A Brief History
of South African Journalism,
Mass Communication and Media Education

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A historical critique of the genesis of journalism and mass communication studies, and media studies, in South Africa is offered. An overview of the major South African and African journals and the ideological positioning of different scholarly associations during and after apartheid follows. Some brief remarks on teaching perspectives locate different paradigms. The overall objective is to map the contours of the South African situation.

This article derives from an extended analysis commissioned by the National Research Foundation (Pretoria) on the State of the Discipline: Communication Studies. The various studies and critiques, which have been published from this larger three-year study, have appeared in a variety of forms (cf. De Beer & Tomaselli, 2001; Tomaselli, 2001, and Shepperson & Tomaselli, 2001). The brief history below is intended to contextualize those earlier debates and surveys, and to draw attention to South African publications in the field. A related objective is to also inform readers of places where textured, detailed and empirical studies on South African media, journalism and communication can be found. I am constantly amazed at the poor nature of much M.A. thesis scholarship on the South African media conducted especially at universities in the United Kingdom, but also in South Africa

where students are registered in non-specialist departments. This article is thus an urgent intervention designed to alert students especially to the easy availability of published research on South African media, and on related epistemological issues.

Getting the Record Straight

This article very briefly examines South African journalism and mass communication (JMC), and media studies, under the following headings: (1) General; (2) Research; (3) Research Publications; (4) Teaching; and (5) Professional Organization. The Bibliography, while not exhaustive, is, I believe, sufficiently representative of the available material for the serious researcher to proceed to further scholarship with confidence.

General History

Critical discussion on South African communications scholarship was very sparse during the 1970s, and sometimes institutionally discouraged.[1]

The *general history* of South African JMC indicates that mass communication played a significant role in South Africa. The sector was influential on three main fronts:

- In the wake of the British takeover of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1806, Thomas Pringle introduced a libertarian press into the Cape in 1824. Pringle's original libertarian ethos has continued to be influential, despite countervailing positions. The tradition was generally identified on the grounds of its opposition to political control of journalism and

media. Initially, therefore, the press in the Cape Province, and later the former Boer republics, identified itself as independent from control by the colonial authorities.

The ongoing conflict between Pringle and the colonial governor, Lord Somerset, basically set the tone upon which the South African Libertarian press tradition has maintained its claims to legitimacy. With the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s and the entrenchment of the apartheid state in 1948, this sector became identified by its generally critical, although occasionally ambiguous, stance towards the state. By the mid-1990s the schism was no longer with Afrikaner Nationalism but rather between black nationalism (incorporating 'nation-building' discourses) and libertarianism (Tomaselli, 1997; Berger, 1999).

During the 20th Century, however, a distinct social-responsibility ethic modified the mainly English-language libertarian press. A similar perspective initially also infused the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The SABC was based on the British Reithian concept of public service broadcasting but after 1960 adopted the profile of a state broadcaster under the direct control of the National Party (NP), as anti-apartheid resistance began to simmer. The SABC became a prime legitimating agent for apartheid until 1990 (Hayman & Tomaselli, 1989a; Teer-Tomaselli, 1993; Tomaselli, et al, 1989).

The press aimed at black readers began under the auspices of Christian missions in the 1830s (Switzer,

1984, 1982; Johnson, 1991). This base provided the roots for the 'progressive' and alternative presses of the 1980s which confronted the Nationalist hegemony in particular, and monopoly capital in general (Tomaselli & Louw, 1991). The pre-eminent content-based historical work on this press is contained in Les Switzer's two anthologies (1997, 2000), and Switzer and Switzer (1979), amongst others. Authors in Tomaselli and Louw (1991) are more concerned with political economy and strategies of resistance[2]; however, extensive genre analysis has occurred on only one seminal popular magazine, *Drum* (see, e.g., Chapman, 1985; Rabkin, 1975; Sampson, 1956). Class formation, cultural economy and identification with regard to black readers and black-targeted magazines between 1987 and 1997 is a topic explored by expatriate South African Sonja Laden (1997, 2002), who is based in Israel.

Afrikaans became an official language in 1925. Its speakers had made extensive strategic use of print media to advance their cultural and political interests historically (see Du Plessis & Du Plessis, 1987). Afrikaner-owned newspapers and publishers played a significant role in the NP's rise to power in 1948, in the development of apartheid, and in South Africa's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth in the 1960s. However, the Afrikaans press also played a decisive role in preparing its readers for the eventuality of representative democracy in the mid-1990s (Van de Venter, 1998; Beukes, 1992; De Beer & Steyn, 1993; Scholtz, Du Plessis, & De Beer, 1992; Froneman & De Beer, 1993).

Journalism and Mass Communication (JMC) Research

The history of *JMC research* in South Africa only really began after the advent of broadcast television in 1976, with its different news journalism requirements. Although additional incentives to research emerged after 1980 as the apartheid state began to operate more and more in global isolation, the later research was largely an outgrowth of initiatives begun during the earlier phase. Indeed, with the exception of a few studies conducted in political science and history departments, little significant scholarship occurred in the first half of the century.

However, there is a wealth of biographical material available. Journalists often described their lives and circumstances in popular anecdotal terms (e.g., Steinmeyer, 1946; Van Tonder, 1945). As early as 1916, Sol Plaatje conducted extensive critical journalistic work as founder/ editor of *Koranta ea Bechuana* and of *Tsala ea Batho*. The first serious analysis of the press was that by H. Lindsay Smith (1946, p. 13). Lindsay Smith was followed by Elaine Potter's (1975) groundbreaking study on the liberal press. But, as Les Switzer (response to the *State of Discipline* questionnaire) points out:

> ...virtually all popular as well as scholarly publications by and about the South African press before the 1970s were written by and for white audiences in South Africa and interested, influential lobby groups in Western Europe and North America. This material was consumed largely by conflicts within and between the two main Afrikaans and English-speaking communities (see e.g., Pollack, 1981; Phelan, 1987; Hachten, 1979; De Villiers, 1976; Domisse, 1979; Erasmus, 1962; amongst others. See also Tyson, 1987, 1993).

As the century wore on editor's reminiscences proliferated (Flather, 1977; Pienaar, 1979; Rosenthal, 1974, amongst others). These accounts, and those published later (Mervis,

1989; Tyson, 1993; Manoim, 1996), offer rich empirical description. Journalistic accounts of their practices and experiences can be found in Finnegan (1980), Mkhondo (1993), and Rosenthal (1974) with regard to broadcasting. However, these descriptions still await theorisation and explanatory elaboration by academics.

Journals Publication

An early attempt to establish JMC research was the brief existence of the journal *Communications in Africa* (1971-1974), edited by Tony Giffard of Rhodes University with the aim of co-ordinating knowledge between the media and the universities. Giffard was the most regularly published, systematic, and sophisticated scholar of the South African media during the 1970s (see, e.g., Giffard, 1972, 1976, 1980a, 1980b). *Communications in Africa* survived just five issues, however. Studies carried out for the journal include some excellent quantitative studies on the press and broadcasting. De Villiers (1971), St Leger (1974) and Seiler (1974) provided empirical baselines which were extensively used by some Rhodes researchers in their attempts to find a modicum of research continuity for a revisionist press and broadcasting history during the apartheid years.[3] With the establishment of academic departments of journalism and communication towards the end of the 1970s, and especially after the mid-1980s, South African titles devoted to sustained theoretical (De Beer, 1977, 1980, 1985, 1993, 1995) and historical scholarship began to be published.

Communicatio, inaugurated in 1974 and published by UNISA was initially under the control of an editorial committee. Martinus Van Schoor took over as its first editor, followed by Koos Roelofse, and Pieter Fourie to date. Between

1980 and 1989 the UNISA Department contributed no less than 47 percent of the published articles in this journal, dropping to 37 percent in the decade which followed. As the premier institution teaching communication until the late 1960s it was to be expected that *Communicatio's* authors would initially be drawn from its own Departmental ranks. However, the continuation of this dominance after 1990 raises the question of diversity. *Communicatio* offers a mix of theories. It emphasizes the interpretive approaches of hermeneutics, reception theory, phenomenology and existentialism. Administrative research derived from organisational sociology, as well as articles on intercultural communication, also appeared frequently in the 1980s.[4] *Communicatio* also provided, on occasion during the 1980s, a vehicle for the publication of articles on media studies and critical theory (Tomaselli, 1987; Wigston, 1988; Fourie, 1990; Muller, et al, 1985). Like *Ecquid Novi, Communicatio's* openness to a variety of research traditions was to become very important in terms of a significant paradigm shift at UNISA especially in the late 1980s, and at Potchefstroom University in the late 1990s. The last editorial published was in 1986.

Communicare, published since 1980 by SACOMM, reflected the Association's extensive professional membership with a strong emphasis on business, marketing communication and intercultural communication. It also published on formalist semiotics and systems theory, amongst other topics. Its first editor was Hendrik "Bok" Marais, followed in 1981 by Gustav Puth, both of the University of the Orange Free State, after Marais was appointed to a top executive position at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Rand Afrikaans University's (RAU) Nina Overton became editor 1985. The journal's current editor is Sonja Verwey, also of

RAU. In comparison to *Communicatio*, *Communicare* between 1980 and 1989 carried 29 percent of its total refereed articles from departments in which it was housed, a figure which decreased to 22 percent during the following decade. Brief introductions rather than editorials introduce each issue. The contents are expected to stand on their own merits. A "Last Word" section usually offers an invited essay or polemic, which rarely elicits any responses or further debate.

The SACOMM-linked *Ecquid Novi: Journal for Journalism in Southern Africa*, based at Potchefstroom University, also started life in 1980. Though generally perceived to follow the same intellectual trajectory as *Communicare*, this journal's editor, Arnold de Beer, actively encouraged submissions from a range of paradigms, including Marxist (see, e.g., Snyman, 1987; James, 1987; Savage, 1988). Though himself an implacable positivist, De Beer's pluralist and innovative strategy was a spur to serious discussion of paradigms other than positivism and/or the interpretive. *Ecquid Novi's* authorship has always been eclectic, with the vast majority of articles emanating from beyond its host departments, especially from overseas. Like *Communicare*, a brief editor's introduction sets the scene, with "Forum" section at the back which compiles useful short interventions and previously published articles.

Communicare, *Ecquid Novi* and *Communicatio* were conceived by their publishers as being "liberal" (Afrikaans: "*verlig*").[5] Certainly – with some exceptions – most of their authors worked critically within the framework of political "reformism". Despite the abject failure of "reform" as far as the majority was concerned, these contributors often continued to discuss the "problem" in terms of a "communication gap". In other words, dissent was argued to be caused by the failure of the state to adequately communicate the benefits of

apartheid or reformed-apartheid to black people. An exacerbating factor was the government's simultaneous failure to convince the world of its "sincere" intentions (Overton & Slabbert, 1985; Vorster, 1986; De Wet, 1987). These assumptions fed into a strong communication "effects" tradition which tried to monitor what "groups" (as racially defined by the state) and other "population categories" were thinking, wanting or experiencing.

Critical Arts: A Journal for Media Studies, also inaugurated in 1980, was intended as a vehicle devoted to an anti-apartheid media studies. It was retitled in 1983 as *Critical Arts: A Journal for Cultural Studies*, and in 2001 to *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal for Cultural and Media Studies*. The epistemological and self-reflexive history of this transdisciplinary journal has been well documented elsewhere, and will not be developed here (see Tomaselli, et al, 1983; Tomaselli, et al, 1995; and Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2000). Suffice it to say here that extensive editorials are considered by the journal's editors to be very important in shaping the field, in providing directions, polemics and points for debate. This bi-annual journal problematises the study of culture and media in terms of resistance. Its authors and editors were not even initially aware of the Birmingham School until some British readers and academic travellers brought this to their attention in the early 1980s. Since both Birmingham and *Critical Arts* worked off Marxist approaches, it is not surprising that early *Critical Arts* authors had developed along similar, if initially, parallel tracks. Following 1994, *Critical Arts* systematically expanded its interests to include the Africa, the Indian Ocean Rim, South-South and North-South relations. Apart from some early issues, the journal was not particularly sympathetic to conventional communication studies.

Another key media studies contribution has been Anthropos Publishers'/James Currey *Studies on the South African Media* series.[6] Six anthologies were published in conjunction with the University of Natal's Centre for Cultural and Media Studies (CCMS).[7] *Critical Arts* and the Anthropos book series attempted to connect with popular struggles at the coalface of resistance. While sometimes accused of being "ivory towerish", they were embedded in similar popular discourses then powering the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Indeed, contributors to the book series were often themselves directly involved in the development, production and distribution of the left-alternative media (see, e.g., Pinnock, 1991; Ntshakala & Emdon, 1991; CCSU, 1988; Louw, 1993; Currie, 1993; Pahad, 1993). Unlike *Communicare, Ecquid Novi* and *Communicatio*, these cultural and media studies publications were conceived as strategic interventions in challenging South African communication and drama studies, and were managed very differently. From 2001 the series will be reprinted in the U.S.A., with periodic new titles under the banner of International Academic Publishers, Denver, an African-oriented publisher. The new series title will be: *Critical Studies on African Media and Culture*.

A number of book series by other publishers were inaugurated in the 1980s. These included UNISA's two undergraduate textbook series, *Course Books in Communication*, and the earlier *Communicamus*, both published by Juta. The *Communicamus* series is described as "Communication Science" aimed at both scholars and laymen (see e.g., Jansen, 1989; Oosthuizen, 1989; Fourie, 1988). The later *Course Book* series was designed to complement UNISA study guides, tutorial matter and other readers. A new series was released in December 2001. These textbooks deal with media studies, ethics and communication research, in terms

of outcomes-based education.

De Beer's (1992, 1993, 1998) mass communication text book, which is prescribed by most programmes, went into multiple revised editions, and has gathered some detailed and challenging reviews (Addison, 1995, 1998). Responses from media studies scholars have been to engage the book historically, paradigmatically and in terms of the apartheid context. Of the first edition two South Africans wrote:

> on the one hand, the collection purposes to be a professional manual...On the other hand, the publication has a rather timeless quality, apparently removed from the role communications played in the oppressive past, and the reality of transformatory impulses of the period during which the book was written and published (Burton & Gultig, 1996, p. 162).

No reviews from the conventional journalism mass communication (JMC) community were published by the end of 2001, though they prescribed the book, as did some media studies lecturers.

JMC Teaching

South African JMC *teaching* began late as a serious enterprise, notwithstanding the importance and politically legitimating role of print media for the dominant classes during apartheid. Prior to 1970 the government had prevented the introduction of television, fearing a destructive influence on Afrikaner identity and cultural cohesion (Wilkins & Strydom, 1978).[8] After 1970 the government realised that a TV service under state control would not necessarily work against Afrikaner Nationalist interests (Hayman & Tomaselli, 1989; Meyer ,1971; Crankshaw *et al*, 1983). Further, the exponential global growth in the electronics industry at that time required the introduction of cathode ray tube technology if South Africa

was to hold its international competitiveness in manufacturing (Tomaselli et al, 1989).

The introduction of a PAL TV system in 1976, broadcasting nationally from one of the then most centralised and sophisticated production complexes in the world, dramatically boosted the need for media studies at tertiary educational levels. Afrikaans-language universities had foreseen this need, planning accordingly. But the English-language liberal universities, with the exception of the Rhodes Department of Journalism, only reacted after the government's announcement on television in 1971.

The first university communication department – more specifically, a "journalism course" – was set up at Potchefstroom University only in 1960. The prospect of a TV service, combined with an approach by universities in 1967 to the Minister of National Education on the need for more communication departments, resulted in the establishment of further courses at Rhodes in 1969, at UNISA in 1969 (Fourie, 1990) and RAU in 1970, and University of Orange Free State in 1971 (Wigston, 1988). The homeland institutions of Fort Hare, UNIBO, and Zululand inaugurated communication courses during the early 1980s.

A graduate journalism department based on the Columbia University journalism model was set up at Stellenbosch in 1978. An M.Phil was inaugurated in 1997 as a modular distance tuition programme, with a full-time B.Phil (equivalent to an Honours) was begun in 2000. Journalism and mass communication departments were also established at the Pretoria, Natal, Cape Peninsula, M.L. Sultan and Cape Town Technikons. In 1981 Rhodes added a media studies component to its journalism degree, while the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit at the University of Natal (CCSU), renamed in 1990 as the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies

(CCMS), was inaugurated in 1985. In 1999 its name was again changed, this time to the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies (CMS).

After 1976, media, especially screen studies – and in some cases video and film production courses – were introduced at the English-language universities in departments of drama, communication, education, English and sociology, amongst others (see Van Zyl, 1984; Tomaselli, 1980, 1982; Hayman, 1980; Davids, 1980; Ballott, 1992; Prinsloo & Criticos, 1991; Kendall nd.; Marwick, 1987). A key intervention at schools level is Prinsloo and Criticos (1991), who brought together teachers and academics at a conference on media education in 1990 (see also Kendall nd.; Younge & Regnart, 1992; and the UNIBO teacher educational journal, *Mathlesedi*). Other studies on school media education are provided by Grové (1981) and Ballot (1992). Many of these school teachers and textbooks were a direct outgrowth of the introduction of media and communication studies at tertiary levels of education.

By the end of the 1990s, communication studies departments were seriously competing with post-disciplinary literary appropriations of the field in the guise of media studies and/or theory. Recent developments have seen a growing incorporation of academic media and communication studies into modern language (usually English language and literature) departments. Often describing their syllabi as a cultural-studies derived or cultural studies-based, these departments rely heavily on literary-hermeneutic approaches (Starfield, 2000; Murray, 1997; Cooper & Steyn, 1996; Steyn & Motshabi, 1996). This trend arguably leads to a detachment of "media" from its cognate practices of *journalism* and *communication*, possibly as a result of the conflation of literary and social conceptions of "criticism". I return to this in more detail below.

Associations, Education Meetings and Ideology

The South African Communication Association (SACOMM), established in 1980, is the most enduring of the academic associations servicing the field. Its constitution, written by Arnold De Beer, then at RAU, and Gavin Stewart, then of the Natal Technikon, adhered to non-racial principles in membership. Anti-apartheid scholars, mostly from within the media studies field, tended however to perceive SACOMM as supportive of state policy.

On a more informal level, De Beer and *Ecquid Novi* organised a number of annual *vakkundige byeenkomste* ("subject-related meetings") with the objective of reflecting on journalism training and the profession as a whole. The discussions held during these periodic meetings brought scholars from different paradigms together. A key meeting was one held in 1981 on the RAU Island[9] where De Beer's intention was to "get Afrikaans academics and journalists out of their enclosures and to start a dialogue with struggle academics and journalists" (De Beer, 1981).[10] Even as student editor of PU's *Die Wapad*, De Beer had tried to 'make students aware of South Africa across the Mooirivier [Mooi River]' (Response to *State of Discipline* Q3 questionnaire).[11] In the "sixties and later" De Beer "tried to keep up contact with individuals and organisations outside the immediate Afrikaans academic and journalists laager", as well as with the liberal South African Union of Journalists (ibid). De Beer is unsure about the impact of the *vakkundige byeenkomste* which were attended mainly by "male Afrikaners and a few women... and of course a few *Engelse* (white English-speaking South Africans)" (ibid).

On the other hand, South African media studies scholars have never settled comfortably into any professional

organisational structure. The Association for Sociology in Southern Africa (ASSA), a broad-based, transdisciplinary, staunchly anti-apartheid grouping, provided a temporary home to media studies scholars/activists during the 1980s. But media studies was never very high on ASSA's agenda. The small number of media studies scholars active within ASSA made it difficult to obtain a critical mass. The later, but brief existence of the Southern African Association for Semiotics (1992-1995), provided some sense of security, but this organisation stalled because of institutional incapacity.[12] However, there is more to the media studies saga than mere institutional neglect or incapacity. Many media studies scholars, occupying (as it were) beleaguered positions on the political left, tended to engage in increasingly abstracted mutual critique that bordered on the querulous. For many, espousing a particular leftist cause – whether "workerism", Gramscianism, Althusserianism, cultural materialism, Frankfurt School critical philosophy, or any of the other tendencies – frequently became more important than engaging with inquiry into actual JMC issues. All too frequently, institutional JMC was disposed of as "structural-functional", "positivist", "idealist" or some other epithet, while media studies approaches not based in one's department's chosen paradigm was scorchingly dismissed as, "revisionist", "reactionary", and so on.

Attempts to establish media-based research were not altogether lacking, though. A landmark event was the Rhodes University Survival of the Press Conference held in 1979 at which academics, practitioners, editors, and unionists debated both the press and journalism education. The following year a group of radical academics mapped out a conceptual space for a South African media studies at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa (ASSA) Conference, Maseru

(Switzer, 1980). This initiative was actively pursued at Rhodes in the early 1980s, with the help of the Wits-based journal, then titled *Critical Arts: A Journal for Media Studies*. *Critical Arts* relocated to Rhodes University in May 1981 when the editor took up a lectureship there.[13]

Once sanctions ended after 1990 it became possible for South Africans to join the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE), based in Nairobi. CMS's Eric Louw participated in the 1992 IAMCR/ACCE Cairo meeting, and Tomaselli was the first resident South African to be elected to the ACCE Executive in 1994. Themba Masilela, who grew up in exile, however, had been a member for a longer period. A South African national chapter was established in 1994, and worked hard under the chairmanship of Eronini Megwa of the Peninsula Technikon to host the next congress. So successful was the congress in terms of organization and attendance that some scholars, e.g., Arnold De Beer later argued for the closure of SACOMM, as he felt that ACCE would offer the best route ahead. Unfortunately, neither the international nor South African ACCE Committees elected in 1996 capitalized on the earlier momentum, and ACCE itself had to reconstruct itself after 1996 due to severe funding cuts. Both ACCE and SACOMM thus limped into the millennium as barely functioning disciplinary associations.

ACCE's Africa media review, a tri-annua, mainly published communication studies on African topics. Apart from positivist analyses, and oral and indigenous communication methods and their derivation from studies of the African cultures which developed and use them, a post-1990 emphasis was on the publication of two kinds of cultural studies: First, since 1992 a Marxist cultural approach which, while drawing in British cultural studies, attempts to reframe this approach in terms of Third World, and specifically African perspectives.

Articles have re-examined Paulo Freire, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon in terms of post-Cold War issues, and new media technologies. Second is participatory development research, development support communication, and action research, all of which emphasise bottom-up strategies of development and meaning-making. Issues of development are never far from a useful cultural studies in Africa. Resident South Africans began to publish in this journal after 1990, and were the first to bring critical neo-Marxist perspectives to bear on African communication and media scholarship. This breach of orthodox communication studies opened the way to a more systematic exposition of critical theory within African contexts.

A number of other journals have published important work on South African media and communication education. Amongst these is *Media Development* (World Association for Christian Communication, London) with special issues on alternative media, political economy and so on. This quarterly provides short articles on Third World issues, and has provided space for key discussions on media and democracy in Africa. Many of these articles are framed within cultural studies notions of democracy, overlaid by the dimension of a Vatican II Theology, which relocates communication with people in communion in communities.

Conclusion

While a number of analyses have critically interrogated South African JMC and media studies, these are very few in number. The transition from the apartheid to the post-apartheid eras simply resulted in an easy unproblematic shift, for the most part, by most South African JMC academics. It was business as usual. Some, however, thoroughly reconstituted

themselves, their approaches and their theories, understanding that a new context required new practices and theories. Hence, the de-marxified shift from JMC to "media studies". Most, however, assumed a political continuity, much like a change of government through "normal" democratic procedures. In reading many analyses of South African media one might be forgiven if apartheid existed at all.

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Acknolwedgements

Endnotes

[1] This was my experience on becoming an academic in 1977. For example, *Critical Arts: A Journal for Media Studies*, which I had co-founded with John van Zyl in 1980, was labelled as "political" by the then head of the School of Dramatic Art. He demanded editorial rights to ensure that its contents accorded with his understanding of "art", and did not offend other drama departments. However, Tomaselli and Van Zyl had anticipated such attempts at control, and had protected the journal against this kind of interference by appointing top academics to the editorial board (see Tomaselli and Shepperson 2000).

[2] See also Louw and Tomaselli (1989/90); *Media Development* (1995) "The alternative press in South Africa"; CCSU (1988); Manoim (1983); Louw (1990), amongst other studies. For other discussions see *Group Media Journal* 8(1), 1989, on video.

[3] Giffard emigrated to the United States in 1979, from where his research into

the South African press and broadcasting continued (see, e.g., Hachten and Giffard 1984).

[4] The institutional focus on "Intercultural Communication" underpinned the "reformed apartheid" notion of finding ways to improve communication between supposedly racially distinct groups. During the 1970s under John Vorster's Premiership, "détente" with Africa was a policy aimed at constructing an "appropriate" image of the apartheid state. Intercultural communication studies would have been useful in this endeavour as well (Letter, John Williams, February 8, 2000).

[5] The (implicit) conflation of "reformism" and "verlig" as to denote a structural relationship is less straightforward than is suggested in common parlance: i) "verlig" functioned as a structural hiatus in the ideological discourse of Afrikaners, i.e., the quest to "reform" the establishment as a means to "survive" the "Total Onslaught"; ii) "verlig" operated as a semantic referent designating some discursive anti-establishmentarianism minus its radical praxis; (i.e., "liberal" platitudes made the need for change-inducing action against the *status quo* redundant); iii) "verlig" as a theoretical orientation served to highlight and (paradoxically?) subsequently generate materially-driven contradictions in the body politic of Afrikanerdom (shattering its pretence at being a "taal-kultuur-volk monolith" (John Williams, 8 February 2000).

[6] Published in conjunction with James Currey (London), and Lake View Press (Chicago), and later with Intervention Press (Denmark).

[7] Tomaselli, et al (1987); Tomaselli, R.E., et al (1989); Tomaselli and Louw (1991); Louw (1993); Mpofu, et al (1996); Zaffiro (1999); see also Tomaselli, et al (1996); and Tomaselli (1988).

[8] Williams adds that the fear of TV might also have been due to the liberation movements' mobilisation of the medium overseas.

[9] An Island in the Vaal Dam used for seminars. What was striking on catching the motor boat to the Island was the large sign stating that the Island was off-limits to "non whites". One so-called "non-white" member of the press did, however, participate in this meeting.

[10] Amongst those from the "struggle" category who participated were Keyan Tomaselli, John Battersby (correspondent for the liberal English press), Arthur Goldstuck (freelancer), and Dennis Beckett (editor of *Frontline*). "Struggle" in this context refers to anti-apartheid journalists.

[11] The Mooi River is here indicated by De Beer as representing the very narrow limit of PU's notion of the outside world.

[12] A Conference Proceedings, in which media and cultural studies feature prominently, was edited by Nan Van den Bergh (1996) four years after the inaugural conference.

[13] See especially the issues on: "Press and Broadcasting", 2(2), 1981; 2(3) 1982: "Steyn: Where it Belongs?" and Switzer (1981).

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