

THE CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION OF THE  
NOTION OF IDENTITY IN A PRINT SECTOR OF THE  
MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE  
*SUNDAY TRIBUNE HERALD.*

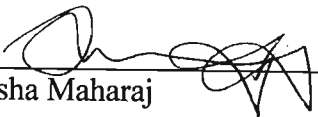
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## DECLARATION

I affirm that this is my own work and that all references to other sources have been duly acknowledged.

  
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Thrusha Maharaj  
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## **ABSTRACT**

In post apartheid South Africa, the country's citizens have undergone much change in terms of their identity. No longer are people bound by the disenfranchisement and the constraints that the erstwhile apartheid regime dictated, which placed people in distinct categories of identity. In this regard, South African citizens can now freely explore and exhibit their identities without having to act within the confines of 'specific' identities, which were once imposed upon them.

Yet, despite this freedom some people within these groups remain committed to maintaining their cultural identity through certain mediums and practises. The Indian population of South Africa is one such group and the *Sunday Tribune Herald* is one such newspaper which caters for the Indian South African in this regard. This study examines how a print medium, that is, the *Sunday Tribune Herald* attempts to validate their target audience's notion of identity.

Thus, the main focus of this research project is to explore, through the method of interviews, and a semiotic reading of the text, how the *Sunday Tribune Herald* and therefore those who are responsible for producing this newspaper, namely, staff members', play a role in constructing and negotiating the notion of identity.

The project analyses what the *Sunday Tribune Herald* staff members' perception of the notion of identity is, and how, in their capacity as editors and journalists, they are able to provide a medium for a particular community, which is representative of, and addresses, the community's needs in terms of their identity.

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## **Introduction**

“A publication must be relevant to its readers. It must have information that appeals to its readers, speaks to its readers, and, can be used by its readers.”

Alan Dunn, Chief Editor of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. (Appendix A1)

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* is a niche<sup>1</sup> market newspaper which leans towards catering for an ethnic minority<sup>2</sup>, namely, the Indian community of South Africa. The aim of the paper therefore, the chief editor states, is to ‘appeal to’ and ‘speak to’ the local Indian community. According to Dunn (Appendix A1), the paper ‘speaks’ to the community by specifically providing stories of interest about what is going on in that community.

What goes on in the community is most likely to be observed and understood by those who are interested in this community; those who take note of the community and interact with the community and therefore those who can identify with this community. As an Indian South African who has remained steeped in the cultural practices of this community, and as a freelance journalist who has worked in both the print and broadcast mediums which have dealt specifically with Indian audiences, the writer of this research project has observed that many in the Indian community of South Africa have rejected purely ‘Indian’ notions of identity. Instead, they have opted for a combination of Indian and various Western, but more so South African aspects of identity. While it is speculative to determine exactly who adheres to a predominantly South African identity amongst Indian South Africans, and who does not, it is a reality that a significant number of Indians, such as the readers of the *Herald*, maintain a great interest in the Indian aspects of their identity. Hence the researcher is interested in the role the *Sunday Tribune Herald* plays in catering for the needs of these Indians, by attempting to ascertain how the newspaper ‘appeals’ to and ‘speaks’ to its readers as Dunn (Appendix A1) states. As a contributor to the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, the researcher is also interested in how other staff members relate to the

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<sup>1</sup> Niche marketing is targeting a product or service to a small portion of a market that is not being readily served by the mainstream product or service marketers. (Schwart et al, <http://agpublications.tamu.edu>).

subject of identity and how they perceive their roles in contributing to the notion of identity in the newspaper.

The research thus attempts to explain how the *Sunday Tribune Herald* constructs and negotiates this notion of identity for its target audience of readers. Those responsible for the production of the newspaper, namely, the staff of the paper, also the 'role players' in this production, are the focus of this project. The study aims to ascertain how these staff members contribute towards the facilitation of a print medium that not only serves to inform, educate and entertain, but helps readers to validate their existence as a group that is symbolically and culturally different to the majority.

The need for readers to maintain their cultural identity surfaced when the newspaper was withdrawn from the media circuit, by aiming to keep in line with the policies of the 'new' South Africa. Readers expressed outrage (see Appendix B1) at the withdrawal and the *Herald* was subsequently re-instated. This is an important part of the history of the paper, which brought to the fore, the need for the very existence of the paper.

The study is based on a process whereby staff members are interviewed about their roles as editors, sub-editors and journalists. The study also views archival material to extract information about the history, importance and objectives of the paper. An examination of the content of the newspaper is also undertaken. The examination draws on theories of representation and the method of semiotics to understand why specific content is used in the paper. The information yielded from the research highlights the importance of, and the reasons for why the newspaper operates, proving that the need for this niche market newspaper does exist.

While there are probably conflicting views about the viability and existence of niche market newspapers which cater for ethnic minorities, especially in the face of the so called "new" South Africa which has been created through a "non-racial" political and social struggle for democracy, this research project aims to bring to the fore, the need

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<sup>2</sup> The Indian population of South Africa is referred to as an ethnic minority, which, as Cottle (2000: 2) points out, is characterised by small groups of people who are ethnic because they are legitimized by cultural beliefs, ideologies and representations and are thus different from the 'other' dominant groups.

for a newspaper catering specifically for ethnic minorities, to express themselves and be represented more prominently than they would otherwise be represented by mainstream media. The project also aims to stress, that the *Sunday Tribune Herald* should not be viewed as a paper that promotes separatism and the exclusion of ‘other’ cultures and race groups, but is instead a medium that is accessible to all race groups. It is a newspaper which is merely representative of a particular community who share an identity and who are interested in cultural and community events.



## A History of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* is a supplement niche market newspaper of the main body newspaper, the *Sunday Tribune*. The paper is a weekly edition which usually consists of 8 pages covering various topics and issues which deal specifically with the Indian community of South Africa. The paper has a history that stems twenty-six years:

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* was launched in October 1979 (*Sunday Tribune*, 79/10/14 – Appendix B2). The purpose of this newspaper was to provide a service to the Indian community of the then Natal province, by delving in depth into the issues affecting the community including news on cultural, religious and entertainment issues. Thus the *Sunday Tribune Herald* was considered a niche market newspaper which catered for the specific interests of a specific community.

In 1994 just after the demise of the apartheid regime, the *Herald* underwent a historic move where it was no longer to operate as a separate paper, which was seen as separatist and a racist ‘ethnic’ supplement in light of the ‘new’ multiracial South Africa. Thus the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1994 was supposedly the last day that the *Herald* functioned independently from the main body of the paper, namely the *Tribune*. (*Sunday Tribune*, 94/10/23 – Appendix B3). Instead, the *Herald* news was integrated within the main section of the *Tribune*.

The withdrawal of the *Herald* prompted varying positive and negative views and responses from all sectors of the Indian community. This was evident through letters and calls to the editors. Some felt that the merger demonstrated a democratic approach in media practice: “As an avid reader of the *Sunday Tribune*, I am very happy to see the merger and the new format of the paper. This reflects the true picture of the new emerging South Africa where caste, colour or creed is no barrier” (PK Gupta – Greyville, *Tribune* 94/11/13 – Appendix B4). Others, in fact, a majority, according to present staff members (see Appendixes A1, 2, 3, 4, 6,) felt that the integration of the

*Herald* news within the main body was problematic, as another letter demonstrates: “It was with great regret that I learned of the *Tribune Herald’s* being incorporated into your main section. While I agree that we are moving into a new South Africa and should not practise racism, the *Herald* served a particular community with items pertaining and interesting to that community only” (Jayse Moodley – Silverglen, *Tribune*, 94/11/13 – B5).

Present staff of the *Herald* seem to unanimously support the fact that the community was more against the merger than for it and they state that the *Tribune* saw a huge decline in readership figures which affected the general sales of the paper.<sup>3</sup> David Whiteman, former editor of the *Tribune*, and assistant editor at the time of the withdrawal of *Herald*, recalls that there was a decline of interest in the newspaper and circulation figures dropped (see Appendix A9).

The *Herald* was later re-launched in early 1998. In a letter to the editor of the paper at the time - Ian Whiley, a writer complained that the re-launch step was retrogressive, to which the editor replied: “*Tribune Herald* was closed in October 1994 when it was felt there should be a single *Sunday Tribune* for one nation. We soon realised our decision was wrong, when we were inundated with requests from readers for a newspaper which served their specific needs” (*Sunday Tribune*, 01/03/98 – B1).

Currently, the *Herald* enjoys a consistently growing and healthy readership nationally. However the focus of the paper’s content is most reflective and representative of people in the Durban area where the majority of Indians in South Africa reside. The most recent readership percentages reveal that the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper commands a readership figure of over 680 000, with a circulation<sup>4</sup> figure of a 108 194. 440 000 of the total readership figure read the *Herald*. Indian readers maintain the highest readership<sup>5</sup> figures overall, for both the *Tribune* (main) and the *Herald*, making up at least 43% of the readership for the main *Tribune*, with Whites commanding 29%, Blacks 24% and Coloureds 4% of the readership. Of the 440 000 readers of the *Herald*, Indian readers command roughly 60% of the readership, while

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<sup>3</sup> The history of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* has never been documented and there is therefore no material housed in the archive section of Independent newspapers. However, editors and senior

Whites command 20%, Blacks 13.5% and Coloureds 6.5% of the readership. (AMPS 2003/2004 – Appendix C1,2,3). These figures reveal that Indian readership is the most substantial in terms of weighting.

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* provides employment for three full-time journalists, and one contract freelance journalist, three of whom work solely for the *Herald*. The remainder of the staff are composed of the editor, and subeditors (included are managing, sport editors, all of whom work for the main body of the paper), as well as various other freelance journalists and contributors. In terms of racial groupings, the staff is composed of White and Indian people.

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journalists all accede on the points of the history of the paper. Information in this regard was gained from the interviews held with staff. (see Appendixes).

<sup>4</sup> Readership figures denotes the number of readers the paper has, while circulation figures denotes the number of copies of the paper that is published and distributed.

<sup>5</sup> Figures and percentages were rounded up and approximated as this information was obtained from both the 2003 and 2004 AMPS (All Media Products Survey), which was obtained from the marketing department of Independent Newspapers. Some figures have increased in 2005, according to the marketing department. These 2005 figures were given for the purpose of the research but they have not yet been published as they fall under the 2005 AMPS and was only expected to be printed after this study.

## **Literature Review:**

### **A Problematics of identity and an 'Indian South African' identity**

In light of the ever-changing reality of identities, it becomes necessary to examine the nature of these changing identities. And, for the purpose of how the notion of identity is portrayed in the *Sunday Tribune Herald* it thus becomes necessary to specifically examine the nature of a post apartheid Indian South African identity. In this section the researcher reviews the literature that focuses on these issues, before reviewing the literature on the roles the media plays in the construction of the notion of identity and in the representation process.

“Human identity exists only in a framework of interpretation. The basic framework is provided by the language and cultural symbols in terms of which we become aware of ourselves and others.” (Ros Poole 2003: 271).

Poole (2003) asserts that we interpret identity within a framework, which is provided by language and cultural symbols. While Poole’s statement is valid, it is necessary to add that time changes, and with this time change, there comes a transformation in one’s languages and cultural symbols which changes notions of identity. Thus the concept of identity is one that society tends to grapple with. Particularly in the present modern day, the concepts and notions of identity seem varied in most instances in the face of globalisation and the rapid social and cultural change that society tends to experience. An apt definition of globalisation constructed by Elirea Bornman et al (2001:4) maintain that the term “globalisation” generally refers to “a rapidly evolving process entailing the establishment of complex power and communication relations on a global basis between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals.” These experiences that society undergoes, occur in most instances through peoples’ assimilation and appropriation of aspects of identity from different and ‘other’ cultures, especially through the intervention of the media. For in this age of technological advancement and globalisation the ubiquitous media tend to make it difficult, for those who have access to it, not to be influenced by it. The media is constantly divulging new influential information about different societies, cultures and thus notions of identity. Audiences are quick to pick up and adopt these varying notions of identity by watching television or digital satellite television (DSTV) which

offers viewers an extensive choice of programmes. Dialling into the Internet provides a virtual library with a wealth of information on society and cultures. Engaging in videoconferences enables one to communicate with anyone anywhere in the world. All of these technological devices provide society with ample choices of learning about other cultures. The choices that society has in establishing relations and imbibing information about other cultures, societies and identities through the media are now greater than ever before. These opportunities enables society to gain access to the varying notions of identity thus paving the way for society to transform, adapt and inter-change their identities.

One can thus understand Stuart Hall's (2000) approach which views identity from a perspective in which it is seen as increasingly fragmented and fractured going through a process of change and transformation. No one person can fully confirm to one specific identity. Instead, our times, circumstances and surroundings compel us to act accordingly and therefore differently each time we are faced with a new task in a new environment, where we engage in various activities that changes aspects of our identity. We redefine notions of identity depending on the context we are faced with. Our identities in this modern day and age flexible and we are able to transform and adapt as we learn more about the world, interact with people and are influenced by the media.

In the context of the post apartheid/post colonial period, Abebe Zegeye (2001: 3) agrees with Hall (2000) on this point by indicating that "identities are fluid rather than fixed and are constantly changing." Zegeye (2001) makes reference to South African identities, which he contends are going through the same rapid change, as are all other identities wherever one goes. Jan Servaes & Rico Lie (2003:13) support Hall's notion of identity by advocating that various cultures manifest different identities and that in this current age, collective and individual identities seem to be fragmented. Servaes and Lie (2003) argue that identity operates on multiple levels, which range from the global to the local and are therefore a mixture of global and local aspects. This flexibility of identity appears evident with South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour as one observes through the media and just generally, that South Africans *have* been affected by global influences of identity, but also adhere to local aspects of identity. This is evident in the way they speak, using perhaps American or British

jargon in conjunction with South African accents (noticeable in local television programmes), the different types of food they eat together with typical 'home' style food, the modes of fashion that people follow according to international and local trends and various other aspects of identity that leads to one having a mixed or fragmented identity.

This emerging culture of mixed identities can be construed as part of the post apartheid 'new' South Africa. Often, the term 'rainbow nation' is used by the South African media, making reference to the country's population which encompasses various race groups and cultures. While Zegeye (2001: 3) speaks of fluid identities in post apartheid South Africa, he also points out that 'exclusionary' notions of identity, based on race and ethnicity, are still operative among certain sectors of post-apartheid South African society. While Zegeye does not pin point precisely which groups practise these 'exclusionary' notions of identity based on race and identity, it can be said that many South Africans fall into this category as even Zegeye himself points out from a study conducted by Gibson and Gouws, that most South Africans still use racial or ethnic terms to describe themselves (2001: 14). Indian South Africans are perhaps one such group who engage in an ethnic notion of identity, but not entirely, on an 'exclusionary' level as Zegeye contends. This group operates rather, on a level that is not deliberately exclusionary. Identity is not intended to be exclusive although by its very nature of it being an 'ethnic' identity, it is to some extent exclusionary. This level at which Indian South Africans practise their ethnic identity, still focuses primarily on a South African identity, and does not exclude other race or ethnic groups in South Africa from understanding or interacting with this group. Therefore while Indian South Africans might be culturally attired or engage in cultural practises to maintain an ethnic identity this is not done in isolation but in conjunction with practising aspects of their South African identity. A negotiation of identity takes place where Indian South Africans assume both a national identity and a communal identity. With reference to the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, the researcher proceeds with the argument in the assumption that the newspaper does not exclude 'other' South Africans from reading about the Indian community. Highlighting the point that the paper does not exclude 'other' readers, is an article which was once featured in the *Tribune* which stated of the *Herald*: 'It is aimed at our readers in historically Indian

areas – and **anybody** else **interested** in news, views and interviews and entertainment that have an Eastern flavour.’ (*Sunday Tribune*, 93/02/02 – Appendix B6).

Even though the paper’s focus is on the Indian community, and there are times when the newspaper utilises certain cultural signs and codes (to be discussed further on), the implication given by staff members (Appendixes A1-8) is that the paper aspires to highlighting the distinctiveness of the Indian community, and not that the Indian community purposely intends to be a separate one. Codes and signs used in the paper are explained for the benefit of non-Indian readers, making the paper accessible to all who are interested in reading about this community. Dunn (Appendix A1) explains that terms are explained occasionally for people who do not understand the language and codes.

The Indian community of South Africa consists of different religious and linguistic groups, which further define and compartmentalise notions of identity. South Africans who are of Indian descent do not constitute a homogenous group of people. Sunita Kaihaar’s (2001) research reveals that the Indian South African community comprises of five language groups (Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati) and three religious groupings (Hinduism, Islam and Christianity).

The diversity reflected in this community is similar to South African society in general with religious, linguistic, class and even colour boundaries being prominent. Despite this differentiation it is still a community because South African Indians still think of themselves as such, as the staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* reveal (Appendixes A1-8). Even Zegeye (2001) discusses that South Africans still think of themselves in terms of their primary group. Initially this sense of community was fostered by racial similarity and apartheid ideology but in a new democratic ethos it is fuelled by a “minority” status, by perceived threats such as affirmative action or being swamped by a majority. So whilst notions of identity are further defined in the Indian community, a group consciousness still exists, as staff maintain – and it is at this that the newspaper targets itself.

Although the Indian population of South Africa are South African by birth, they are of Indian origin with an Indian heritage. The first Indians to come to South Africa were

those who came from the 'motherland,' India, after a bill for the introduction of Indians into Natal was passed in 1859 and negotiations were made by the South African government with the government of India. These Indians were to come to Natal to work as indentured labourers. The first group reached Natal on 16 November 1860. (Palmer, 1956:4). 'Every South African Indian can trace his ancestral roots to India since the first Indians to land on South African soil came in 1860 from the Indian subcontinent. However, the South African Indian of today has been brought up in South Africa, with knowledge of the Indian customs and traditions' (Kaihar, 2001: 29). While Kaihar generalises about 'the' South African Indian, (hence implying all Indian South Africans) are brought up with the knowledge of Indian customs and traditions, her point on being brought up in South Africa as well as her point on ancestry holds true. Related to this point of Indians being South African, Saijal Gokool (1994:7) purports that since the arrival of indentured Indian labourers and settlers in 1860, Indian South Africans have endured many processes of appropriation, integration, assimilation and even insertion so as to assert themselves in this country. This point relates to an earlier assertion by Servaes and Lie (2003), which speaks of identity operating on multiple levels, from the global to the local. In this case the Indian South African is someone who, like most other South Africans, and perhaps people in any nationality, tend to exhibit a hybrid identity as a result of appropriation and assimilation not just of the local South African culture but of the influences of various other cultures globally, which in most instances, probably occurs through the influence of the media. However, on this point it must be noted that while there are those South Africans, of Indian descent, who might patriotically adhere to what is perceived to be a South African identity, there are many Indian South Africans who, with a strong sense of an affirmation for their culture, 'identify' with, and practise their Indian culture and religion. They therefore enjoy an identity that is South African, but which incorporates aspects of their Indian identity. Supporting the notion of identity from the perspective of the Indian South African is an interesting point made by Parvathy Raman from the School of Oriental and African studies, University of London who writes in her article 'Yusuf Dadoo: Transnational Politics, South African Belonging': "At certain moments in history, many Indian South Africans have looked beyond the borders of the nation state to negotiate a sense of home, place and belonging" (2004: 27).



Raman (2004) also suggests in her article that Indian South Africans have had an ongoing and complex relationship with India, and that at certain junctures they have espoused a diasporic<sup>6</sup> consciousness rather than a purely South African identity. One might say that this consciousness could also be evoked from the context of historical factors. Therefore one is inclined to agree with Linda Alcoff (2003: 3), who states that individuals make their own identity, but not under conditions of their own choosing. In fact, identities are often created in the crucible of colonialism, racial and sexual subordination, national conflicts, but also in the specificity of group histories and structural position, as Alcoff (2003) goes on to state then that identities need to be analysed not only in their cultural location but also in relation to historical epoch. To re-iterate, on the point of cultural heritage, Indian South Africans come from a strong historical background which probably necessitated the need for them to maintain their cultural and religious ties with the homeland thus espousing a consciousness for the diaspora. But, Indian South Africans' also maintained a strong sense of cultural identity, and still do, it seems, through the historical consequences of apartheid, which as Raman (2004) boldly states was another reason for why South African Indians needed to assert their 'Indianness'. This was a mere way of trying to locate themselves in the social and political worlds in this country at the time of the struggle. Ashwin Desai and Brij Maharaj (1996: 121) support this slant by stating that "Indian identity became more pronounced during the apartheid era as a collective Indian identity was fostered by the South African state' at this time." People had to strictly adhere to their 'Indian' identities. The notion of an "Indian" Identity was thus ironically advanced by a regime which left no room for expansion.

But, while Indian South Africans do negotiate a sense of home, place and belonging, in connection with the homeland, this is perhaps done only to a certain extent. And while as Raman suggests that there are times when Indian South Africans espouse a diasporic consciousness it can be said that they may negotiate this consciousness, and thus identity, still very much in the spirit of a South African community. Interestingly enough, Annabelle Sreberny (2000: 181) somewhat reinforces this notion as she refers to global diasporic consciousness as "something that moves across time and space

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<sup>6</sup> Cohen (1997: 180) in Cottle (2000: 180) explains diasporas' as a dispersal from an original homeland; a collective memory and myth about the homeland.

stating that the play around the term 'diaspora' offers approaches that can be historically and spatially more dynamic, that explore the sense of both fit and non-fit belonging that seems to exemplify the diasporic experience, as well as the multiple identifications and third-or-more spaces in which diaspora is conducted." Sreberny says "such a construction supports the conceptual move from identity viewed as 'either/or' to a sense of identifications as 'and/and' (Melucci 1996) and seems preferable to the claim of identity as 'hybridity' (2000: 181)." Indian South Africans, who assume a hybrid identity, are able to maintain this diasporic link through spatial contact and can thus be a part of the diaspora, *and* they can remain committed in their quest to maintain their South African identity *and* therefore be a part of the South African nation. They do not necessarily belong entirely to one or the other.

Thus far the points have highlighted how the Indian South African assumes a hybrid identity, and thus how he or she arrives at this identity that is not specifically South African, neither fully Indian. Thus the use of the term 'Indian South African' identity is used in this research project to emphasise that the Indian in South Africa assumes a dual identity which is both South African and Indian. In this regard, Zegeye (2001) mentions (as before) that there is a strong sense of group identification in the current South Africa where groups identify themselves in terms of their primary group. At this juncture reference can be made to the role the print media plays in the construction of the notion of identity. Specific reference is made to the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, and how this newspaper seeks to construct and negotiate the notion of identity and in doing so, caters for the Indian South African community.

### **The media's role in constructing the notion of identity**

The media plays an influential role in constructing and negotiating current notions of identity in an attempt to appease audiences. In so doing, the media need obviously not be averse to the interests of the different cultures and therefore the many changing identities of the present. Instead, one is inclined to agree with Cottle (2000: 2) who advocates that the media can also serve to affirm social and cultural diversity. The *Sunday Tribune* is but one such media which seeks to affirm this social and cultural diversity which Cottle (2000) refers to, by the mere act of providing a supplement niche market newspaper, namely, the *Sunday Tribune Herald* which caters for this

diversity. This newspaper allows for the diverse expression of its particular 'niche' in South Africa. That is, it provides the Indian community with an opportunity to read news about the local Indian community, India and other Indian communities internationally. Therefore particular note should be made of Jyothi Mistry's (2005: 1) reference to the South African media catering for Indians, as she affirms this perception when she mentions that the media has been both a platform to secure a space in the new home and to stay connected to the homeland.

In line with the media's compensation of the different diverse groups, Diana Crane (1992: 17) argues that society is viewed as consisting of numerous groups with both conflicting and parallel interests that cannot be reduced entirely to economic interests. Crane (1992) argues further that these autonomous groups ascribe to certain ideologies and therefore the media expresses different ideologies associated with different social groups who all respond to and interpret media messages differently. In this regard, as the *Sunday Tribune Herald* is market driven with the newspaper reaching out to a specific target audience or niche market, namely the Indian community of South Africa, it is evident that the newspaper is produced for a group that shows an interest in a product which is not mainstream and which may therefore not appeal to mainstream audiences. Here the newspaper constructs and negotiates the notion of identity then, for a group whose interests and ideology may differ from mainstream audiences. Thus interpretation of the messages in the newspaper will most likely differ from group to group, but is most likely to appeal to and be interpreted with ease by its target audience, in other words its market of the Indian South African community.

With reference to the markets in journalism, John McManus (1994: 4) deems an efficient market as one that possesses certain advantages over other systems of providing the public with goods and services. McManus (1994) emphasises that here consumers, which in this case are the readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, define the quality and value of the product, which in this case is the newspaper the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. It has been established through the interviews used in this case study<sup>7</sup> that readers do indeed substantially voice their opinions when it comes to the content

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<sup>7</sup> Interviews were conducted with staff members. One of the questions posed to staff members was whether they get feedback from readers regarding the content.

of the newspaper, thereby defining the value of the product and also helping newspaper staff, to a considerable extent, to construct and negotiate the notion of an Indian identity in the newspaper.

Thomas Fitzgerald (1991: 194) makes a relevant point in stating that the mass media can no longer afford to exclude minorities and that although cultural homogenisation and social diversification seem to be happening simultaneously, in reality the media still play an important role. In fact the importance of the *Sunday Tribune* is highlighted here. The *Sunday Tribune* is the main body<sup>8</sup> of the newspaper which carries within it, the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. The *Sunday Tribune* produces news about the South African community as a nation, and the *Herald* produces news about an ethnic minority. This is a typical example of how the media plays an important role in catering for the vast and specific needs of a nation. That need which is specific and which caters for the Indian community of South Africa seems to be realised by the *Sunday Tribune Herald*.

Fitzgerald (1991:194)states that “Sollors (1986) explores a seeming paradox though where he states that as more and more people of different backgrounds share an overlapping culture influenced by the media, there is a strong tendency for certain groups today to insist that they are at least symbolically different. This process of ‘emerging ethnicity’ has been called *ethnogenesis*, the development and public presentation of a self conscious ethnic group.” While this cannot be generalised to all Indians of South Africa, those Indian South Africans’ who are avid readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, appear to be a self-conscious ethnic group who might see themselves as symbolically different from other groups. For if readers purchase the *Herald*, they must be aware that this is a community newspaper which focuses primarily on community, cultural and religious issues. The newspaper perpetuates the notion of identity by continually constructing and negotiating the notion of a “cultural” identity on an ongoing weekly basis. This is done through the content, which focuses on issues pertaining to the Indian community of South Africa. What would otherwise probably be relatively unimportant to readers of the main body of the

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<sup>8</sup> The main body newspaper is the *Sunday Tribune* which is the main paper that publishes news which caters for the KwaZulu Natal population of South Africa, and within which a number of other supplement newspapers and magazines are enclosed.

newspaper, in terms of content, is more likely what Indian readers identify with and want to read about in the *Herald*. Thus the *Herald*, and therefore staff, play a substantial role in constructing and negotiating an identity which readers can relate to and make sense of, by reading articles with content that is familiar and appealing to them because it is about *their* community and about *their* culture.

Although Cottle (2000: 19) claims that news organisations, for the most part, are in business to make profits and compete for readers and audiences, the realisation is that market newspapers such as the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, (which may enjoy a profit and a competitive readership range) actually aims to serve a purpose other than for profit, and that is the affirmation of the Indian South Africans' cultural identity. The *Sunday Tribune Herald* is produced for readers who have these specific cultural needs. Thus readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* can easily be associated with Fitzgerald's (1991: 200) classification of people as he maintains that there are certain principles that seem to be universally agreed upon today:

- 1) People have a right to their own 'culture' (without being very sure what that culture is)
- 2) People have a right to maintain their 'own' cultural identity (whether this involves a separate culture or not)

Of relevance in this regard is that the readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, who are South African and are therefore classified as South African first, do have their 'own' separate cultural identity, that is Indian. The newspaper and hence staff play a huge factor in appealing to and maintaining this identity, allowing this group to seek the respect and recognition that it probably desires, through the medium of their newspaper. The construction and negotiation of this notion of identity created by staff of the newspaper is also probably borne out of the commonalties of values, beliefs and practices of the Indian South African. Sreberny (2000: 179) clarifies this point by stating that approaches to ethnicity usually focus on the common bonds of language, myth and habit which bind members of an ethnic community together as a subcultural grouping within the territorial confines of a nation-state. The staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* have expressed (see Appendixes) a unanimous need to advocate this ethnicity through the *Sunday Tribune Herald* which displays content on these

common bonds of language, habit and myth as Sreberny theorises. The editor, subeditors and journalists (Appendixes 1-8) have all expressed this need out of their belief that the paper is operational because readers identify with the content and feel strongly in favour of a paper which is representative of the Indian South African community, and which publishes information in this regard.

### **Representation**

A simple definition of the concept of representation is highlighted by Tim O' Sullivan et al (1994: 113) who state that "the concept of representation embodies the theme that the media construct meanings about the world – they represent it, and in doing so, help audiences to make sense of it and that for representation to be made meaningful to audiences, there needs to be a shared recognition of people, situations, and ideas."

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* represents the Indian community of South Africa. The representation is effectively done by the selective use of material that sometimes includes a language of certain symbols and codes familiar to its readers. These symbols and codes might be words written in the different vernaculars, or, reference might be made to cultural artefacts and cultural practices, or the story might even be one about religious doctrines, which might all make use of these codes and symbols. Readers are able to construct meaning from this material which is representative of the community and its practices. Thus the relevance of Hall's (1997: 19) assertion that "the relation between 'things', concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call "representation."

Crane (1992) is of the belief that although mainstream media often produce material that is representative of the different segments of society, it is usually done so by those who are in the majority and therefore those who dominate. "Because different subcultures and social classes lead very different lives and have different world views, the mass media provides a means for different groups to make sense of the lives of other groups. They do so by constructing images of different segments of the society; these images are always defined from the perspective of the dominant class" (1992:87). Very often the staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* construct (see Appendixes 1-8) material from what they assume to be the perspective of the readers

(who are part of the ethnic minority) and these readers usually come from various groups which fall under different categories of age, sex, income group, and education (AMPS, 2003/4).

Judgement (in the matter of choosing content) is then gauged from the response of the readers (see Appendixes 1-8) and also in the knowledge of their readers shared recognition of people, situation and ideas as O' Sullivan et al (1994) discuss above. For these are people who maintain a shared cultural identity. Using this feedback information the staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* exercises this judgement in the production of the content and therefore construction and negotiation of the notion of an identity which is representative of the Indian community of South Africa.

## **Methodology**

This study employed a qualitative research approach. According to du Plooy (2001: 29) the qualitative research approach focuses on interpreting and constructing the qualitative aspects of the communication experiences, as part of the social world as derived from the subject's perspective. The researcher thus engaged in a case study of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* in an attempt to explore how the staff of the newspaper work to construct and negotiate an identity for their readers through the medium of the newspaper. du Plooy (2001: 75) defines a case study as a method of research involving an in-depth study of a single unit (e.g. an organisation.)

Partially structured face to face interviews were conducted with editors, subeditors, journalists and a former editor of the newspaper to determine how the notion of identity is constructed and negotiated in the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. The interview schedule for a partially structured interview contains standardised questions and/or a list of topics. However, the interviewee is free to deviate and ask follow up-up or probing questions based on the respondent's replies – especially if the replies are unclear or incomplete (du Plooy, 2001: 177). The staff members of the newspaper all function on different levels and therefore perform various functions. Hence although most questions posed to staff were similar in nature, some specific questions were posed to some members only, while others were not asked questions that were not relevant to them.

To further analyse how staff members constructed and negotiated the notion of identity; a semiotic reading of the text was also employed in the study:

*“A science that studies the life of signs within society is conceivable. . . I shall call it semiology (from Greek, semeion “sign”). Semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them.”* (Ferdinand de Saussure, 1966:6)

Semiotics is derived from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure who, according to Berger (2005: 10) was interested in how meaning was generated and communicated. In an effort to understand exactly why and how staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* construct and negotiate the notion of identity for their readers,



the questions that come to mind is, firstly, how do staff proceed to choose material for their readers? Secondly, what do specific signs and codes that staff sometimes use in the content, signify? Thirdly how is the community represented via the newspaper? These questions all relate to how meaning is generated and communicated in the *Sunday Tribune Herald* and the research therefore searches for these answers by analysing the text, namely, the newspaper. The study attempts to understand how the newspaper is put together by staff for a particular audience whose interpretation of the material and how they relate to the material deem it necessary for staff members to reflect this audience's identity.

The study also employed David Sless's (1986) method of semiotics to analyse how the staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* use content which includes certain signs, codes and meaning which ultimately determines the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity. The study also attempts to answer three basic questions posed by Marcel Danesi (2002: 23) which the media semiotician is guided by:

1. *What* does a certain structure (text, genre, etc.) mean?
2. *How* does it represent what it means?
3. *Why* does it mean what it means?

The process of recording ideas, knowledge, or messages in some physical way is called *representation* in semiotic theory (Marcel Danesi, 2002: 3). Representation is one of the key processes in the meaning of culture as Hall (1997) reflects. A diagrammatic illustration of the circuit of culture (du Gay, Hall et al., 1997 in Hall, 1997: 1) highlights the cycle of connection between the different processes and practices of representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation. In analysing how staff of the paper create meaning for their readers in terms of producing specific cultural content, the circuit of culture is referred to, to depict the connection between the above mentioned practices.

The researcher also collected relevant press articles for this research project, which was obtained from the Independent Newspapers library archives. These articles were useful in obtaining information about the history, importance and objectives of the

paper. More recent newspaper articles were also referred to, to obtain a sense of selection of material used to construct and negotiate the notion of identity.

In addition to utilising the library archives, information on readership figures and characteristics, as well as information on the newspaper's circulation was obtained from the marketing department of Independent newspapers. The importance of readership figures and the types of readership with regard to the different race groups were highlighted here.

## **An analysis of the role of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* in the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity**

“It’s unashamed, it is a niched product, it speaks hopefully, if we’re doing it right, it speaks direct to that audience. Not that it shuts out any other audience. If people, the general reader of the *Sunday Tribune* wishes to know what is going on in a very very potent and important section of their community, they will want to read the *Herald*.”

Alan Dunn, Chief Editor of the *Sunday Tribune/Herald*. (Appendix A1)

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* is a paper which produces news primarily for the Indian community of South Africa, but, as the chief editor of both the main body of the paper, and the *Herald*, maintains above, the paper does not exclude the readership of any other race group. Therefore, like any other daily newspaper, it features hard news issues, and news about entertainment, religion, culture and sport, which however, all pertain to the Indian community of South Africa. This community which, as mentioned earlier on, has its’ origins in India, and have endured years of influence relating to identity through the processes of assimilation and appropriation as Gokool (1994) points out, (ever since arriving in South Africa). They are now at a stage where most members, assume a hybrid identity - that is, an identity which classifies one as ‘Indian’ by virtue of their race, physical features, their names, their inclination towards certain cultural and religious traits, the food they cook and other categorical traits, but an identity which also accommodates and pursues numerous adopted practices therefore encompassing various aspects of different identities. Nationally though their identity is South African. Thus far, it would not be too presumptuous to state that Indian South Africans do not respond to an entirely ‘authentic’ Indian identity, but instead to an identity that is ‘Indian South African’, bearing in mind the above discussion about a hybrid identity. However, in relation to the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, one poignant point to be made about the Indian community, and more so the readers of this newspaper, is the fact that these people seem to strongly uphold aspects of their identities which is Indian. This fact was made evident by staff members of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, who emphasised that the feedback they get from readers strongly affirms this point (see Appendixes A1-8).

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* newspaper then, plays a huge role in maintaining and validating this 'Indian' part of their readers' identity. Thus the research was concerned with how staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* construct and negotiate the notion of identity for their readers. At this point of commencement, both the chief editor, (Alan Dunn) and the managing editor, (Bruce Colly) of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, (see Appendixes A1 and 7) both white, confirm that as editors of the paper, apart from their generating a news diary for the *Herald*, they rely on, and trust the judgement of, their 'Indian' journalists for the selection of appropriate material. Weekly meetings are held in this regard. Here, discussions amongst the journalists and editors lead to the choice of material. Dunn (Appendix A1) says the journalists engage in a general conversation about what is going on in the community and what 'news' people are talking about.

The journalists of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, who are probably the main role-players in the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity for readers of their newspaper, are all Indian. While there were mixed views from the staff of the paper as to whether journalists employed by the *Herald* should be Indian (see all Appendixes A1-8), the one main point of agreement was that journalists would have to have a thorough knowledge and understanding about the Indian community as this was essential in contributing towards the goal of the paper in terms of an 'Indian' identity. For it is assumed these journalists would have a greater advantage when it came to writing and knowing about the community from a cultural perspective. In this line of argument Hall (1997: 22), while referring to people who 'belong' to the same culture, theorises about children who become cultural subjects and who learn the codes of their language and culture which equip them with cultural 'know-how' enabling them to function as culturally competent subjects. Not because such knowledge is imprinted in their genes, but because they learn its conventions and so gradually become 'cultured persons' – i.e. members of their culture. The relevance of Hall's theory is that it elucidates the argument that in order to write for the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, the paper would be better served by those who are in an intrinsically better position to uphold the paper's notion of identity. Therefore, relying firstly on those born into the 'Indian' community itself, provided they are themselves in the cultural 'know-how', (for not all born into the Indian community might be culturally knowledgeable), but also those non-Indian journalists who are just as well equipped 'culturally' as those

from the community. The notion of identity then, has to be borne out of a shared knowledge of cultural information, codes and signs with the target audience of the newspaper, that is, the Indian community. A comment made by Dunn, Chief Editor, (Appendix A1) affirms this argument. “I would say then that another hand I have in influencing the *Herald* where it goes and how it treats its’ niche and its market is in trying to hire the right people. Putting the right people in place so that they are in tune or attuned to their market.” What Dunn alludes to, is that the paper will hire those who are in the cultural ‘know-how’ and who are culturally competent to best serve the paper, as opposed to those who are not.

Henceforth the construction of the notion of identity was analysed by what the staff’s understanding of the notion of identity is and how they therefore cater for the needs of their readers in terms of this identity. All of the staff felt (see Appendixes A1-8) that identity is not fixed and that it encompasses instead, various aspects. They also strongly believe that Indian South Africans, and thus their readers, are firstly South Africans, and then Indians, who should be identified as South Africans but who also maintain a strong part in validating their ‘Indian’ identity. It is this hybrid notion of identity which the paper constructs and negotiates through its content. Niyanta Singh, *Herald* co-ordinator and senior journalist (Appendix A5) says “I suppose for me as co-ordinator of the *Herald* it’s very important to project the identity of, of while we have an Indian heritage, it’s important to remember that we are South Africans. We are South Africans of Indian descent and that’s very very important to create that balance and to get that message out there, that we don’t live in our secular world. That we are part of a bigger world.” Singh is one of the many staff members who confirm that it should not be forgotten that Indian South Africans are a minority, but that they *are* part of a bigger community, and this was how the paper functioned on the basis of an Indian identity.

The *Herald* staff stressed that they were particularly aware that South African people of Indian origin have indeed undergone, and are continuing to undergo changes in their identity but also, while essentially South African, some are torn between their allegiances to their ancestral country (India) and their birth country (South Africa). Dean Naidoo, sports editor of the *Tribune/Herald* states “they don’t know whether to support India because it’s the mother country or to support South Africa because it’s

patriotic to do that, so they often find themselves torn between those two” (Appendix A2).

However, even though the paper reflects a notion of identity, which caters for the Indian South African, the content generally requires readers to be in the cultural ‘know-how’ as Hall (1997) refers to it. A point to be argued here as pointed out earlier, is that the paper does not prevent any other South African race group though from reading the paper, for the English language in which the paper is written, is in a language that is considered universal. It is not written in the different ‘Indian’ vernaculars which is understood by those who know the language only. This is unlike other papers like *Isolezwe*<sup>9</sup> which caters for Zulu language speakers, as the paper is written in this vernacular. And whilst the news featured in the *Herald* is predominantly about Indians there are also articles and photographs which reflect an inter-relationship between Indians and other race groups. But, the levels at which the paper is specific are based on religious and cultural differences.

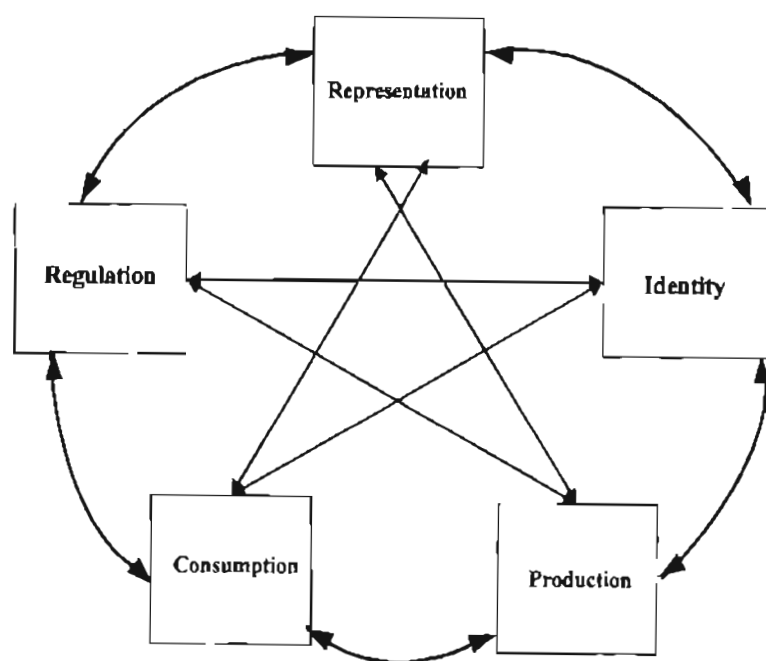
However, to return to the point of the cultural know-how, the articles and features often originate out of the process of representation, which staff of the paper feel, comes directly from the readers themselves. The content, they (the staff) explain is driven by the readers. The response from readers are materialised from letters and e-mail sent to the editor and staff, telephone calls, and general interaction with the public at social or cultural functions. Juggie Naran, senior journalist (Appendix A3) says “In fact we get a lot of indication from the Indian community itself that they do identify...we found that from the last two years...I’ve been speaking to politicians, cultural leaders, religious leaders, academics and they seem to identify via this newspaper, aspects that are related to the Indian community...although I did find that from a small sector of the community itself, questions do arise as to why Indians? And...obviously the answer is that there is a demand from the greater majority of the Indians, for the service of that particular kind of readership, but there is a small sector that questions as to why there is a separate newspaper.”

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<sup>9</sup> *Isolezwe* is a Zulu language newspaper. “The Zulus are very proud of their language and of their culture. Although many *Isolezwe* readers are able to read English newspapers, they prefer reading in Zulu both because of the richness of the language, and because it’s a link to an identity they’re proud of and the Zulu point of view is used.” No author (<http://www.rap21.org/article18638.html>)

The staff members are able to construct and negotiate the notion of identity through the inference of meaning of the signs and codes of a shared culture. This process is generally referred to as representation, which Hall (1997: 15) expresses, is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged by members of a culture.<sup>10</sup> At this juncture it is important to focus on du Gay, Hall's et al., (Hall, 1997: 1) circuit of culture which reflects that meanings are produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes or practices:

The circuit of culture



At the heart of meaning is the process of representation. “Meaning is what gives us a sense of our own identity, of who we are and with whom we belong,” (Hall, 1997: 3). The *Sunday Tribune Herald* creates meaning for people of a shared culture. This meaning arises out of the process of representation, that is, how this culture is presented in the paper. This leads to the process of giving readers a sense of identity. This meaning and identity is produced, consumed, represented and regulated by members of that culture. Members of the Indian culture, and in this case, the readers,

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<sup>10</sup> Culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and ‘making sense’ of the world, in broadly similar ways. (Hall, 1997: 2)

aspire to the notion of a cultural identity, which the paper generally constructs and negotiates for them. These members use or consume their culture to make meaning of their lives which they practise by participating in ritual and religious practices of daily life. Their cultural meanings also regulate their social conduct which has real practical effects as Hall (1997) explains. This is how the cycle in the circuit of culture continues as members of a culture engage in meaningful cultural practises. The *Sunday Tribune Herald* and therefore staff members contribute to the cycle of practises in the circuit of culture, mostly because of their role in the cultural representation of the community in the paper. The process of representation together with the processes and practices of identity, production, consumption and regulation are inextricably bound to each other and proceed in an ongoing circle. The meaning of culture is therefore materialised through these processes. The circuit of culture illustrates the ways in which meaning is shared by members of the same culture.

“Just as people who belong to the same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map, so they must share the same way of interpreting the signs of a language, for only in this way can meanings be effectively exchanged between people. (Hall 1997: 19).” To re-iterate, this point re-enforces how meaning is perpetually created for readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* by staff members, namely, journalists and editors who decide on what to publish every Sunday for members of the Indian South African community.

This representation process which occurs in the *Sunday Tribune Herald* is manifested in the content which most readers comprehend with a certain amount of cultural cognisance. Some readers may be more cognisant than others.

Thus, in an effort to explore how staff construct and negotiate the notion of identity, the project also examined the content in the newspaper to discern how the community is represented.

The front page of the *Herald* normally covers hard news stories about the Indian community. These stories can very often be included in the main body of the *Tribune*, and sometimes, they are published in the *Herald* as well as the main body. One such case where a story was given coverage by both the *Tribune* and the *Tribune Herald*,



was the Throb nite club story where thirteen school children lost their lives in a fire at a nite club in the Indian area of Chatsworth as Alan Dunn, chief news editor, explains (see Appendix A1). These stories are human-interest stories and generally relate to society at large.

However, most of the stories covered on the front page of the *Herald* that are used solely in the *Herald*, will presumably draw more interest from the Indian reader, or anyone interested in buying the paper to read about the Indian community. Because the stories are about the local Indian community, and, very often, the story focuses on religion and culture. An example of some of the headlines of these stories read as: 'Hindu-Jesus post stamp', 'Bollywood Music Maestros in Durban', (*Sunday Tribune Herald*, 05/11/27: 1), 'Give Grey Street heritage status' (*Sunday Tribune Herald*, 05/11/20:1).

An example of a front-page story mentioned by the chief editor, Alan Dunn, is the story of the regulation of fireworks, which relates to the festival of Deepavali<sup>11</sup>, in the Phoenix area. Dunn states (Appendix A1) that this story was going to have a terrific impact on the Indian community due to the cultural side of things concerning Deepavali. The aspect to be realised in this context, is that the story would have probably held the interest of Hindu Indian readers, especially those who live in the 'Indian' area of Phoenix. Therefore, stories such as these, which the main body (*Tribune*) of the paper would not cater for, and would probably be of little interest to many of the main body readers, are often negotiated by the *Sunday Tribune Herald* and are placed in this paper. This is done for readers who can relate to, and do identify with this content, and whose interpretation of the content will be meaningful to them, as opposed to those who have no interest in identifying with the content. The reason for not wanting to, or not being able to identify with the content could relate to their cultural differences or preferences. In this instance one can also draw from Hall's (1997: 230) discussion on the 'other' which focuses on those who are not of the majority, and the subject of their 'difference', which Hall argues is essential to meaning. Hall (1997) theorises that we need this 'difference' to construct meaning. Meaning, according to Hall (1997) is relational. The point to be made is that these

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<sup>11</sup> Deepavali, also referred to as Diwali, is a religious festival celebrated by Hindus. It is commonly referred to as the 'festival of lights'.

stories represent people who are racially and ethnically different to the majority, but “it is this difference which ‘speaks’, according to Hall (1997: 230). This contrast between the majority and the minority (Indian community) creates meaning and gives this minority group a sense of cultural identity, through the medium of the paper in this regard. The relevance is that these stories give a certain community a ‘place’ in the media, and in this case, the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. This ‘place’ recognises that this community is culturally distinct, that is, different from the ‘other,’ the majority. This is where the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity surfaces.

Dean Naidoo, sports editor of *Tribune/Herald* (Appendix A2) also confirms that certain sport stories (found at the back page) are negotiated for their ‘Indian’ readers of *Herald*. “There are certain sports which appeal in particular to the Indian community,” he says. According to Naidoo sports such as volleyball, cricket, karate and wrestling greatly appeal to the Indian community. This, according to Naidoo, seems to have arisen out of the consequences of apartheid, where previously Indian schools were only given the opportunity to play *these* sports and so somehow, they are still widely practised amongst Indian youth. Market research, according to Naidoo, has indicated that readers apparently want to read articles on these sports and so Naidoo along with journalists believe it is their duty to ensure that readers are compensated in this regard.

Of note and worth mentioning in so far as the *Sunday Tribune Herald* caters for its varying religious audiences is the particular point brought up recently, on the papers accommodation of the different religious groups within the Indian community. To explain further, for those Indian people who are of the Christian faith, the paper also caters for these readers in the act of printing articles that represent such people/readers. An example of such a story was written by the writer of this research project. The story titled: ‘Church notches up 100 years’ service’, centered around the Evangelical Church of South Africa whose congregation members were predominantly Indian. (*Sunday Tribune Herald*, 04/11/28: 3). This story deals specifically with the Indian community who have maintained their faith in the Evangelical Church thereby making the content more meaningful to readers. However, the article could have also appealed to non-Indian readers who were followers of this church.

A semiotic approach to the content, which as mentioned earlier, according to Saussure (1966:6) is “the science that studies the life of signs within society,” can perhaps also clarify how the notion of identity is constructed and negotiated by staff of the paper. Some stories carry within it certain religious and cultural codes and signs which the readers are able to understand and interpret, again reinforcing meaning for readers and therefore constructing and negotiating the notion of identity. Dunn, chief editor, (Appendix A1), refers to a story about a young girl who was whipped to death by Hindu priests, who were also exorcists. They believed they were ridding the girl of evil spirits. The story engaged in the use of certain cultural codes and language like the use of the word ‘Veerajati’<sup>12</sup> which had to be literally explained. How and why Hindu priests practise certain rituals were explained for readers who were not knowledgeable in this regard. (*Sunday Tribune Herald*, 05/10/02). For those readers who did comprehend the codes and language however, the story was one which was constructed to firstly, inform readers of a particular case which took place in the community, but also to negotiate the notion of identity in that the story serves to focus on one of the cultural aspects of identity for the Indian South African reader. The story brings to light the familiarity of cultural practises within the community.

The second page of the *Herald* features a column which focuses on ‘famous Indian’ people in their community. This column is written by the writer of this research project. Subjects speak on specific sentimental items. In most instances, the items referred to were cultural artefacts and various religious items such as a Ganesha(Hindu deity), a Thirrukural (Hindu book of ethics), Buddha’s (religious saint), a frame with a religious Arabic inscription from the Islamic holy book the Quran, etcetera. Very often the articles revolved around the philosophy of the religion then, as well as details on culture. Often literal meanings and translations were written about certain items. The feedback from readers received by the writer of the column was that people enjoyed reading the culturally related content which they could identify with and learn more about. Again, the notion of identity is perpetuated through the writer’s use of ‘Indian’ subjects and by using codes and signs, which is effectively interpreted by members of the ‘Indian’ culture. The meaning is

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<sup>12</sup> A veerajati is a whip used by Hindu priests to ward off evil spirits.

'constructed by the system of representation', (Hall, 1997: 21), for readers who are members of a certain culture therefore mediating reality for these readers.

The second page also contains stories on other cultural and entertainment features, which includes reviews of 'Indian' plays and shows. Ordinarily, these articles would probably be of little interest to mainstream readers and are thus written primarily for the *Herald's* readers.

The third page features general human-interest articles that relate to the community.

The *Herald* also features an issue page four, which deals with potent issues facing the once conservative, yet presently changing Indian community in South Africa. These stories are researched by seasoned journalist Juggie Naran and journalist Doreen Premdev, who go into the community to try and extract information about a serious issue. One such issue featured the ill treatment of elderly Indian people who are subjected to abuse by their very own children. (*Sunday Tribune Herald*, 05/11/20: 4). This story is universally relevant, however, the characters and situations in this story are negotiated and constructed out of relevance for the local Indian community. The story deals with the Indian communities of Chatsworth and Phoenix<sup>13</sup>. Although real names are not used the characters are referred to by Indian names. There are also reports about people who live in an old age home in Chatsworth, the Aryan Benevolent Home, which is a home that was built originally for the Indian community.

Letters to the editor found on page 4 are an important section of the paper as readers often voice their opinions about the content and issues in the paper. *Herald* co-ordinator, Niyanta Singh (Appendix A5) says "Well we have a very vocal readership, who are not afraid to tell you that they like the content or to tell you that we have done something wrong, or if we have left out something." Readers' views and comments are taken seriously by the staff of the paper who aim to do their best to cater for the needs of their readers.

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<sup>13</sup> The Chatsworth and Phoenix areas have been historically classified as lower income Indian areas and which many Indian people still live in.

Articles which relate to the Indian diaspora in general are covered to cater for the readers who are apparently interested in national and international Indian news. Singh (Appendix A5) says of her readers, “They are very interested in what’s going on among other Indian communities throughout the world. Therefore we have a page five, which is international Indian news.” These international features, often selected by the co-ordinator of the paper are pulled from Internet sources. These stories cannot be written by the *Sunday Tribune Herald* journalists themselves as they are written about events and people who live outside of the country. However, the choice of material enables readers keep in touch with diasporic issues about other Indians around the world as well as about news from the ancestral ‘homeland’, India. A tongue in cheek article featured in the *Herald* (05/11/20) titled: ‘Shedding the veil to take to the sea,’ told of how Muslim women, who are normally forbidden in the Islamic faith to wear clothes that reveal one’s body, took to the sea in bikinis’ at elite beaches in Egypt that were opened especially for these women. This story was one that Muslim readers could probably identify with in terms of its cultural connotations and the teachings and rules of Islam. The humourous story would however appeal to any reader who is aware of the strict dress codes imposed by the Muslim religion.

Page 6 of the *Herald* has features and pictures on trendy Indian fashions (for the fashion conscious) with Indian men and women clad in ethnic saris, punjabis, ghararas, ghagra cholis (terms used for different styles of Indian clothing) and traditional bridal wear. Ancient Indian remedies and health advice is also given on this page. This page also features an astrology column, whose columnist Mahesh Bang known as a Vedic astrologer, palmist, face reader and feng shui expert is from India. Bang gives readers advice on every possible subject by engaging in readings of ‘Indian’ astrology. These sections are written within the framework of the Indian context.

Page 7 is a Bollywood<sup>14</sup> news page. The Bollywood news provides readers with gossip and happenings in the Indian movie world. These stories and inserts can enable Indian South African readers to maintain a historical sense of pride at the thought of knowing that there are Indian film stars who are making a name for themselves in the

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<sup>14</sup> Bollywood is the Indian tinsel town version of Hollywood. It is the mammoth film industry and all those people involved with this industry, which operates in India.

competitive film industry. Often news about world renowned actors such as Ashwarya Rai and Amitabh Bachan, two of India's major icons in the cinema industry, feature on these pages. The glitz and glamour and nature of the stories makes them even more appealing with the use of pictures, which any reader of any race group will want to take notice of, if they are interested in Bollywood.

The social section (also page 7) contains photographs of the “who’s who” and the not so “who’s who” of the Indian community at social, cultural and religious functions. This page also includes a ‘Whats on’ feature with a diary of cultural, religious and educational events relating specifically to the local Indian community. The sports page covers news about Indians and ‘their’ sport in general. The sport section to be found on page 8 covers news about what Indian readers want to read, as the sports editor, Dean Naidoo, stipulated earlier.

The material is thus constructed and negotiated to appeal to the Indian reader who wants to know what is happening with the community at the weekend or any other time at familiar cultural, religious and educational hangouts. While pages with international content and most entertainment issues will relate to any Indian South African interested in reading the paper, there is a shortcoming concerning local news. The shortcoming to be noticed in this regard, is that the newspaper aims to focus local news articles around people and events mostly from KwaZulu Natal, and more specifically from Durban. KwaZulu Natal has the highest concentration of Indians in South Africa<sup>15</sup>, so it is understandable that news coverage would focus on this province just as it is understandable that the paper operates from KwaZulu Natal. Although the community concentration is in Durban, the community still extends to various areas around the country. However, very little news coverage is given to events and people from other areas. The paper is distributed to many areas outside of Durban and a few areas nationally like previously historically classified Indian areas such as Lenasia in Gauteng. There is still a fairly large Indian population who reside in this area. (see Appendix A7). Therefore the community from areas outside of KwaZulu Natal are not adequately catered for by the paper. So whilst the paper might

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<sup>15</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asians\\_in\\_South\\_Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asians_in_South_Africa).

appeal to these readers in terms of the cultural and entertainment side of things it does not often specifically represent these community members in terms of its content.

Notwithstanding this shortcoming, the content of the newspaper *is* constructed and negotiated to enforce a notion of identity for South Africans of Indian origin. Staff members appear to be culturally alert and fully discerning when it comes to the identity and needs of their readers whom they feel are ardent in their quest to maintain that 'Indian' aspect of their South African identity, be it culturally, socially, or politically. It is this need that staff members cater for when constructing and negotiating the notion of identity.

## **Findings**

The provision of news in the *Sunday Tribune Herald* also extends to the various classifications of South African people of Indian origin in terms of gender, age group, income group, and educational qualifications (AMPS 2003 – Appendix C2, 3) maintaining a fair balance of readers. These results reveal that the newspaper must surely be satisfying the needs of an array of readers. Further, and of note though, is that while the paper functions within the realms of a ‘South African Indian’ identity, the issue of the paper not being ‘exclusively’ for the Indian community surfaces yet again to maintain that this is not the case. As Indian readers are not the only readers which the AMPS 2003 (Appendix C2) results reveal. There is also a fairly substantial following of readers from the other race groups (Whites-20%, Blacks- 13.5%, Coloureds-6.5%) as mentioned earlier on. Dunn (Appendix A1) mentions at one time that if readers of other race groups from a particular area want to actually learn more about the Indian community then they need to go and read the *Herald* to see what exactly is affecting this community. This statistical data leads to the postulation that the newspaper interests not only the Indian community but also a substantial part of the larger South African community.

Two questions surface at this point. What do staff members believe the paper stands for, in other words, what do they see the paper as doing for its readers? And how does this contribute to their construction and negotiation of the notion of identity for their readers? David Sless (1986: 5) maintains that semiotics is the study and semiosis is the process and that at the heart of semiosis is the *stand-for* relation. There are 2 readily obvious ingredients to the *stand-for* relation: an object, and whatever the object *stands for*. This is sometimes referred to in the semiotic literature as the *sign/referent* relation; the *sign stands* for something and what it *stands for* is called the *referent*. The *Sunday Tribune Herald*, being the object of this study stands for something in particular. Sless (1986: 5) says we need to ask *how* a particular sign *stands for* a particular referent. The missing ingredient is the community; individual or organism which invokes the *stand-for* relation, which uses an object (sign) to *stand for* another object (referent). Readers, (or the community) of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* are the missing ingredient who use this object (the paper) to invoke this *stand-for* relation. The referent in this case to do with cultural belongingness and the notion



of identity; the perpetuation of this identity, and the fact that the paper is seen as a medium for the Indian people of South Africa to read about what's going on in the community. According to staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* the paper *stands for*:

“ it stands for the people. It's there to inform people.”

Alan Dunn, chief editor (Appendix A1)

“I think it gives Indian people a forum to express themselves and also to learn more about, their history and what's happening in India. I don't think they can get that from mainstream media.”

Dean Naidoo, Sports editor (Appendix A2)

“I think it has to do with informing the community on a wide range of issues that affect the Indian community itself. That's basically what I think it's all about.”

Juggie Naran, senior journalist (Appendix A3)

“All the sections are catering for everybody's specific need, be it from your entertainment to your hard news which seems very good. They always manage to catch breaking news.”

Mageshini Chetty, freelance journalist (Appendix A4)

“Community first!”

Niyanta Singh, Herald co-ordinator and senior journalist (Appendix A5)

“*Tribune Herald* stands for community first, which means that our main aim is to satisfy our community, to reflect our community, to inform our community.”

Doreen Premdev, journalist (Appendix A6)

“It challenges a lot of things inside, you know, from a perspective of an, an Indian person within Indian communities. The issues are much deeper and it gets into those kind of issues around religion, around all sensitivities.”

Bruce Colly, Managing editor (Appendix A7)

“It’s there to entertain, it’s there to perhaps educate, it’s there to keep people abreast with what’s happening and it’s to help cement the idea of community identity and involvement.”

Anne Stevens, subeditor (Appendix A8)

The findings reveal that the common factor that is highlighted by staff members in their statements is the sense of community, amongst readers of the Indian community of South Africa. They all suggest that the paper is a forum for providing the community with a link to each other and the diaspora, as well as that it provides a platform for the Indian community of South Africa to express their identity. The views of the staff indicate how the paper represents the community, which attests to the whole notion of identity and how staff members, as role-players in the production of the paper, proceed to construct and negotiate the notion of identity, which in the case of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* affiliates to a Indian South African identity.

Furthermore, in concluding this semiotic analysis of this media genre (the newspaper) of the role of the *The Sunday Tribune Herald* in the construction and negotiation of an identity, the study attempts to answer the three basic questions which the semiotician is guided by (Danesi, 2002:23):

1. *What* does a certain structure (text, genre, etc.) mean?
2. *How* does it represent what it means?
3. *Why* does it mean what it means?

The findings reveal that staff understand their paper, the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, to be a community newspaper which provides a particular service to a particular audience. It is understood from the interviews carried out with staff that the paper provides a forum for South Africans of Indian origin to express their difference, and to be represented as a culturally dynamic ethnic minority who are part of a wider national community. The staff members each explained what their specific job as editors, subeditors and journalists entail (see Appendixes A1-8). The roles that staff members play in this regard all contribute to constructing and negotiating a sense of who Indian South Africans are, by recognising and representing the readers cultural milieu in the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. This construction would otherwise be

marginalised by the hegemonic forces of mainstream media, as is often the case with the media when it comes to ethnic minorities.

After examining the content produced by staff members it becomes clear that the paper represents or signifies what it means by constructing and negotiating a notion of identity taken directly from the readers and their circumstances. The representation is conducted through the content, which is published on a weekly basis. This content comprises of written and pictorial details about cultural, historic, social, political, educational and various other aspects relating to the local and international Indian community.

The newspaper creates meaning for readers because it is essentially nurturing a need, which is required by its readers. It means it is a media genre, which like all other media genres that it is there to provide news. In the case of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* though, the news caters for a niche market, and this niche market ascribes to a certain notion of an apparent dual 'Indian South African identity'. This is just part of a hybrid identity which the paper constructs and negotiates for its readers.

And while some staff members have indicated that they would prefer the content of the *Herald* to be integrated within the main body of the *Tribune* (see Appendix A2,5,6,8) that is, the *Herald* should not exist as a separate paper, others are ambivalent about the integration of the paper the staff all state that the market is what ultimately drives the success of the paper and the need for the paper to exist as a separate one.

The history of the paper has revealed that the paper is a success as the withdrawal of the paper once created a huge uproar amongst readers whereas the subsequent revival of the paper led to a successful readership record. The paper is successful because it serves important needs of a community. The market determines this success (as it generally determines the success or failure of any initiative) and this is evident in the constant growing readership of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. And even if it means this growing readership means retreating into a 'narrow' Indian identity, as some may perceive it to be, as opposed to adapting entirely to a South African identity, as long

as people buy the paper, the paper will survive and continue to maintain the 'Indian' notion of identity.

In spite of the emphasis, placed by staff members, in the notion of identity of the paper, and in spite of the success of the paper, it should be noted that it is difficult to determine the exact extent to which the newspaper has any real effect in influencing and shaping readers actions in reality. The weekly paper can not be a strong enough determinant which enables readers to actively pursue their ethnic identities. It can however be construed as a very definite tool, which attempts to propagate the notion of identity. How the readers interpret and use what they have read in their daily lives will differ from person to person.

## Conclusion

Simon Bekker's post apartheid theory postulates that 'if older racial and ethnic identities persist, a national identity cannot emerge and, conversely, if and when these former identities dissolve, pride in and identification with the South African nation will flourish,' (Bekker et al., 2000)<sup>16</sup>. While Bekker and others might view the *Sunday Tribune Herald* newspaper as a forum for perpetuating cultural exclusivity and therefore going against the democratic ethos of the country, the paper does indeed conform to maintaining an ethnic identity - but it should not be perceived as going against the pride and identification of the South African nation. Instead, as the study has maintained, it works within the identification of the South African nation.

John Hartley (2004) contends the media is becoming the space for democratic expression and self-realisation. The mainstream *Sunday Tribune* paper appears to provide this space for a particular community (in the *Herald*) to express itself and realise its identity as Indians of South Africa. This Indian community of South Africa, that is, those South Africans of Indian origin and particularly the readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* are, according to staff members of the newspaper, what drives the newspaper. It is this community that dictates the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity, which is aptly represented in the paper. The staff relies on the community for the effective functioning of the newspaper. The staff members are but mere role players who see themselves as facilitators of a media product that is instigated by a nationally alert community but who are driven by its thirst for maintaining its cultural and religious identity.

The research conducted to ascertain exactly how staff members construct this identity for its' readers reveal that, as roleplayers, each and every staff member appear to strongly believe of themselves as an individual working towards the common goal of the paper. Irrespective of the demographics of staff members, and notwithstanding the varying opinions of staff members in relation to whether the paper should be integrated within the main section of the paper, they appear dedicated in their quest to cater for their readers in terms of providing clients with news about the community. They adhere to the cultural and religious identity format. This point can also lead to

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<sup>16</sup> [www.hsrcpress.ac.za](http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za)

the discussion on the paper as a commodity which functions like any other business, where those who sell a product in a business generally work towards catering for their clients every need. The views of the staff members strongly suggest that they too aspire to satisfy the needs of their clients (readers) above all else.

Bruce Colly, Managing editor of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, states (Appendix A7)

"I don't see us as being a vehicle to drive that identity, I think we work within the identity."

Therefore the construction and negotiation of the notion of identity in the *Sunday Tribune Herald* by staff members, for their readers should be seen as a positive stance in endorsing a need for a particular sector of the public; a need which otherwise cannot be realised efficaciously in the world of the majority.

As a mainstream newspaper, the mainstream paper the *Sunday Tribune*, in providing a niche market newspaper, namely, the *Herald*, should be viewed as one that reflects the diversity of cultures which this country has to celebrate, especially in the 'new' South Africa. The 'new' South Africa should not place emphasis on people and cultures to function within the constraints of a national identity, as Bekker (2000) states, but rather, should work towards being a multi-ethnic society which encompasses and embraces the identities and expression of various minority groups. Charles Husband (2000: 209) advocates that a multi-ethnic public sphere must reflect the diversity present in society in such a way as to facilitate the autonomous expression of ethnic identity of both minority and majority ethnic groups and of national minorities. Additionally it must provide for the exchange of information and cultural products *across* these communities of identity.

The *Sunday Tribune Herald* does not preclude the readership of those who are not Indian. It does not denounce other South African cultures, nor does it ascribe to an exclusivist notion of identity as the study has suggested. What it does instead, is reflect a community in the present South Africa and takes the cultural and religious aspects of their identity and constructs and negotiates this notion of identity. However, notions of identity will change as time changes and as people change, and thus as cultures change, for change is inevitable. It is how this change is reflected that

is important, and it is important that this change be reflected for the purpose of recognising the culturally diverse ethnic minority groups.

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Dean Naidoo, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2005: Appendix A2.

Juggie Naran, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2005: Appendix A3.

Mageshini Chetty, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2005: Appendix A4.

Niyanta Singh, 8<sup>th</sup> November 2005: Appendix A5.

Doreen Premdev, 8<sup>th</sup> November 2005: Appendix A6.

Bruce Colly, 8<sup>th</sup> November 2005: Appendix A7.

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## **APPENDIX A**

**Transcription of Interviews** held at Independent Newspapers with staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* conducted by Thrusha Maharaj-TM

## Appendix A1

Interviewee 1 (interviewed November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005): Alan Dunn (AD) – Chief Editor of the *Sunday Tribune/Herald*

**TM:** What does your line of work as chief editor of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* entail?

**AD:** Let's see, the editor is like the ship's captain, has a number of executives who actually pilot the boat, but is responsible really for the general direction of the boat and the destination of the boat. So ya, it's a supervisory role, oversight role. It can also be a day to day role depending on the character of the editor. Is the editor a hands on person or is the editor one who delegates and is often surprised by his own or her own newspaper? I prefer not to be. My role really is very much, or my style is hands on style. It will differ from publication to publication, but certainly in the instance of *Herald* mine is a role of oversight. I'm responsible as the editor for every word, everything that appears in the *Herald*, including the advertisement etcetera. It is a legal position and it is a legal responsibility and so I would like to know as much as I can what goes into the *Herald*, from the legal point of view, and from the point of view of decency, taste, direction, market. Does it appeal to its' market? Now when you speak of identity etcetera, I speak of relevance. A publication must be relevant to its readers. It must have information that appeals to its readers, speaks to its readers, and, can be used by its readers. For instance the other day we carried a piece in *Herald* on exam anxiety and how best to cope with that, quoting psychologists on behaviour of people on how best to...and that was useful information, and that kind of thing can be mixed in with news, features and analysis. Generally, of the *Sunday Tribune*, the *Herald* staff from Niyanta Singh, the *Herald* co-ordinator, through to the people that work with and for her, look to and generate their own news diaries. They also look to topics for features like the issue...we discuss them, we debate them and we then treat them accordingly. What does that mean? That means that the...Juggie perhaps, Juggie Naran will come up with an issue. We might say, hold that off for a week, there's another more pressing issue that we need to get into. So how about looking at that this week. So we will debate that and discuss their diaries. I will know generally, what they are doing. We stay in touch with each other on a daily basis. We guide, direct, advise. They will come to us and say "I've had this development, what

is the ethic here, or what is the way we want to take the story or how do we want to treat the story and deal with it, is the story for *Herald* or should it be for what we call main body”?

**TM:** Why would it be specifically for the *Herald*? Your target audience is Indian?

**AD:** Indian. Very much Indian. Very much Indian, South African Indian. Yes, very much. It's unashamed, it is a niched product, it speaks hopefully, if we're doing it right, it speaks direct to that audience. Not that it shuts out any other audience. If people, the general reader of the *Sunday Tribune* wishes to know what is going on in a very very potent and important section of their community, they will want to read the *Herald*, and, we will treat the news and the product in a way to make it attractive to all. If people are dismissive of the Indian community, which they are at their peril, then they would probably just take the *Herald* out and drop it into the paper basket and carry on with the rest of the newspaper. But, what I have been anxious to do is, ... I am not going to your questions here, just in order, I am just jumping around, but, what I am anxious to do, is to focus very much on *Herald* and try to uplift the game. I don't think that if the *Herald* has a very strong news story, I don't think we should grab it for the main edition, what we call the main body of the newspaper. Well because, I would like to strengthen *Herald*. We're up against competitors. We have a community to serve, a very important part of our readership, a significant slice. More than half of our readership is Indian. So, there is a need to cater for them. We've been told by them specifically that they want this product to continue. We have to then pay it serious attention. It's not just a dumping ground, it cannot be a refuse bin for unwanted articles from the main edition, the other. Almost, really the opposite should be true but where we have taken one or two stories into the main body because they have been too powerful, to have in our supplement, the idea was to give it front page attention and possibly then cross refer to the main edition. For instance the Throb, Throb night club, do you recall that, instance? The teargas incident?

**TM:** Yes

**AD:** Now the shocking thing, those youngsters dying. We got the story that two of the perpetrators had been freed from prison. We had that story exclusively. It was our story. In fact another another well known publication which also happens to come out on Sundays, grabbed our story and caught up on it in their later editions. I shan't mention any names. But anyway, we decided that the Throb story was such a powerful one, because we knew that there was going to be outrage... thirteen children

was it? A lot families feeling hurt, a lot of families still feeling the pain, the wound not closed and these perpetrators being released from prison. We then decided that it should go on the front page of *Herald* and we gave it very strong treatment on the front page, ran it at a length, but we also ran a piece upfront in the main body of the paper, cross referring to it, and calling attention to it, because everybody no matter who they are, white, coloured, black african, was going to be concerned about this story and was going to find it compelling reading, so we actually drew special attention to it. So that's the kind of thing we do...I am anxious to uplift the standard of the *Herald* and to keep it running of the highest possible standard... because I need to speak to the readers to make them think...I want them thinking, at the end of every Sunday that they've been well served by the newspaper, that they've actually learn't something by the newspaper. Last Sunday we pointed out to our readers that a fireworks law in the pipeline or fireworks regulation in the pipeline effectively mean't a ban especially in Phoenix...if you look at your petrol stations all being closer than 500 metres. We came to an effective ban on fireworks etcetera, now given the cultural side of things, it was going to have terrific impact on the Indian community and so we drilled into that story and pointed it out to people...this is what it is going to mean, they act accordingly they can make their protests etcetera. So, when you pay it a lot of attention, it is not a supplement, it goes off on its own, and of goes the week or the start of the week and suddenly it reappears. I personally read as many pages as I can. We've got a managing editor, Bruce Colly, our managing editor. He's very much hands on with the thing. He talks to Niyanta often, regularly to the staff etcetera. We go in there and we supervise...on a Thursday as the stories are starting to develop. We talk to them and advise them, emphasising, drop that go and attend to that story, you know that kind of thing, so we're very much engaged with the *Herald* reporters to make sure that get we get the best for that particular week. Ya.

**TM:** You mentioned earlier that you try to give readers what they want. How do you do this? Do you get feedback from the readers?

**AD:** We get feedback. We get calls and e-mails especially now with e-mail, it is very easy to communicate, its more convenient. We get e-mails, we get calls, we get letters. We interact with people in the normal course of events...people who will say to us, "that was off colour, that was bad taste or you know if people are being biased against the Muslim community or against cultural identity and the nose stuff business etcetera, there's always corrective processes in newspapers and I would say with

greatest respect to the Indian community, they are a, it seems to me as a newcomer to KwaZulu Natal, I would say, very much passionate newspaper readers. That's my humble and unscientific experience and so, I would say again, with respect to the Indian community, I would say that they are also quick to participate and respond and to shape and to help shape something that means something to them, so it is the *Herald*. We get that response, we get that guidance. We do not sit here and file or produce newspapers into a void, that void is very much a living seething thing and it comes back to us, pays back and we get ample responses as to where we've gone right or wrong. When you've gone wrong and people in no uncertain terms will tell you, that's where you've gone wrong. Sometimes, we do get praise and often times we must take the philosophy that the absence of, of criticism, is in itself praise itself. Sometimes you have to take that point of departure, but, what is reflected, is in the readership. Are people going to buy the *Sunday Tribune*, as a whole product or as the *Herald*. It's hard to say how many people buy the *Sunday Tribune*. There's no scientific analysis of how many people buy the *Tribune*, just for the *Herald*, primarily for the *Herald*. We don't have that. What we do have is the number of people who do read the *Herald* each Sunday, so we have a basic idea of readership, but not reason for buying, but if the *Tribune* sags in quality and doesn't start to reflect its community and doesn't remain relevant to its community, sales will drop, they will, they will go off the boil. So I would think that that's a strong gauge for us as to reader participation, reader interest in our product. They will respond to us and they will stop buying us if it were not actually interesting enough.

**TM:** So in terms of the construction and negotiation of the identity of the newspaper then, your stories are for the Indian community yet it is relevant to everyone?

**AD:** Yes, it is very much a niched product. It is unashamedly niched and it should be relevant to everybody, everybody who wants to make decisions in KwaZulu Natal should know what's going on in one of the most important sectors of the most dynamic sectors of KwaZulu Natal...that happens to be the Indian community. So if you want to inform yourselves about what people are...about a preoccupation at the moment within the Indian community...if you as a person are white...resident of Durban North, want to know what's bothering them, go to their letters column, go to the issue where it might be suicide in schools that's preoccupying the Indian community at the moment, then you are plugged in to an important sector of your own...so then the resident of Durban North is actually equipped to make decisions.



Other thing we do is...participating in this *Herald*, is that you try to select the right people and then you trust them, you trust them to make some good calls and when they don't, you correct them. Hopefully you can catch something before it goes into print and if you can't then you correct it thereafter on the basis of correction and overall going back to the analogy of the ship's captain. The overall direction, the overall destination of the newspaper, so I would say then that another hand I have in influencing the *Herald* where it goes and how it treats its' niche and its market is in trying to hire the right people. Putting the right people in place so that they are in tune or attuned to their market.

**TM:** So do your journalist have to be specifically Indian?

**AD:** It wouldn't have to be, it wouldn't have to be no. If a person had a fine understanding of the Indian community, or some particular history, or some particular interest etcetera they would be quite qualified to go in there and work there, but they have to convince me that they knew their market. So as things turn out, most are, and at present all are(referring to the reporters/journalist), but no, not impossible, absolutely not impossible.

**TM:** Like yourself, and your subeditor and the managing editor...?

**AD:** I know a hard news story when I see it, and I will go to them and I will confront them and I will challenge them, and I will say Doreen, Niyanta, Juggie, we've got this story and that story, story A and story B, both are competing for the front page lead, one of them has to go below the fold, the fold of the newspaper, lower page which one would you prefer to have at the top of the page? I will then say this is the hard news story, I think that it affects more people. *This* is a sensational story but it's a one off story, it's a one off murder that affects one family. This is not as juicy a story but this will impact on tens of thousands of people in our readership pool, I therefore think that this should be...what do you guys think? And they might say to me, now hold one, Roopanand or any other of the big names in the community is a particular, has got a particular interest to the Indian community, everybody is talking about it, that's all my family talked about, my friends talked about last weekend, they then give me input and say, "look, that's the issue, that's the hot issue at the moment," I will take their good advices, because If I hired them to work for me, then I must take their advices, that's the kind of practice for a Friday afternoon at 3 or 4pm. Unless we have a completely obvious front page lead which we have been working on for days or weeks, we will have a debate like that, a similar debate that we have in the main body

of the newspaper... what leads the paper on a Saturday morning or Saturday afternoon, we will have that debate. We will argue. Sometimes the lead speaks for itself, sometimes we have to actually wrestle and decide which is the priority story for the day.

**TM:** Do you conduct surveys or have focus groups that you question regarding the content?

**AD:** We haven't recently but yes we do. From time to time, literally from time to time we will have focus groups on particular sectors of our publication, for instance, any of these, or of the main body or on the whole, the entirety. We believe in research, we do, as a company, we've got 16 titles, so we do, do research.

**TM:** To ascertain what readers want?

**AD:** Absolutely, if we go off in a direction that your readers don't want to, then we need to know it, and, strangely enough, going back to the proactivity of the Indian market, the Indian readership here, I would think that we're going to hear very soon if we were wondering off into a kind of, into, you know just wandering off the beaten track, we would hear very soon.

**TM:** In terms of identity and your readers now, do you think that they adhere to an authentic Indian identity, a global diasporic identity or a national identity or do you feel perhaps that your readers assume a more hybrid, fluid type of identity that encompasses various identities through their appropriation and assimilation of the South African culture?

**AD:** I don't think one can generalise, I think you're talking to a mixed bunch, some completely South Africanised, completely modernised if you like, completely assimilated into their country...the country of their residence, others who still have links and guard the links, try to keep up the links with the former...I don't actually know what the percentages are of those that have left the homeland and have come here and have broke the ties but the ties have faded. They have you know...the ties are less important, so I don't know what percentages we're talking about. I do know that, I think I am talking to a fairly practical, pragmatic readership, a readership that might have, that does have a history, but will not let it cloud or dissuade them from trying to make as much of their situation now, that they can, so no matter how much a person can cling to the notion of ancestry and the old homeland, they will commit themselves strongly to their current circumstances, that is this community, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. So I think we're dealing with a fairly pragmatic go ahead bunch

of people, if I can generalise foolishly, you know William Blake said “to generalise is to be an idiot”, so I suppose I’m being an idiot. I think generally, we’re dealing with a sense of a go ahead group of people in South Africa...very potent, I certainly used that term before, in terms of their contribution to our economy, and I think that in terms...while it might be people who retain these links, these ties, they won’t let it get into the way of their decision making here doing well here. Well in all ways.

Spiritually, emotionally etcetera. You know, it’s a...I’m not sure what our breakdown between the old type of Indian and the new South African Indian. I’m not sure.

**TM:** But essentially, they obviously identify with the papers content and see the paper as the link through which they can stay in touch with the community and read about community events and all other happenings in the Indian community?

**AD:** It’s a perpetuation of their Indianness, yes, ya. I would think that ya, it could be that kind of thing perhaps, you know if you like a totem pole, whatever, that central pole around which people evolve and can talk to each other etcetera, ya I would see that.

**TM:** Although, you have perhaps alluded to what the paper stands for, would you like to add to that?

**AD:** Not really, the paper is there, it stands for the people. Its there to inform people, its there to serve them to take and make decisions and that can go from anything from international news, news from India that maybe of interest, of relevance...to small things like cultural events and so on and activities columns that we have.

**TM:** Do you think the paper uses a specific (symbolic) language that is relevant to the Indian community?

**AD:** Language in terms of the English use?

**TM:** Well, yes...

**AD:** We might, we might, we might...we were describing the other day again and anecdote just to give you a demonstration...of a whip being used by two healers to exorcise...dreadful story, and they whipped this woman through the night, and it was said ‘whip used in the hindu faith’, and we used the term of that whip and explained to them, the reason we explained was for people who were not hindus’, not of that church, so we explained it to people, like the residents of Durban North, so maybe it was a shocking thing, awful damn thing, hard to believe as our editorial said, hard to believe in urban South Africa in 2005, but it did. It happened in Chatsworth, you would have said maybe a rural area, but this...anyway, yes we do use those little

terms occasionally and we'd like to explain them to people who may not understand. But ya, it speaks to the audience, and for those it doesn't speak to, we include them, by explaining in subtle terms what it means. For instance, for people like me, ya, so we do, but not exhaustively, but we do.

**TM:** Finally, what is *your* notion of identity?

**AD:** Identity, identity, I think should primarily be South African, well, that's me, my personal view is that we are all South Africans, we all have backgrounds, and I think the centre identity should have identities, so I think the greater identity for me as an individual is I am South African, born, bred and proud of it. Within that, I happen to be white, I happen to have a Scottish, English ancestry of some two generations ago. Interesting to know but doesn't guide any of my decisions. What does guide my decisions is my environment, my upbringing, my environment and my own ability to analyse. Identity you know, I think that there is no one identity. I think there are layers much like the onion, I think there is the outside cover, in my case, there would be a South African, and you could pick through. I also happen to like road running, that's a passion. So, am I a comrades runner, that's another of my identities. So within one identity, you have several identities. I would think coming back to the issue, is within the Indian identity, I would certainly hope that most people think themselves primarily South African and then after that, into their own, the degrees of how many people have actually, mentally made the trip from there to here and are South Africans, and then after that, identities within that, on the cultural basis, religious basis, intellectual basis, various ways categorising many identities. One person I think, and I'm not talking about schizophrenia here, I'm talking about one person, can be quite easily of multiple identities because...if you like pottery, that is a class you go to, and that is a part of your life, one part, one room in your house, then the other room will be the book club, the third room...

**TM:** This was where the tape ended, as Mr.Dunn continued to state that each person assumes many identities, hence his example of a person assuming a different identity as he or she enters different rooms of their homes. His point was that every individual displays many different tendencies towards different aspects of their lives, which therefore encompasses various identities. This was where the interview ended, as I thanked Mr. Dunn for his time and help.

## Appendix A2

Interviewee 2 (Interviewed November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005 ): Dean Naidoo (DN) – *Sunday Tribune/Herald* Sports Editor

**TM:** What does your role as sports editor entail?

**DN:** Okay, I decide the content that goes into the Sports section of the main section of the *Tribune* and the *Herald*.

**TM:** So what do you do specifically to ensure that you are catering for your target audience for the *Herald*?

**DN:** Ya, it's quite a touchy thing, because you would think that you wouldn't need one product that caters for a particular section of the...but it is very popular. Personally I choose...there are certain sports which appeal in particular to the Indian community...

**TM:** Really?

**DN:** Yes, like volleyball for example, you will be surprised, we don't run volleyball at all in the main section of the newspaper. Do you know why?

**TM:** No, why?

**DN:** Because ninety percent of the national volleyball team consists of Indian players.

**TM:** Wow! Serious?

**DN:** Yes, that there is a consequence of apartheid yes. They used to... they offered volleyball in Indian schools during the days of apartheid, so majority of the players are Indian, are from here, from the North Coast as well...so we have a lot of volleyball, and karate as well is something that is practised quite extensively. There's a lot of karate experts that are Indian, we we carry karate...cricket, because of the popularity of cricket on the subcontinent, but a lot of our readers still support India and Pakistan, not all of them support South Africa. Ya, the content is driven by the readers, we don't put...I don't put stuff into the *Herald*, for example, purely because I want it there. Wrestling for example, is not even a sport, but if you go to a wrestling match in Durban, there's only 'charous' (slang for Indians) there. So that's why, basically, the needs of the readers are put first.

**TM:** And how do you know this is what the readers want?

**DN:** Market research, yes, our market research shows us that, that that's the mix that we need, it's slightly different from the main section even though the *Herald* goes to

everybody as well. For the main section we try to cover international sport as well, but it's mainly cricket, soccer...that order.

**TM:** What is your notion of identity?

**DN:** Identity? I think different people identify with different things. I think young people identify with celebrities, those are their role models, I think as you get older you try to identify...like take someone our age for example would identify with peers you know, or maybe good writers, I think as you get older you identify with different things. Identity I think is...age plays a big part with identify, kids identify with their parents, you know, and as you get older, you tend to identify with different things.

**TM:** So, in terms of the make up of your paper and the readers, is it Indian people of all ages?

**DN:** Yes, it's predominantly Indians.

**TM:** And do you think the readers have a distinctly Indian identity, or a South African identity or a hybrid identity?

**DN:** I think it is a mix, ya. For example let's use sport as an example now right, we have a majority of our Indian readers who support South Africa, but a lot of them also support Pakistan and India, and if there's a match on in Durban for example, they're so torn between the two identities, they don't know whether to support India because it's the mother country or to support South Africa because it's patriotic to do that, so they often find themselves torn between those two, ya, but generally I think ya, I think people identify with various elements, I don't think you could pin it down to one, its probably hybrid.

**TM:** Do you agree with the idea of a newsmarket newspaper, or do you feel there should be separate papers for separate communities, or are you just doing your job for the *Herald* as a journalist?

**DN:** Honestly?

**TM:** Ya

**DN:** Honestly I do not think, I think that ideally, ideally, we should have one newspaper that caters for everybody, however, I think the market of this, drives what we do, and the market dictates that we need the *Herald*. Years ago we decided to do away with the *Herald*, we basically killed it off because we thought that it had no place in the new South Africa, and we lost about four thousand readers, overnight, gone.

**TM:** Now how do you know these figures? Where do you get your information from?

**DN:** Oh, from market research, our market research, oh wow, put it this way we sell like like a hundred and two thousand copies this week and then we sell like less than a hundred the next week, you just know that there has to be something, we don't fluctuate that heavily, not a newspaper, it fluctuates when there's like holidays and stuff like that, it could be anything...so then we found you know what, we didn't do enough research before doing away with it, we assumed that people just wanted to read one sort of generic newspaper. So we brought *Herald* back. This time around we got clever, we made it bigger, we got sports sections...the *Extra* doesn't have a sport section, we're putting a whole lot of other sections that we thought would be...so we got those readers back, we got the readers back. So, ideally, ya, we should have one but we do have a niche market.

**TM:** And in so doing, do you think your journalists should be specifically Indian, or do you think that any race group can write for the paper?

**DN:** Generally, your'e going to find that if somebody is writing for a particular product or market, you have to identify with that community. Now it does necessarily mean that you need to be Indian but if you don't have a feel and an effort for the culture, then there's cultural sensitivities, there are all sorts of sensitivities that you need to take into consideration, like *Isolezwe* for example, you find that the majority of the people that work there are black but the guy that lays all the pages out is a white guy who can't even speak Zulu, but he has... and he's doing fine, he knows that he will not use a picture of a, of a bare breasted woman, because it denigrates their culture, he knows that, so yo have to have...but you don't necessarily have to be Indian, I don't think so.

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**DN:** The *Tribune*?

**TM:** *Herald*, yes

**DN:** I think it gives Indian people a forum to express themselves and also to learn more about, their history and what's happening in India. I don't think they can get that from mainstram media. The letters section allows people to write in, the sport section allows Indian readers to know what is happening in India or Pakistan. I think it is essential for them because they feel they can stay in touch with their roots.

**TM:** You mean it allows them to maintain a link to the Indian community?

**DN:** Ya, exactly, ya and they don't get that from community newspapers. You see, community newspapers these days are just filled with adverts, so...and first of all

they've got a small readership and *Herald* is important. Six hundred and fifty thousand odd readers the *Tribune* has...to know that you are influencing up to that many people, whether it's the Bollywood column, or the stars or whatever, that's a lot of minds. You may write something and you may not realise that it impacts on somebody, some advice that you might give, ten years down the line they could use that.

**TM:** Thank you Dean



### Appendix A3

Interviewee 3 – Juggie Naran (JN), Senior Journalist, interviewed November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005 )

**TM:** Juggie, you have been around for a very long time in the journalism business. Do you perhaps remember when the *Tribune Herald* shut down at one time, what exactly happened?

**JN:** I think it was for a period of about three months at least that the sales of the newspaper dropped. That gave an indication that the *Herald* was very popular as far as the Indian community was concerned, whereas, the *Sunday Times* at that time, I know their sales increased because they had the *Extra*, and they continued the *Extra*.

**TM:** Now how do you know all of this?

**JN:** I remember at that particular time when this thing occurred, there was discussion of it.

**TM:** Okay. When did this happen?

**JN:** About fifteen, sixteen, I would say about 18 years ago.

**TM:** How long has the *Sunday Tribune Herald* been in operation for, do you know?

**JN:** I would say about 25 years.

**TM:** From your recollection, did the withdrawal of the *Herald*, at the time, affect readership?

**JN:** Yes, yes, there was a decline from the Indian community in buying, So it gave an indication at the time that there seemed to be a necessity for a newspaper totally separate from... a newspaper that catered for the needs of the Indian community. That was an indicator because, it would appear that the Indian community got used to the idea of having a newspaper of their own following the history of the *Leader*, the *Graphic* and the *Post*. They were all newspapers that identified with the Indian community. The *Post* and the *Herald* and the *Sunday Times Extra* followed in that particular category and, but you must understand that the *Leader* and the *Graphic* were independent newspapers, whereas the *Sunday Times* and the *Sunday Tribune* were mainstream newspapers, so, they... I wouldn't be able to say if by introducing the *Herald*, it increased the capacity of the *Sunday Tribune* when they launched the paper initially but I would think yes, it would have, because it did have a very huge readership at that time.

**TM:** Were you here with the paper at the time? With the *Sunday Tribune Herald*.

**JN:** Ya, because it was functioning while I was here. Of all the years that I have spent here...I think that this newspaper actually must have been dropped after...I worked here for about six years. I must have been here over 16 years ago. I must have worked her from about 82 to about 88. Six years and I think the newspaper subsequently decided to shut down, and what I heard, I was given to understand, it was more at that particular time, an uproar from a certain sector, the intelligentsia of the Indian community that was fighting for the newspaper to be incorporated as part of the mainstream newspaper and I think the editor took heed of this and they decided to drop it for a short period, but on noticing that there was a drop in the circulation of the newspaper, they reinstated it.

**TM:** As a senior journalist now, what does your job entail? As senior journalist of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* that is.

**JN:** Well I basically gather news and...

**TM:** News about the Indian community?

**JN:** Yes, basically about the Indian community, every possible type of news, social, economic, political...human interest, crime and I put those aspects together and I also keep an eye on the political activity that comes out, that emerges from that particular community, their socio economic factors...poverty, housing...other socio factors that affect them...HIV Aids.

**TM:** Do you feel then that you are helping in the construction of identity through the newspaper? Are you helping to construct and negotiate an identity?

**JN:** What do you mean when you say constructing and negotiating an identity?

**TM:** How do you feel that you as a journalist are catering for an Indian audience? Are you choosing to write stories that are relevant to the community?

**JN:** Yes, yes, very much so...relevant in terms of informing them of what is happening in the community at large..

**TM:** And you feel then, that they can identify with this?

**JN:** Yes, very much so, very much so. In fact we get a lot of indication from the Indian community itself that they do identify...we found that from the last two years...I've been speaking to politicians, cultural leaders, religious leaders, academics and they seem to identify via this newspaper, aspects that are related to the Indian community...although I did find that from a small sector of the community itself, questions do arise as to why Indians? And..obviously the answer is that there is a demand from the greater majority of the Indians, for the service of that particular kind

of readership, but there is a small sector that questions as to why there is a separate newspaper.

**TM:** And what is your notion of identity, generally and also keeping in mind the identity of the newspaper. Also do you feel that now, here in South Africa, there is an authentic Indian identity as such?

**JN:** Basically I don't have any ties to India. I believe that I am an African, and I don't really think that I am an Indian, or African of Indian origin. I believe that I am an African, I was born in Africa and that is how I see my identity. There is a product here that is serving a particular community which I was born into and which I have knowledge of, which I specialise in and that is why I identify myself with this particular product.

**TM:** And do you feel your readers actually ascribe to a South African identity or a South African Indian identity...?

**JN:** Well I would think in this moment in time yes...I have found that most Indians who still identify themselves as an Indian community...even though, since democracy, I would say in the last five or six years, there seems to be a broadening of mindset where there is an acceptance that they have to be part of the greater majority.

**TM:** But they still have their ties...?

**JN:** Ya, the links seem to be there from a certain sector, in fact even at one stage, at one stage there was, on the youth, there was a balance of which way the youth was going to move, but taking recent trends, it would seem that they themselves identify back into the concept of being proud of being Indian, but tying themselves with the greater majority as South Africans.

**TM:** So you feel that the paper does meet the standards of your readers in terms of what they want?

**TM:** Yes, I would say very much so. Because we go for high quality material, particularly this product itself, there are, we might...the demands for a wide section of the community, starting from the intelligentsia right to the... right down to the people in the street, so we have a wider readership in that regard.

**TM:** And do you feel the paper provides the community with the link to their culture and their community?

**JN:** Oh yes, very much so, culturally yes, politically yes, socially yes, most definitely it does, because if you notice, take our issue page, it takes a wide range of topics, that cuts right across the board, and we have been addressing very many issues as to the

integration of the Indian community into the greater South African community...their sort of identity, India...and it show very clearly in recent times. It shows that they are distancing themselves from the once held concept that they were from India where it is coming through very very strongly now that they are accepting now that their roots are African and South African also.

**TM:** Essentially though, the paper aims at catering for a target audience?

**JN:** It does yes, it's definitely catering for a target audience, a community which seems to demand that they want this particular identity or having this particular newspaper which caters for a particular community.

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**JN:** I think it has to do with informing the community on a wide range of issues that affect the Indian community itself. That's basically what I think it's all about.

**TM:** Do you feel that the journalists who write for the *Sunday Tribune Herald* have to be Indian?

**JN:** Not necessarily, not necessarily. They've found that in view, since democracy has entered the country, even African journalists have entered the arena of the Indian community and the response has been positive, you know where the Indian community itself have accepted that africans, whites...the entry of african journalists is rather new, in the past white journalists have had access into the Indian community, where members of the Indian community used to respond very positively to questions raised by white journalists...now with the entry of the african journalists, the response to a large extent, yes has been positive.

**TM:** So you don't feel that because this is an 'Indian' paper that you would have to have Indian journalists who understand the culture more, who have a better knowledge of the Indian culture...it can be anybody, it can be a white or black journalist who could come in and do the job?

**JN:** Ya, because if you take the integration process that has been taking place over the last eleven years, you would find that the Indian community is more broader in their thinking and there shouldn't be difficulty over a non-Indian journalist to get a response from the Indian community itself in view of them identifying now as being South African.

**TM:** You have been working as a journalist for many years. Do you find that the Indian's sense of identity has changed drastically or gradually? What is their sense of

identity now as opposed to when you first started working as a journalist and how do you think that the paper has actually catered for that?

**JN:** I think the change has been gradual. I don't think so that there has been any dramatic shifts and it's been more of a learning process from the Indian community to move from the once enclave that they were in to broaden themselves into the area of joining other communities. One must also think...it must be noted that the separate issue of identity was not necessary because the Indian community wanted to be separate but because of the fact that apartheid itself created these different factors, but the now that the opportunities has arisen where communities can inter..sort of mingle with each other, interact with each other, the greater Indian community has taken this opportunity and are moving to become part of the broader South African community.

**TM:** Thank You Juggie.

## Appendix A4

Interviewee 4: Mageshini Chetty (MC) – Full time freelance journalist for the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. Interviewed November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2005

(NB. At the time that this interview was conducted, Mageshini Chetty had been employed with *Tribune Herald* for just one month.)

**TM:** What does your role as a journalist for the *Herald* entail?

**MC:** Okay, for the *Herald*, I mainly focus on community stories or whatever comes my way during the course of the week, I look it up and write the story.

**TM:** So your stories relate to the Indian community?

**MC:** Ya, anything that entails Indian people, Indian areas and functions.

**TM:** How do you go about getting your stories?

**MC:** Okay, a lot of the times people phone in and tip you off and say that there's something happening. Also you can phone the police station and ask the police if there is anything happening...if there is community events, we generally get invitations, so that is how I get my stories.

**TM:** What is your notion of identity?

**MC:** I think it's bordering very much on the race issue, because I think that's what is separating us from the other sections, and then also of course, with the race, there's culture, so I think that's what defines us.

**TM:** When you speak of culture, what specifically does the paper focus on in terms of culture?

**MC:** Oh well, because there are your different religious groups with the Indians, your'e going to look at their functions and their beliefs, like now, there was Diwali, and there was a lot of hype around that, and Eid is coming, whatever Indians celebrate, it comes to us, to the *Herald*.

**TC:** What do you understand by a South African Indian identity? And do you feel that Indians in South Africa actually adhere to an authentic identity or do they have a number of identities?

**MC:** I think that they have learn't to live with more than one identity, because if you look at our lives on a daily basis, we're not so Indian, we're very westernised, so I think we have created our own identity. Even in terms of our accent, the way we dress and the way we carry ourselves, we can't just call ourselves Indian, so we have created our own identity.

**TM:** Okay, so you feel the paper caters for those aspects of our identity?

**MC:** Ya, it caters for us, just for us as Indian South Africans.

**TM:** Do you get feedback from the readers?

**MC:** No, they don't tend to give you feedback, unless something is wrong, then they will be quick to complain, but other than that, no it is generally very quiet.

**TM:** So you feel then that the *Sunday Tribune Herald* meets the standards of the readers?

**MC:** I would say yes, it does meet the standard of the readers, because if you look...well we're catering for the Indians, and a while ago they did away with the *Herald* supplement and I think that it created a lot of problems. So I think that they have their specific readers and that it is a very efficient paper.

**TM:** What approach would you say *you* are trying to adopt in the implementation of the paper?

**MC:** Well, we know what the readers are looking for, so basically, it is just trying to cater for that.

**TM:** Do you necessarily agree with the concept of a niche market newspaper, or do you actually feel there is no need for a separate newspaper and that the *Herald's* news should actually be integrated within the main body of the paper? Are you just doing your job as a journalist?

**MC:** Well, I think there is a need for a separate newspaper because if you look at lots of Indian people, when they get the *Tribune* on a Sunday, they take out the *Herald* first. I definitely think there is a need for this section to cater for the Indians.

**TM:** So you believe in the need for a separate paper? You're not just doing it because it is your job?

**MC:** Ya, definitely.

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**MC:** What do you mean stand for?

**TM:** What would you say is the aim of this newspaper?

**MC:** Well, I don't know, there's so many sections, all the sections are catering for everybody's specific need, be it from your entertainment to your hard news which seems very good. They always manage to catch breaking news.

**TM:** One last question. Do you feel that the newspaper would benefit more from having Indian journalists, or do you think any journalist irrespective of her identity

can do the job? Do Indian journalists identify more with the content and what people want to read?

**MC:** In terms of the *Herald*, I think it's most beneficial to have Indian journalists because when it comes to functions and cultural things we can identify with it, but with the other sections, I suppose any race would be okay.

**TM:** Thanks Mageshini



## Appendix A5

**Interviewee 5:** Niyanta Singh (NS), *Sunday Tribune Herald* Co-ordinator and senior journalist. Interviewed November 8<sup>th</sup> 2005-11-20

**TM:** What does your role as co-ordinator of the paper entail?

**NS:** Well, it entails supervising every piece of copy that goes into the paper, briefing reporters, sourcing stories, editing stories, delegating stories to pages, proofreading pages, ensuring that headlines are correct, that pages are correct and getting the best for the paper.

**TM:** So in terms of choice of articles, how do you choose articles that fits in with the notion of the identity of the paper?

**NS:** Well obviously the stories will have to be relevant to the community, ie. Indian, stories about the Indian community. Then you look at creating a fair balance between news, politics, human interests which are key areas of interest for the community, and religion of course.

**TM:** Therefore your contribution towards the goal in terms of the construction of the identity of the paper therefore is to find stories that must relate to the community?

**NS:** Yes, basically to inform and educate them as well

**TM:** What is your notion of identity?

**NS:** You mean in terms of the paper or just generally?

**TM:** Well both, in terms of the paper and just your general opinion bearing in mind the identity of South African Indians.

**NS:** I suppose for me as co-ordinator of the *Herald* it's very important to project the identity of, of while we have an Indian heritage, it's important to remember that we are South Africans. We are South Africans of Indian descent and that's very very important to create that balance and to get that message out there, that we don't live in our secular world. That we are part of a bigger world.

**TM:** So what you are trying to say then, is that your stories are for South Africans who are of Indian origin, but who are essentially South African, and therefore your stories relate to the South African Indian and what is happening in and around their community in South Africa?

**NS:** Yes

**TM:** Do you get feedback from readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* regarding the content of the paper?

**NS:** Yes we do, we do. We get feedback from readers in terms of letters to the editor, and emails and telephone calls, and of course at social functions.

**TM:** What sort of feedback do you get?

**NS:** Well we have a very vocal readership, who are not afraid to tell you that they like the content or to tell you that we have done something wrong, or if we have left out something.

**TM:** So in terms of satisfying their needs as an 'Indian' audience what sort of feedback do you get? Do they like the content?

**NS:** Well we have no complaints with regards to that, so I think we're striking a pretty good balance.

**TM:** Have you ever had any conservative readers voice their concern about the content, where they perhaps feel that the content was too non-conservative for the community?

**NS:** No, no we haven't had anything like that.

**TM:** Do you conduct surveys to determine the needs and interests of your readers?

**NS:** Our marketing department does carry out these surveys, programmes and surveys, every year, annually actually.

**TM:** Do these surveys also determine the specific Indian readership percentages of the paper?

**NS:** Yes it does, it does, sixty percent of the *Sunday Tribune* readership are Indian.

**TM:** Really? You get this from the marketing department? Will I get this information from them?

**NS:** Yes, you will have to go down to the department and ask them about these surveys.

**TM:** Do you feel that your readers lean towards a South African Indian identity, a national identity, a diasporic identity? What sort of identity do you think your readers assume?

**NS:** I think it is a combination of a South African identity, as well as a diasporic identity. They are very interested in what's going on among other Indian communities throughout the world. Therefore we have a page five, which is international Indian news.

**TM:** Do you necessarily agree with the concept of a niche market newspaper as is the case with the *Sunday Tribune Herald*? In other words, do you feel that there is a need for a separate newspaper or not?

**NS:** Obviously I'd have to say yes or I wouldn't have a job.

**TM:** Do you feel there is a need then or should your news be integrated within the mainstream newspaper?

**NS:** Basically to make people feel that they are part of the greater South African community, I would say no, there is no niche market for it, but, the community is such a strong newspaper reading community and are so involved with what is happening immediately within their community in terms of, not only hard breaking news but community events, human interest pieces, that mainstream newspapers would not have the space to cater for them, in that light I believe niche newspapers have a need to exist because it's also a business, it's a good business venture in that your'e capturing a market that has a need.

**TM:** So you don't feel then that you're here because your'e doing your job? You also believe strongly in the paper because you're an Indian?

**NS:** Ya, of course.

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**NS:** Community first!

**TM:** That's your slogan right?

**NS:** Ya, community first.

**TM:** Catering specifically for an Indian community?

**NS:** Ya, we'd like to, as I said earlier on, we'd like to be informative and educate at the same time.

**TM:** Do you feel that because your target audience is Indian, then the paper actually benefits from employing only Indian journalists?

**NS:** Yes, because they know the market, but it does not exclude us from employing other people who also understand the market.

**TM:** So if they understand the culture and the community then you can employ them?

**NS:** Of course. We have had non-Indians working on the titles in the past, We have had white reporters and black reporters.

**TM:** What are your views on the changing identity of Indians, especially in post apartheid South Africa. What are your views on this change and how does this affect the paper and how do you cater for this.

**NS:** Well its complex in that it's wonderful that this is happening in that the change is happening that people feel integrated into the greater South African community, but at the same time they are not forgetting from where they have come. That is where our newspaper needs to get to. That is what we need to reflect upon.

**TM:** Okay great. Thank You.

## Appendix A6

Interviewee 6 – Doreen Premdev (DP) – Journalist. Interviewed November 8<sup>th</sup>2005

**TM:** What does your role as journalist of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* entail?

**DP:** Well, on the *Herald*, we have an Indian market, that's our niche market. So my duty would be to find stories that would be of interest to our readers, Indian readers. Ya, that's basically it, to find community news stories, investigative stories, that sort of thing.

**TM:** So your contribution towards the identity of the newspaper then, is obviously to find these stories of interest?

**DP:** Yes.

**TM:** What is your notion of identity?

**DP:** Do you mean an Indian identity, or generally?

**TM:** Yes

**DP:** I think that an identity, would just make you belong to a particular group, a particular group of people, you know, say Indians, just a way of grouping people. I don't see any difference between an Indian or a white or whatever, but it's just a sense of grouping in my opinion.

**TM:** So what do you understand by a South African Indian identity?

**DP:** That's a very confusing one. South African Indian identity. Well, we're South African because we're born here and Indian because our ancestors were from India. And, we're Indian because of our religion, our culture, depending on what religion or culture we are. That's what makes us South African Indian. It's a very confusing title I think, if you know...if your'e South African or your'e Indian, but unfortunately we have to be categorised in these different groupings because we live in South Africa and ya, I think that would be basically it.

**TM:**Do you get feedback from your readers about your content?

**DP:** Yes we do, in terms of letters to the editor, or sometimes if people are happy or unhappy about stories we have written they call us and they let us know what they feel, how we could have done the story better, or what we need to look at to go further with the story.

**TM:** Do they express a need to want to read more stories on culture, or do they ever say that your'e being too conservative or not too conservative?

**DP:** You know Indian readers are very, Indians generally are very difficult people to impress or to keep satisfied. I'm saying that as an Indian myself because I know that it is not easy to keep us happy, but some of them think that we need to focus sort of more on community orientated news but you have to take into consideration that news takes preference over everything else over communities or whatever. I think we do justice to the *Tribune Herald*. I am not just saying that because I work there. I think it is a very good newspaper and it's struck the right balance I think, honestly has.

**TM:** So do you base your information of content from feedback of readers?

**DP:** It depends on what kind of information you mean? Like follow up for stories or...

**TM:** Well, you know in terms of what readers' want.

**DP:** In terms of what they want, in terms of what needs to be reported on as well. Sometimes you just need to set the record straight or sometimes you just need to inform our readers of the progress of a particular story which would obviously be of interest to them. And readers want to see what is going on with the story and how it's developing and how it's going on, so we have to do quite a lot to keep readers' on par of what's going on ya.

**TM:** And do you see your readers as leaning towards an authentic Indian identity or a South African Indian identity, a ...

**DP:** I think our readers, some of them are very traditional, some of them are not, some of them try to break away from that niche, they're not happy with seeing the *Tribune Herald* in the *Sunday Tribune*. They feel that we're being racist, they feel that it's the old way of thinking. They don't seem to realise that the reason for the *Tribune Herald* is because we have a niche market that we have to satisfy and that...some people want to see more traditional stuff. People haven't really complained or told us how they feel about it. Basically what they want to see is more positive stories, something that fights crime, something that takes crime further or finds a solution or some way or the other or issues that are like...burning issues in the Indian community that needs to be...something that is controversial, something that is topical that needs to be sorted out...that sort of thing.

**TM:** Do you necessarily agree with the concept of a niche market newspaper, or are you just doing your job, or do you actually really feel yes there is a need for the niche paper?

**DP:** The *Sunday Tribune*. There's a need for a niche market newspaper, the *Herald*, because majority of our readers are Indian...I don't see the need for the *Tribune* being a separate identity altogether, I don't, I don't think it's right, but that's our newspaper and it does service the community and what the community wants to read, that's the reason why they buy the newspaper, that's why we have such a high readership of Indians. It serves its purpose for the *Sunday Tribune*, it's not something that we can what can I say? We cannot do without it but we can include it in the *Sunday Tribune* if need be. Do you know what I mean? It's not something that we can totally...

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**DP:** *Tribune Herald* stands for community first which means that our main aim is to satisfy our community, to reflect our community, to inform our community, and ya, I think that's what the newspaper stands for and I think the *Sunday Tribune* takes the one step further in informing the readers of what's going on and keeping them abreast of what's going on.

**TM:** In your opinion do you feel that the newspaper should only employ Indian journalists?

**DP:** The reason for the *Tribune Herald* employing Indians, I think it's... it's for them to identify...they better...they I'm not saying that they can do the job better, but they identify with their readers, they know what's going on in their own communities, they, they are quite clued up because these issues affects them as well. They also have contacts in the Indian community, not something that anybody else can't make, they can make it, it makes it easier for them and it's easier for them to identify themselves with this *Tribune Herald*. I don't think that we haven't had...we've employed people that were not Indian before. It hasn't been a problem, it's just that it works quicker, it works easier, to identify with other Indians, writing for an Indian newspaper.

**TM:** What are your views on the changing sense of identity among Indians in South Africa? Indians were once very conservative but are slowly becoming a lot more open and do you feel that this is how your readers are?

**DP:** I don't think that some readers want to call themselves modern, I mean some of them are stuck in that very old fashion way of thinking with blinkers. Some of them are, some of them, I think the younger generation are more easy to influence, I mean they've got a fresher look at things. The older people sometimes they don't always agree with things, they don't want to come out as being, what's the word?, they're still stuck in their old ways. They don't want to like...topics like Aids and sex, they

don't want Indians to be related to these things. They think that these things don't affect them, ya, when in fact it does, very seriously and when your'e writing about stories like that you have to bear in mind you have different kinds of readers and we have to be very sensitive when we're writing it because if they get angry they threaten not to buy newspapers so we have to write in a way that we're going to make...keep all our readers happy, because you have to say the truth, but you've got to, like soften it down so they can handle it.

**TM:** Okay, thank you.



## Appendix A7

Interviewee 7: Bruce Colly (BC) – Managing Editor of the *Sunday Tribune/Herald*  
interviewed November 8<sup>th</sup> 2005-11-21

**TM:** What does your line of work as managing editor of the *Herald* entail?

**BC:** In terms of *Sunday Tribune Herald*, it really, there's mean't to be two managing editors, so at the moment I have oversight of it, but not as much as I should do. I should be far more involved in it than I am, cause there's you know, not as much as it is, so really what it is, is to actually make sure, that what goes in is the right fit, in other words, it shouldn't go in the main section.

**TM:** Why shouldn't it go into the main section?

**BC:** Sometimes the stories are of interest to everyone, maybe just because it's a story about an Indian person doesn't make it a *Herald* story. The criteria on there really is whether or not if it's of the community interests specific or whether it's of greater interest to all the readers, more significant... I'm trying to think of a lead I had the other day that I forked out of there, oh Dennis, you know the priest, Mervin Dennis, we led the paper with it and he's the guy who...eighty four million rand, he ripped off everyone and has just been charged now. That was in *Herald* originally and I took it out...it's a big story that affects more people than just the *Herald*.

**TM:** So you have perhaps explained to an extent your responsibility towards the goal of the newspaper in terms of the notion of identity. So you have to make sure your stories are 'Indian' of course?

**BC:** Yes, to ensure that, well, it also can be slightly out, if it's of interest to the community, more interest than it would be to other Africans or white, you know, that is...

**TM:** What is your notion of identity?

**BC:** Personally I wish we had an egalitarian country, (laughs) but...of the *Herald's* notion of identity or?

**TM:** What's your notion of identity? Do you believe we have one identity, or is it hybrid in nature...

**BC:** Yes, I think people will have multi allegiances to different groups or groupings of thoughts and what have you, for instance in some people it's very strong I mean you take Germans...have German clubs, they teach their children how to speak

German, very similar to some Indian people who will do the similar sort of thing, you have them, but they also have interests in other groups, I think it isn't a fixed thing, I think within each one, it's almost like a three dimensional intersection of different identities,so..

**TM:** What do you understand by a South African Indian identity then?

**BC:** Well if I was a cynic I would say that, that, that,(laughs) I think that sometimes it is flown as a, I see it as sometimes a flag of convenience where people will use it and...in two ways, one way is to show, I don't know how exactly to put it without sounding too offensive, (laughs) what the heck,it's a, it's, it's about...often you've heard of jews when it comes to perceptions of...inequalities, so I think this is conveniently forgetting there was a tri-partite government which a lot of people took part in, but I see that you aren't coming here from an extreme left perspective, (laughs) so, that's where my thing lies, it is a, I see people there using it often though in the whole diaspora, a word I came across from *Herald* at first and then I had to look in my dictionary (laughs) and, but I see it's also used elsewhere, and for instance I can see in theatre and in film and what have you, for instance the British also have an Indian strong identity, people that actually, that's obviously perception of film and, and what have you...

**TM:** So in this regard do you see your readers leaning towards a South African Indian identity, or a diasporic identity or...

**BC:** I find it a very strange one where, for instance, take a game of cricket between Pakistan and South Africa, we are ten years into democracy and people are still shouting for Pakistan or for India, why? I could understand it before hand you know before it were a democracy. Ten years on where does your allegiance lie? It's, you know, when it comes down to that, where do I see that identity I know that's only part of the explanation, I mean I think from my observations over the years it's a, generally, the South African Indian diaspora is an identity but within it there's a great amount of change happening. Youngsters don't have the same allegiances and same beliefs but they have, we see in the stories even coming through the stress that happens, you know if kids want to marry across lines of you know, class, all these things, and religion, what happens when they do. So it's a very interesting thing, in fact we have lots of debates in our letters pages about this thing... you know..ya

**TM:** Do you get feedback from readers of the paper regarding the content and the identity of the paper?

**BC:** I think, it's interesting that we get in the letters pages, often issues are brought to our attention specifically not for the *Tribune* as such but for *Tribune Herald*, so that does show quite a strong identity with it, so, that they will send us a press release specifically to even though the issue is actually...I would take the issue out put it in the main paper, ya there is a strong perception of *Herald*. Ever since we moved it, you know we, we didn't used to put it in every edition, used to only go to the formally Indian areas and then we fought to have it put into every single newspaper and it's interesting that since then, I've seen a, a growing thing, where people, letter writers generally, will actually write letters to the *Herald*, even though they are actually white or African and they will write a letter specifically to appear in *Herald* about the issue that happens, for instance there was that woman who had a sign on her, the Hindu sign on her back, Aum, Aum.

**TM:** The tattoo?

**BC:** Yes yes and there were people upset about that and you know the to-ing and fro-ing around that, it was interesting, it's nice to have a debate about it, that's a refreshing thing about South Africa.

**TM:** And in terms of feedback, do you have surveys? Where you actually question people about the content?

**BC:** The last time we had was quite a while ago, a couple of years back where readership was particularly you know spoken about, the strength of the *Herald*, I can't remember, I've got the figures here, it's got a very strong generally, it's got a very strong Indian content...but I'll give you an indication of, what happened was about I don't, I think it was about eight years ago, we decided to take out the *Herald*, to incorporate *Herald* just as main pages in the main section and we lost almost immediately ten thousand copies, which we didn't sell, so it went down by about ten thousand copies.

**TM:** Where did you get this information from?

**BC:** This was from our circulation department. It went down from a hundred and thirteen to a hundred and three at the time, and that was quite a bad decision because we used to have a lot more advertising in *Herald*, and we lost the advertising, they then went across to...

**TM:** Were you here at the time?

**BC:** I was at Independent Newspapers, not at the *Tribune*.

**TM:** What approaches are you trying to adopt in your paper?

**BC:** Our driver really is competing with the *Extra*, not so much with *Post* but the *Sunday Times Extra* because in Durban we outsell the *Sunday Times* two to one but in our country areas they outsell us you know two to one, but the whole of KZN we still sell more than they do but it's very close call and so we want to drive into those areas, you know to try and get into them and in Gauteng we need to, there are a lot of people living in Gauteng and we don't think that they're actually doing good jobs in distributing us or as good a job as they should be so we want to, whoever comes in as co-ordinator if they allow us to do it, want to concentrate in getting more news from all the places up in you know Lenasia and...so that we could actually drive, if we could drive, because if you drive you know I think we could get a few more sales. Ya there's opportunities if you look at not only the...it's for advertising and you know, a lot of the people who actually go in there, in the *Extra*, are big and companies that have, one of them, Arrow, does, advertise with us but they also, there plenty of Joburg guys advertising so we just really need ot try and get into that. Ya.

**TM:** Do you necessarily agree with the concept of a niche market newspaper?

**BC:** I think it's, there's a reality versus you know, we all have a sort of egalitarian society, dream of it, it just doesn't work that way, so the reality is there is a niche, it is very strong identity, far stronger I think than any other grouping of different religions and people, I mean it cuts right across different, could almost say nationality really with Indians, all mix of different places and people and all that. So it is, you know, it's a very strong one, you can't deny it. I think where, where I write leaders and I sometimes have to kind of, you know what do I believe in an issue versus what's right for the community and a community newspaper, but that's, I mean it's a good exercise.

**TM:** What do you think the paper stands for?

**BC:** The *Herald* or for..

**TM:** The *Herald*

**BC:** Okay, never really thought you know, I think, really quite, it challenges a lot of things inside, you know, from a perspective of an, an Indian person within Indian communities, in other words, it looks at, its world view looking at issues from that particular perspective. It gives it a slightly different slant, not used in a bad way, but slant in a good way looking at issues so that it's not just that, you know whether I'm interested or not on, you know as a general reader on a crematorium, you know being put in the wrong place. The issues are much deeper and it gets into those kind of

issues around religion, around all sensitivities, so it has a far, it's quite drives I think in that direction, it follows on from the whole *Tribune's* you know sort of ethic, but it has its own particular flavour.

**TM:** So would you say it is like a forum for the community to provide a link for the community to each other and to their culture?

**BC:** Yes, yes, it's not the same as *Post*. Ya, it's very different. *Post* has a slightly different approach and it's a different kind of, I mean I'm sure our readers are quite, overlap on readers is probably quite high, but we have a different kind of approach on issues and how we cover them and things like that ya.

**TM:** So do you feel that because your target audience is actually Indian then the newspaper would actually benefit more from employing Indian journalists or editors than other race groups?

**BC:** I, I, this was something we've come across when we've been employing people actually and in fact we've had in the past, we've actually had a couple of non-Indian journalists and it's interesting because, you can, the one argument is yes, you would get more news from the contact you'd be better able to identify with what the issues are, things like that, but the other side of it is that you have an interrogation of the accepted things, so someone coming in new, will see things that other people don't see. Our subeditors who lay it out and Anne Stevens who's now our chief subeditor, and Julliete the previous subeditor, both have extensive experience with *Post* and you know, doing copy for *Post* and for *Herald*, you know they both pretty much, I think they call them honorary Indians I think, on past occasions they've said that...

**TM:** Are you an honorary Indian?

**BC:** No not me, (laughs)I'm just sharp, the, the, so I think it should, it's a difficult one because what you really need, to some extent is to have more a wider view, which sounds strange, because your'e actually very narrow view as the *Herald* and, but that interrogation of what people do, and so we don't continue down the same route but, then we have to ask questions like do we only hire Hindis'? I mean what about..you know?

**TM:** Tamils?

**BC:** Tamils yes, and do we only hire and what proportions and where do the Muslims come in and it becomes a ya...

**TM:** That's a good argument.

**BC:** Ya because at the end of the day it's really only news, and any good journalist, my theory, should be able to write on anything, doesn't matter if you're a medical specialist or whatever, you should be able to write about anything, if you don't know, you find out.

**TM:** And how do you as a non-Indian identify with...

**BC:** How do you know I'm not Indian, I could be a far North Indian.(laughs)How do I identify with the paper?

**TM:** Yes, well how do you identify with the paper and contribute towards the construction and negotiating of an identity in the paper?

**BC:** I think I actually follow the lead of, their leads and they actually advise me.. I don't pretend..

**TM:** Their leads?

**BC:** The staff and that, the writers and Niyanta. I , I often will go out and ask questions, specifically..I'm not afraid of asking silly questions, so, I , I you know, to me it's interesting cause that's exactly where, and I'm learning more and more than, you know, than I knew before, and I think really mine is sort of, I see myself more as a facilitator, you know they the ones' I trust their judgement. I will query their judgement if it's not, you know, but it's really around that and we develop it from there.

**TM:** I suppose essentially it's about having a good news sense isn't it.

**BC:** Yes, and its that specific, you know...that slant I'm talking about which is the way in which...it's perceived and when I talk to people like from, Juggie's done a story about something then I'll talk to him and I can also assess with Doreen or whoever it is, I can assess how enthused or what it is about it, that makes them, What has pricked their news sense that, you need to flick that open so I can understand it then I dig into that a but to see why, why are they particularly interested in that issue, why is it an issue at all? It's very difficult to explain to Alan, who will query something, and I find it quite hard to explain to him, why, I know it's news for *Herald* and I agree with them but it's hard for me to justify why, cause it wouldn't appear in the main edition, you know it's not the thing we'd worry about, and it's very difficult to verbalise actually, I think, do a lot of touchy feely stuff you know, it's under instinct.

**TM:** What are your views on the changing identities of Indians in the post apartheid South Africa, and in terms of catering for that, how do you cater in terms of your style and content, for the changing identities?

**BC:** Well, I think, you know it's hard to say, there's some...you know Jews and Catholics always argue about which one of them has the best guilt because they both are religions based on guilt and I think you know, one thing about young people of Indian extraction is that although they try and get away from the culture of you know conservative demands, that various demands on them, that they still play along with it to some extent. Play along, bad choice of words, they function within it, and have you know, go off and do stuff that you know, wouldn't do, for example, how many people, what's it when you're married what's it called again (gestures to forehead)...

**TM:** The dot.

**BC:** Ya the dot, but it, when you know, gets smaller and smaller and smaller, as they try and sort of you know (laughs)... I mean there's all sorts of pressures on people. I think a lot of, in South African society, people are pulling back into enclaves of, you can call them identity or around, you know, I think race definitely, I think they're actually going backwards now, you've reached a point you know, those honeymoon years are over with Madiba, now people are actually pulling back into these, which I see is a problem in society at the moment. I think for the newspaper what that means, I mean it actually just strengthens our market, to some extent, but I think part of the role that we can play there is to try and cut across these divides that are, are coming, which sounds a little bit of a contradiction, sounds a bit like those guys who used to say they were in the DA or the PFP, because they, they were going to try to change the country from within...ya, you know I am a cynic right?

**TM:** Well, I can see now.

**BC:** No, but I think it is, I think it really is and it's interesting cause we, I mean I've noticed the writers do that too, they won't just take one side, I mean, for argument sake, Bhambayi, the path where Gandhi's house was, was broken down and there's two sides to that. The community and one of the things, instead of just taking one side, which is the Gandhi settlement peoples', what their organisation's called but they rebuilt it, not just taking their side to actually take, to go and speak to the squatters, go and speak why are they upset? What was it? And to try and actually just follow basic journalism. It clears all the sides of it and you know, yes rather than

being, so, I don't see us as being a vehicle to drive that identity, I think we work within the identity.

**TM:** Okay thanks for your time Bruce.



## **Appendix A8**

Interviewee 8, Anne Stevens (AS) – subeditor for the *Sunday Tribune Herald*.

Interviewed November

10<sup>th</sup> 2005.

**TM:** What does your line of work as a subeditor entail?

**AS:** Gathering copy from reporters. Weighing it for placement and what's the most important things. Gathering pictures together, laying out the page that goes into the copy and the pictures that are given, reading copy, rewriting it if necessary, checking facts of reporters, subbing copy, printing out the page, proofing it, reading it, ya.

**TM:** What is your role in terms of the goal of the identity of the newspaper? Does it have to be Indian?

**AS:** It's got to be, not particularly, it doesn't have to be Indian, but it's got to be of interest to the Indian community.

**TM:** Okay, just generally, what is your notion of identity?

**AS:** Identity is history, culture, current trends and not necessarily a religion, but it does play a part.

**TM:** What do you understand by a South African Indian identity?

**AS:** People of Indian origin, when I say Indian, I don't mean from India, they're South African Indian, they have a very strong rich culture...very family based culture, very often a religion based culture.

**TM:** Do you get feedback from your readers at all?

**AS:** Yes we do, we have letters.

**TM:** Do you actually base your information in terms of giving readers what they want from this feedback?

**AS:** Market surveys would I think cover giving readers what they want. Feedback we get is encouraging when we get strong amount of letters about a subject we know we are doing something right ya.

**TM:** So you do carry out surveys to determine the needs of readers?

**AS:** Our marketing department does yes.

**TM:** Do you see your readers as leaning towards a South African Indian identity, a diasporic identity, or a global or national identity? Do you think readers exhibit a hybrid identity?

**AS:** I think it's a hybrid it's a very hybrid, it's a very mixed, but I like to think perhaps that there's a very strong South African Indian identity.

**TM:** What approaches are you trying to adopt in the implementation of the paper?

**AS:** You mean the selection of news?

**TM:** Yes.

**AS:** I'm not responsible for selecting news, I'm more sort of processing it. We like to give, cover all bases that we can, we like to use world news, news from India and Pakistan.

**TM:** And local?

**AS:** And local of course ya. Our base is local news.

**TM:** Do you agree with the concept of the niche market newspaper, do you feel that content should be integrated within the main body of the paper?

**AS:** I feel, I've always felt strongly that it should be integrated, there shouldn't be this niche market, but of what's of interest as news, and if it's news, it's news, and it should appeal to every community, on the other hand I understand that there is a market for *Herald*, there is a market, people who want to buy *Herald*, want to read about the Indian community, so there is a market for it yes, it's not my job to say whether it's right or not.

**TM:** Okay. And what do you think the paper stands for?

**AS:** Any newspaper? Or *Tribune*?

**TM:** The *Herald*.

**AS:** It's there to entertain, it's there to perhaps educate, it's there to keep people abreast with what's happening and its to help cement the idea of community identity and involvement.

**TM:** Do you feel that because it's a newspaper geared towards the Indian community then your journalists or editors have to be Indian?

**AS:** Perhaps your journalists yes, if your'e going to have a niche market yes your journalists, subeditors I don't think so, we process, we are able to process any department it doesn't matter, but I think your journalists should be Indian because theyr'e in tune with the Indian communities thinking, theyr'e living in the community, they know what people want.

**TM:** But you as a non-Indian, can you still identify with the content?

**AS:** Oh totally yes. I'm perhaps more interested in our Indian fashion than our Indian reporters!

**TM:** Oh are you the honorary Indian?

**AS:** Yes, honorary Indian, I guess I am yes.

**TM:** So you do contribute towards the construction and...

**AS:** Yes I do, I do, I usually do the fashion and things like that, I usually gather, and I usually choose the wired copy from overseas. I get very involved in choosing stories because I feel, I like Indian food, I like Indian music some of it, some of it, I like Indian clothes, I like the brightness.

**TM:** One last question. What are your views on identity amongst the Indian people in the face of post apartheid South Africa. Obviously people have changed and are still changing, what are your views on this?

**AS:** It's great I think, you know the longer and multi ethnic society we have and I think we should rejoice in it's diversity, I think we should embrace all of the cultures we have here.

**TM:** Has the changes affected the paper at all?

**AS:** I wasn't with the *Tribune* in apartheid days, so ten years ago, I'm not really able to comment on that, but I think it's affected all newspapers.

**TM:** Thank you very much.

## Appendix A9

Interviewee 9 – telephonic interview with former-editor, David Whiteman (DW), of the *Sunday Tribune* at the time of the creation of the *Herald*. He was assistant editor to Ian Whiley – editor of the *Sunday Tribune*. Held November 11<sup>th</sup> 2005.

Questions relate to the history of the paper at the time of the paper's withdrawal.

**TM:** David do you remember the time when the *Herald* was withdrawn and the news was integrated within the main section of the paper?

**DW:** I don't think I can remember the history of it quite well, but when the *Sunday Times* was brought out, the first separate section, Ian Whiley was then the editor of the *Sunday Tribune* and he did not want to have a separate section which he felt was racist really and so he felt that all the news should be, it should be one integrated newspaper, so although the *Sunday Times* brought it out, the *Sunday Tribune* did not wish to do it, but eventually commercial pressures really drove them to do it because the *Sunday Times* began to grow, further there was a lot of political criticism, the fact was that the *Sunday Times* one, I think it was called the *Extra* in those days, do you remember?

**TM:** Yes.

**DW:** It proved to be a success both in terms of obtaining advertising and supplying the service of news and their circulation grew accordingly, so, Ian Whiley bit his teeth and said eventually yes, he will produce a *Sunday Tribune Herald*. In fact at one stage we discussed calling it the *Herald Tribune* like the American way.

**TM:** And do you remember why they withdrew the newspaper?

**DW:** The reason they withdrew it was also, really for... was I the editor? I think I might have been the editor, but what happened was after the it must have been Nelson Mandela was released. It must have been around about the time of our new democracy and it was felt that maybe to have an apartheid style section was no longer necessary, would not fit in well to the, the country and the province that we were seeking, so there was a feeling that, maybe look we should, not be, we should not really be cementing what everyone had criticised and I mean the *Tribune* had been criticised in political circles for running this separate section because it was seen as a racist, I mean it was an Indian section, so, then we had, oh it was also the time we had *Independent* taken over by new proprietors...

**TM:** Do you remember, how did this affect readership, was there an outrage?

**DW:** Funny enough, what happened was, after all the criticism and after being knocked and so forth it did not, it did not do the *Sunday Tribune* one iota of good. What had happened was, it didn't carry, it tried to carry the same advertisements but because the rates were different in the *Tribune Herald* to the main section, many people couldn't afford to advertise anymore, so the amount of space, editorial available for news about the Indian community diminished and there was a fall of an interest and the paper did not provide as good a new service about the community than it did before. The great irony was that it was then revived again as it is today and nobody complained about it whatsoever as we are now in a new society and it is seen in fact as a useful and there is no real, there's no political complaint about it whatsoever.

**TM:** Did you get people phoning in and voicing their opinion at the withdrawal of the paper?

**DW:** There were quite a few yes, but it was signalled in commercial terms, no growth in circulation and loss of advertising revenue and those sort of things, there were some letters and of course I tell you what really hurt, was that many of the staff were actually released, so people effectively lost their jobs, so that was part of...so there was another reason for its diminishment and this was the new proprietors and their consultants agreed that it was, you know, there was not a need anymore, so they thought it would be commercially beneficial, but in fact it was not a good idea, well as it turned out it was not such a good idea.

**TM:** According to some of the present staff members they say that figures dropped drastically.

**DW:** I think, I can't confirm, I, but there was no increase. I think it did, I think the circulation diminished.

**TM:** Do you remember what the feelings of staff were or the perception among staff was at the time?

**DW:** Oh the, well the staff at the time were very very upset and cut up at the time. It was not a very happy time.

**TM:** And I suppose the subsequent comeback of it proved to be quite beneficial and here we are now doing quite well?

**DW:** Ya, I read it every Sunday.

**TM:** Thank you so much for your time David. Much appreciated

## **APPENDIX B**

# SUNDAY TRIBUNE

01 MAR 1998

## Relaunch of Herald a retrogressive step

**I** consider the reintroduction of the Herald for the Indian readers of your esteemed newspaper a retrogressive step.

To me the publication of the Herald is reminiscent of the dark days of the apartheid era.

I am curious to know the following: Which community leaders from Durban were invited to and attended the Tribune Herald official launch and why news items such as "Kids toying with death" are not published in the main section of the Tribune.

NEWS IS NEWS  
Durban

The Editor replies: Tribune Herald was closed in October 1994 when it was felt there should be a single Sunday Tribune for one nation.

We soon realised our decision was wrong, when we were inundated with requests from readers for a newspaper which served their specific needs.

Thus the Herald will focus on community issues while the main section will highlight news of importance to society at large. Finally, the first function for the relaunch of Herald was specifically for community leaders from Pietermaritzburg.

# Why the Herald?

WITH the launching today of the Sunday Tribune Herald we are extending our service to the Indian community — the largest community in Durban. It is intended that we should meet in greater depth the requirements of all Natal Indians. And we hope the Herald will enjoy the support of the whole Natal community so that we can broaden its scope.

The Herald, by and large, will be a slightly more serious newspaper than its competitors. We will delve in depth into the issues affecting the community. We will highlight flaws in the system. We will look at all public services. We will probe and fight injustices wherever we find them.

Which does not mean that we'll be dull; we won't. There will be plenty to interest and amuse readers. It's just that we will not be preoccupied with murder and mayhem, sex and sin.

In fact, the Herald will be the newspaper you'll never have to hide from your children.

*Appendix 62*





# HERALD COMMENT

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## Historic Herald move

Today is a milestone in the history of Sunday Tribune Herald. It is the last day on which the Herald will appear as a separate, wrap-around section: from next week it will be merged with the Tribune and will be the backbone of Natal's top-selling Sunday newspaper.

The decision of a merger was not taken lightly. The Herald is a profitable entity, and hugely popular.

Younger readers, however, believe there is no need for an "ethnic" extra in the new, multiracial South Africa: such publications belong on the scrap heap along with the Group Areas Act and other separatist measures.

The Herald has a proud record, built over 15 years, as a crusader against social injustices such as racism, oppression — and separatism. It was the Herald, for example, which was in the forefront of disclosures which led to the James Commission.

But the Indian Council, and tricameral government, are no more. Times have changed, and the Herald is changing with them. This newspaper's drive has always been towards one equal, integrated society. Now that this has been accomplished in South Africa it makes no sense to produce a newspaper with a segregated product — and one which goes to only one group of readers.

In future, ALL readers will receive ALL Herald news and features in one bigger, brighter newspaper. None of the present Herald content will be excluded or diminished.

Fittingly, the date for the Herald/Tribune unification is October 30, immediately preceding Diwali. We believe it is an auspicious and historic occasion, and invite Herald readers to join us in the move to our future together behind the Sunday Tribune banner: ONE PEOPLE, ONE PAPER.



13 NOV 1994 7

As an avid reader of the Sunday Tribune, I am very happy to see the merger and the new format of the paper. This reflects the true picture of the new emerging South Africa where caste, colour or creed is no barrier.

When man landed on the moon, it was called a "giant step for mankind". The

integration of the Tribune Herald in the main paper is a giant step for journalism in South Africa.

I look forward to many more issues of pleasurable reading and wish you all success in your endeavours.

PK GUPTA  
Greyville

13 NOV 1994

**Tribune/Herald merger:  
what you think**

**I**t was with regret that I learned of Tribune Herald's being incorporated into your main section. While I agree that we are moving into a new South Africa and should not practise racism, the Herald served a particular community with items pertaining and interesting to that community only.

Although some items will receive wider readership, others will be of no interest to the broader communities and will be skipped by readers.

My other fear is that certain columns from the Herald will gradually disappear and this will be a disservice to the Indian community. We have a right to maintain our own culture.

**JAYSE MOODLEY**  
Silverglen

**SUNDAY TRIBUNE**

**01 FEB 1993**

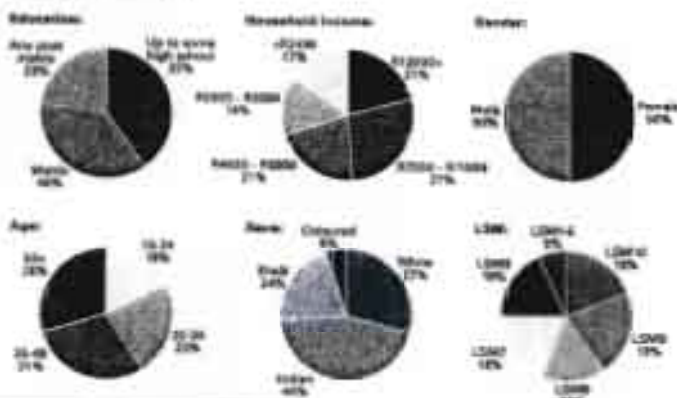
**Tell us what  
you'd like  
in the Herald**

**T**he ~~Sunday Tribune~~ will be relaunching its *Herald* supplement on February 15. It is aimed at our readers in historically Indian areas - and anybody else interested in news, views, interviews and entertainment that have an Eastern flavour.

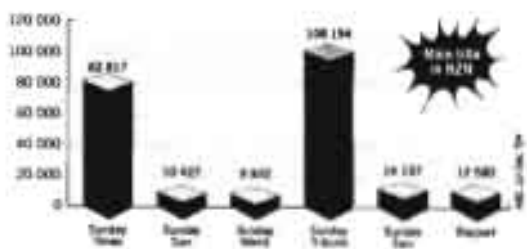
We would like you, our readers, to tell us what you would like to read in the *Herald*, the kind of competitions it should carry or any suggestions you may have. You can fax (031) 308 2715, telephone Yasantha Naidoo, (031) 308 2384, or e-mail [ysantha@nn.independent.co.za](mailto:ysantha@nn.independent.co.za)

## **APPENDIX C**

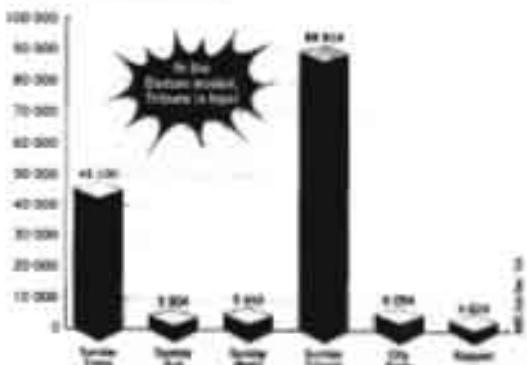
### Demographics



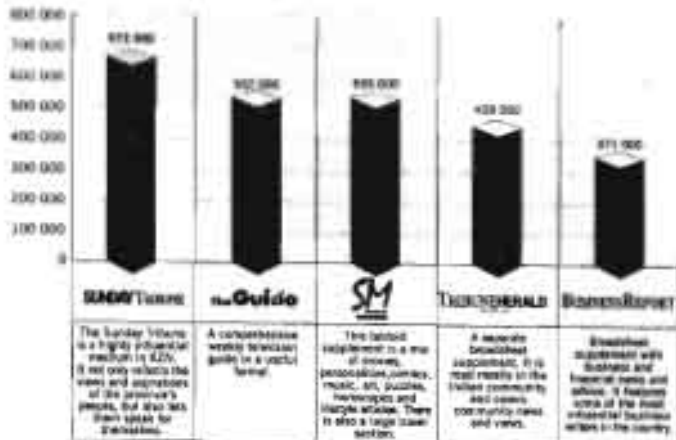
### KZN Sundays (Circulation)



### Durban Sundays (Circulation)



### Readership by Supplement



### Exclusive Readership Durban



All Readership: AMP, 2004

## all races

		Totals	Sunday Tribune -	
			Tribune Herald	Sunday Tribune
Totals	(000)	29773	440	688
	Unwgt	27644	794	1163
	Vert%	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Horz%	100.00	1.48	2.31
	Index	100	100	100
race - black	(000)	22323	59	163
	Unwgt	13068	48	139
	Vert%	74.98	13.41	23.69
	Horz%	100.00	0.26	0.73
	Index	100	18	32
race - coloured	(000)	2488	25	30
	Unwgt	3677	51	62
	Vert%	8.36	5.68	4.36
	Horz%	100.00	1.00	1.21
	Index	100	68	52
race - indian	(000)	777	265	293
	Unwgt	1769	550	615
	Vert%	2.61	60.23	42.59
	Horz%	100.00	34.11	37.71
	Index	100	2308	1632
race - white	(000)	4185	90	202
	Unwgt	9130	145	347
	Vert%	14.06	20.45	29.36
	Horz%	100.00	2.15	4.83
	Index	100	146	209

Source: AMPS 2003 A (Jul 02 - Jun 03)  
Weighted by: Population

## APPENDIX C2

all races

	Totals	Sunday Tribune - Tribune Herald	Sunday Tribune
<b>Totals</b>	(000) 29773	440	688
	Unwgt 27644	794	1163
	Vert% 100.00	100.00	100.00
	Horz% 100.00	1.48	2.31
	Index 100	100	100
<b>age group 16-24</b>	(000) 8093	77	132
	Unwgt 8051	180	288
	Vert% 27.18	17.50	19.19
	Horz% 100.00	0.95	1.63
	Index 100	64	71
<b>age group 25-34</b>	(000) 7369	111	178
	Unwgt 6039	170	238
	Vert% 24.75	25.23	25.87
	Horz% 100.00	1.51	2.42
	Index 100	102	105
<b>age group 35-49</b>	(000) 7840	134	198
	Unwgt 6595	225	298
	Vert% 26.33	30.45	28.78
	Horz% 100.00	1.71	2.53
	Index 100	116	109
<b>age group 50-99</b>	(000) 6470	117	180
	Unwgt 6959	219	339
	Vert% 21.73	26.59	26.16
	Horz% 100.00	1.81	2.78
	Index 100	122	120
<b>education - matric</b>	(000) 7422	173	254
	Unwgt 8796	320	446
	Vert% 24.93	39.32	36.92
	Horz% 100.00	2.33	3.42
	Index 100	158	148
<b>education - none</b>	(000) 2312	0	0
	Unwgt 1018	0	0
	Vert% 7.77	0.00	0.00
	Horz% 100.00	0.00	0.00
	Index 100	0	0
<b>education - other post matric</b>	(000) 895	23	41
	Unwgt 1178	38	64
	Vert% 3.01	5.23	5.96
	Horz% 100.00	2.57	4.58
	Index 100	174	198
<b>education - primary complete</b>	(000) 2085	25	28
	Unwgt 1352	44	51
	Vert% 7.00	5.68	4.07
	Horz% 100.00	1.20	1.34
	Index 100	81	58
<b>education - some high</b>	(000) 11773	132	215
	Unwgt 10977	251	387
	Vert% 39.54	30.00	31.25
	Horz% 100.00	1.12	1.83
	Index 100	76	79
<b>education - some primary</b>	(000) 3657	11	10
	Unwgt 1876	19	22
	Vert% 12.28	2.50	1.45
	Horz% 100.00	0.30	0.27
	Index 100	20	12

*wasn't measured on the latest Aups.*

Source: AMPS 2003 A (Jul 02 - Jun 03)  
Weighted by Population



		all races		
		Totals	Sunday Tribune - Tribune Herald	Sunday Tribune
education - technikon diploma /degree	(000)	940	48	87
	Unwgt	1344	79	119
	Vert%	3.16	10.91	12.65
	Horz%	100.00	5.11	9.26
	Index	100	346	401
education - university degree	(000)	688	28	52
	Unwgt	1102	43	74
	Vert%	2.31	6.36	7.56
	Horz%	100.00	4.07	7.56
	Index	100	275	327
gender - female	(000)	15508	194	308
	Unwgt	13868	372	544
	Vert%	52.09	44.09	44.77
	Horz%	100.00	1.25	1.99
	Index	100	85	86
gender - male	(000)	14266	245	380
	Unwgt	13776	422	619
	Vert%	47.92	55.68	55.23
	Horz%	100.00	1.72	2.66
	Index	100	116	115
household income 1 -499	(000)	2502	4	6
	Unwgt	1276	8	8
	Vert%	8.40	0.91	0.87
	Horz%	100.00	0.16	0.24
	Index	100	11	10
household income 500-899	(000)	6414	10	19
	Unwgt	3461	18	27
	Vert%	21.54	2.27	2.76
	Horz%	100.00	0.16	0.30
	Index	100	11	13
household income 900-1399	(000)	4431	10	24
	Unwgt	2835	20	36
	Vert%	14.88	2.27	3.49
	Horz%	100.00	0.23	0.54
	Index	100	15	23
household income 1400-2499	(000)	4536	34	54
	Unwgt	3504	63	89
	Vert%	15.24	7.73	7.85
	Horz%	100.00	0.75	1.19
	Index	100	51	52
household income 2500-3999	(000)	3569	62	93
	Unwgt	3714	108	156
	Vert%	11.99	14.09	13.52
	Horz%	100.00	1.74	2.61
	Index	100	118	113
household income 4000-6999	(000)	3754	114	169
	Unwgt	4989	213	297
	Vert%	12.61	25.91	24.56
	Horz%	100.00	3.04	4.50
	Index	100	205	195
household income 7000-11999	(000)	2649	123	178
	Unwgt	4385	225	311
	Vert%	8.90	27.95	25.87
	Horz%	100.00	4.64	6.72
	Index	100	314	291

Source: AMPS 2003 A (Jul 02 - Jun 03)  
Weighted by: Population

all races				
		Totals	Sunday Tribune - Tribune Herald	Sunday Tribune
household income	(000)	1919	83	145
12000-82999	Unwgt	3478	139	239
	Vert%	6.45	18.86	21.08
	Horz%	100.00	4.33	7.56
	Index	100	293	327
lsm - a. lsm 1 - '2001 weights	(000)	3059	0	0
	Unwgt	886	0	0
	Vert%	10.27	0.00	0.00
	Horz%	100.00	0.00	0.00
	Index	100	0	0
lsm - b. lsm 2 - '2001 weights	(000)	3935	0	1
	Unwgt	1501	0	1
	Vert%	13.22	0.00	0.15
	Horz%	100.00	0.00	0.03
	Index	100	0	1
lsm - c. lsm 3 - '2001 weights	(000)	4257	4	14
	Unwgt	2178	1	7
	Vert%	14.30	0.91	2.03
	Horz%	100.00	0.09	0.33
	Index	100	6	14
lsm - d. lsm 4 - '2001 weights	(000)	4179	1	11
	Unwgt	2795	2	10
	Vert%	14.04	0.23	1.60
	Horz%	100.00	0.02	0.26
	Index	100	2	11
lsm - e. lsm 5 - '2001 weights	(000)	3725	15	46
	Unwgt	3340	30	58
	Vert%	12.51	3.41	6.69
	Horz%	100.00	0.40	1.23
	Index	100	27	53
lsm - f. lsm 6 - '2001 weights	(000)	3842	77	115
	Unwgt	4501	132	192
	Vert%	12.90	17.50	16.72
	Horz%	100.00	2.00	2.99
	Index	100	136	130
lsm - g. lsm 7 - '2001 weights	(000)	1886	72	111
	Unwgt	2861	132	193
	Vert%	6.33	16.36	16.13
	Horz%	100.00	3.82	5.89
	Index	100	258	255
lsm - h. lsm 8 - '2001 weights	(000)	1745	108	138
	Unwgt	3155	197	243
	Vert%	5.86	24.55	20.06
	Horz%	100.00	6.19	7.91
	Index	100	419	342
lsm - i. lsm 9 - '2001 weights	(000)	1699	101	129
	Unwgt	3369	186	241
	Vert%	5.71	22.95	18.75
	Horz%	100.00	5.94	7.59
	Index	100	402	329
lsm - j. lsm 10 - '2001 weights	(000)	1446	61	122
	Unwgt	3058	118	218
	Vert%	4.86	13.86	17.73
	Horz%	100.00	4.22	8.44
	Index	100	285	365

Source: AMPS 2003 A (Jul 02 - Jun 03)

## APPENDIX C5

## all races

		Totals	Sunday Tribune - Tribune Herald	Sunday Tribune
metro area - durban	(000)	1715	317	485
	Unwgt	2346	594	849
	Vert%	5.76	72.05	70.49
	Horz%	100.00	18.48	28.28
	Index	100	1251	1224
work - full time	(000)	7211	174	279
	Unwgt	7582	276	402
	Vert%	24.22	39.55	40.55
	Horz%	100.00	2.41	3.87
	Index	100	163	167
work - non working	(000)	19470	224	333
	Unwgt	17440	436	636
	Vert%	65.39	50.91	48.40
	Horz%	100.00	1.15	1.71
	Index	100	78	74
work - part time	(000)	3082	42	75
	Unwgt	2622	82	125
	Vert%	10.39	9.55	10.90
	Horz%	100.00	1.36	2.43
	Index	100	82	105

Source: AMPS 2003 A (Jul 02 - Jun 03)  
Weighted by: Population

## APPENDIX C6

## **APPENDIX D**

## APPENDIX D1

Consent form for the undertaking of research dissertation to be carried out at Independent Newspapers with staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*

### **Nature and purpose of this study:**

This research project is to be conducted for the purpose of a Masters Dissertation which will be carried out by a Masters Student of the Culture, Communication and Media Studies department, University of KwaZulu Natal.

The topic is : The construction and negotiation of the notion of identity in a print sector of the media: A case study of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*. The aim of this study is to ascertain how the interests of the target audience of the newspaper are met in terms of the question of identity. Hence the research will attempt to explore how the staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* function in their capacity as editors, subeditors and journalists in setting out to construct and negotiate the notion of identity through the medium of their newspaper.

### **The identity and institutional association of the researcher and supervisor/project leader:**

The researcher, Thrusha Maharaj, is a Masters student in the department of Culture, Communication and Media studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal.

Contact details: cell: 0845638864

Email: thrusha@telkomsa.net

The supervisor, Dr. Damian Garside, is a senior lecturer in the Culture, Communication and Media studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact details: work number 260 2310

Email: garsided@ukzn.ac.za

### **Participation and Confidentiality:**

Participation in this research project is voluntary and you are under no obligation to divulge information which you feel is inappropriate towards this research project.

As a voluntary participant of this research project, you are at liberty to decide whether you should disclose your identity or not. All responses will be treated in a confidential manner. Anonymity will be ensured where appropriate.

### **Withdrawal of participant**

Should you wish to withdraw from this research project, you may do so at any given time. The researcher will proceed with the project ensuring that there will be no negative or undesirable consequences endured by you the withdrawee.

## Thank you

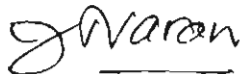
The researcher and supervisor of the Culture, Communication and Media Studies department, University of KwaZulu Natal, would like to extend their

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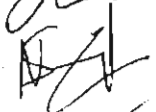
gratitude to you the participant, for agreeing to participate in this research project and therefore for taking the time to answer the questions in the interview process.

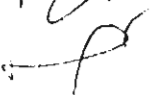
Participants signature:  - Alan Dunn


 - Juggie Narain


 - Mageshini Chetty

 - Dean Naidoo

 - Niyanta Singh

 - Doreen Premdev

 - Bruce Colby

 - Anne Stevens

## APPENDIX D2

### Questions for staff of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*

NB. Not of all the questions may apply to you, the participant, therefore you may answer those questions that you feel you are able to answer.

- what does your role/line of work as editor, sub-editor and journalist entail?
- what is your responsibility and contribution, towards the goal of the identity of the newspaper?
- what is your notion of identity?
- what do you understand by a South African Indian identity?
- do you get feedback from the readers of the *Sunday Tribune Herald* regarding the content and identity of the newspaper?
- Are surveys carried out to determine the needs and interests of the readers and even readership figures of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*
- do you base your information (with regard to the content of the newspaper) on the feedback from readers?
- Do you feel that the *Sunday Tribune Herald* meets the standards of the readers, in terms of what they want to read?
- do you see your readers as leaning towards a South African Indian identity, a global diasporic identity, or a national identity?
- What approach/es are you trying to adopt in the implementation of the newspaper?
- Do you necessarily agree with the concept of a niche market newspaper such as the *Sunday Tribune Herald*, in other words, do you feel that there is a need for a separate newspaper for Indians, or are you just a roleplayer doing your job? Explain
- What does the paper stand for?
- Do you feel that because the target audience of the newspaper is Indian, then the newspaper would benefit more from employing Indian journalists and editors? Explain.
- How do you as a non-Indian identify with the paper and contribute towards constructing and negotiating a notion of identity?

- What are your views on the changing sense of identity, in the face of post apartheid South Africa? Has this affected the style and content of the *Sunday Tribune Herald*?

**Questions on the history of the newspaper:**

- How long has the paper been in operation?
- What was the reason for the withdrawal of the newspaper a few years back?
- How did this affect readership figures? What proof do you have to substantiate this answer
- What was the response of the readers and staff when the *Sunday Tribune Herald* was reinstated?