top structure". I don't have the figures for "management", only for the editorial staff. Die hoofredaksie is tans aan't verander onder 'n nuwer redakteur, maar die getal is min of meer 15 lede, waarvan 4 uit die aangewese groepe kom.

**10. How does black ownership impact on the process of transformation in the media ?
10. Watter invloed het swart eienaarskap op die transformasieproses in die media?**

Weer eens, ek kan nie namens die media in hul geheel praat nie. We undoubtedly need broader media ownership in South Africa, but the process seems to have proved more problematic than first thought. Naspers has tried to diversify its shareholder profile through the Welcome shares offer about two years ago.

**11. Some editors, in submissions to the Human Rights Commission, have conceded that there are few black sub-editors. What are you doing to change this ?
11. Sommige redakteurs het in voorleggings aan die Menseregtekommissie toegegee dat daar min swart subredakteurs is. Wat doen u tans om hierdie situasie te verander?**

We are advertising all vacancies with the notice that "preference will be given to applicants from the Designated Groups." This means we are using maximum legal leverage to recruit subs from the ranks of these groups.

**12. What percentage of your newly-appointed staff are university or/and technikon-trained journalists in 2000 in comparison to 1994 ?
12. Watter persentasie van u nuut-aangestelde personeel het universiteits- of technikon-opleiding in 2000 in vergelyking met 1994?**

It is safe to say that we will almost certainly not appoint a journalist without some tertiary qualification. It has become par for the course.

**13 . With reference to the previous question, what is the breakdown in terms of race and gender ?
13. Met verwysing na die vorige vraag - wat is die samestelling ten opsigte van ras en geslag?**

No data.

**14. What is the race of the Editor, the deputy editor, news editor, chief sub, and picture editor ?
14. Wat is die ras van die redakteur, adjunkredakteur, nuusredakteur, hoofsub en fotoredakteur?**

All are white. News editor is a woman. We don't have a picture editor (yet).