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DRUM READERS THEN AND NOW: A LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION
OF SOME OF THE WAYS IN WHICH READERS' IDENTITIES ARE
CONSTRUCTED IN TWO COPIES OF DRUM MAGAZINE IN 1951
AND 2001.

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DRUM READERS THEN NOW: A LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION OF SOME OF THE WAYS IN WHICH READERS' IDENTITIES ARE CONSTRUCTED IN TWO COPIES OF DRUM MAGAZINE IN 1951 AND 2001 Phindile Muriel Msibi

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores how written discourses of Drum editors' and readers' letters linguistically construct social identities of the Drum audience, and how this identity construction is intimately linked with socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political contexts in which Drum appears in 1951 and 2001. Basically, this study is a contrastive analysis of the audience construction at two significant dates in the life of a South African publication, Drum magazine: March 1951, when the magazine was first published, and 7 June 2001, fifty years later when the magazine is read in a vastly changed socio-politico-cultural context.

Data collection was based on the "Readers' Page" in two copies of Drum, one published in March 1951 and the other in 7 June 2001. In each copy of the magazine, the focus is on the editor's letter which asks for the readers' contributions and gives recommendations on the types of letters he is hoping to attract, and one reader's letter from each of the same chosen copies of Drum which the editor publishes. The cover pages of both copies of Drum are used to investigate whether they foreground or reinforce the images of Drum readers. Another set of data comes from an unstructured interview of the current Drum magazine editor.

Findings in this study indicate that the ideal Drum audience in 1951 is the African middle class scholar who is a good writer, whereas in 2001, good quality writing is compromised for an advertising community of consumers. In addition, the black educated, urban Drum audience in 1951 see themselves as having power to resist the education system which is characterised by racial segregation. In 2001, the young people regard the attainment of higher education in institutions of higher learning as valuable for black economic empowerment.

Educators, therefore, need to teach learners the skills of reading a text critically, so that the learners are able to identify ways in which language choices channel their interpretation, and also the ways in which texts are linked to their socio-historical contexts.

	DECLARATION
Unless otherwise acknowle not been submitted in any f	dged in the text, this dissertation is my own original work and has form to another university.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explain the rationale for my research topic. Then I look at the broad issues to be investigated. Finally I provide an overview of the dissertation. This study focuses on the ways in which written media actively promote and construct the identities of their audience, and how this construction is intimately linked with the socio-historical context in which the media appear. More specifically, this study seeks to provide a contrastive analysis of audience construction at two significant dates in the life of a South African publication, Drum magazine: March 1951, when the magazine was first published and 7 June 2001, fifty years later when the magazine is read in a vastly changed socio-political context.

I will restrict this contrastive analysis to a scrutiny of the "Readers' page" in the two copies of Drum. In each "Readers' page" the editor asks for the readers' contributions, and gives recommendations on the type of letters he wishes to attract, and he also publishes a few letters. Through both the recommendations and the editor's choice of letters a particular identity for Drum readers is thus being constructed.

While the bulk of my analysis is concerned with the analysis of language in both the editors' recommendations and the readers' letters, I will also consider the ways in which the cover pages (images and texts) of both copies of Drum foreground and reinforce the images of Drum readers which the editor seeks to promote in each "Readers' page".

This kind of analysis is the one which teachers seek to promote in their classrooms in order to develop their learners' critical reading skills. A related concern of this study (though, of necessity, a restricted one) will thus be an application of insights from critical linguistics to the teaching situation.

1.1 Rationale for the study

I have two reasons for choosing this topic: Firstly, I consider Drum as the most important publication in the history of South African media, particularly for black people, in the fifty years of its existence. Drum magazine came into existence in Cape Town in March 1951 under the title The African Drum. A three-man consortium headed by Jim Bailey founded it. The aim of the magazine at that time was to invite blacks in the whole continent to send letters, poems and paintings for publication in Drum pages. Drum was particularly a white enterprise, which was targeted at a black market, but it was only accessible to an educated portion of the black population, as it was initially published in English.

It quickly gained a tremendous readership among the literate strata of urban blacks. It helped to create voices, images and values of the black people at the time when apartheid policies of the Afrikaner Nationalist government were beginning to emerge (Chapman, 1989:2). At its inception, it was possible to report black politics without censorship and reprisal. Within a few years Drum was circulating all over South Africa as well as East and West Africa.

In South Africa Drum played an important role in the formation of a new urban culture as well as providing the sole platform for aspiring black letter and storywriters. Urbanisation, racism and the political struggle of the African national movements against the systematic enforcement of apartheid shaped the thinking of the black audience.

Drum was launched into the world in which readers had to experience problems with Bantu education, the Immorality Act, forced removals and so forth. The fifties in South Africa were outstanding for the explosion of political activity. Many laws that have since disappeared from the statute book were proclaimed as part of the state's response to rapid urbanisation. Drum was

temporarily banned in the sixties, but later re-emerged and survived. In 2001, it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Its focus today is very different. It is a lot less elitist, and seems to centre on popular entertainment, as well as aspects of black empowerment in a democratic South Africa. Interestingly, a Zulu version of Drum came into existence recently.

The second reason for my focus on Drum is that, as a language practitioner and a curriculum developer, I know that many teachers in schools use magazines or letters in their lessons to teach reading skills, and in particular the skill of reading a text critically. Because Drum is such a popular magazine, they may well choose articles or letters from it. I hope that my investigation of the two copies of Drum can help me make suggestions that would enable learners to become more critical readers, able to identify ways in which language choices channel their interpretation, and also ways in which texts are inescapably linked to their socio-historical contexts.

1.2 Problems to be investigated

As I have indicated, different historical and socio-political contexts are reflected in the pages of Drum. It is clear that many things have happened in South Africa between 1951 and 2001. I want to investigate the linguistic construction of very different identities and how these identities reflect different contexts in which Drum appears in 1951 and 2001. Drum was, and still is, a very important, influential magazine playing a major role in shaping the material and ethnic identities of its readers.

Reading a text reflects being positioned in a particular way. Critical readers are aware of how this positioning takes place. An analysis of selected texts from Drum can show how this reader positioning is set up, and can help in identifying certain methods for teaching reading critically.

My research questions are:

- 1) What identity of Drum readers is being constructed in the "Readers' page" of the magazine in 1951 and 2001? That is: Who do the Drum discourses aim to attract, and how do these readers appear to see themselves through the readers' letters which are published?
- 2) Which features of the cover page of both copies of the magazine reinforce the construction of readers' identities as revealed in the answer to Question (1)?
- 3) What ideological assumptions are embedded in readers' social, cultural and ethnic identities?
- 4) What does this analysis reveal about the possible ways in which learners could be taught to become critical readers?

1.3 Outline of study

In this chapter I have done a brief outline of the topic for my study, which involves the rationale for choosing it and a brief introduction of what the issues are. Chapter two discusses how critical discourse analysis (CDA), derived from the field of critical linguistics, uses grammar as a functional tool to analyse meaning about social contexts embedded in texts. I give a discussion of how CDA shows up connections between language, power and ideology. In chapter three I discuss the methods I used to collect and analyse data. Chapter four provides an analysis of the chosen texts and the findings thereof, and chapter five gives a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at reviewing and reporting on social theories which have informed my study. CDA, an approach to discourse analysis which developed from the field of critical linguistics, is the method of analysis that I will use to describe, interpret and explain the letters written by the Drum editors and readers in 1951 and 2001. This type of analysis is used to analyse discourse in order to show up connections which are hidden from people, such as connections between language, power and ideology (Fairclough: 1989, 1992, 1995).

I will explain how CDA uses Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), which is associated with the work of Michael Halliday (1978), as a tool to analyse lexicogrammatical choices made in texts to convey messages about socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-historical contexts. Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is worth considering as a classroom application of Critical Discourse Analysis. CLA enables learners to read critically in order to see how texts are shaped by the historical, social and political conditions of their utterances as well as by the social relations of their addressors and addressees. This approach enables learners to see how discourses as a form of social practice are shaped by social relations and contribute to reconstructing them as black, urban, rural, educated and so on.

2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

To explain what Discourse Analysis entails, it is important to explain the term discourse. To explore what discourse is all about, Fairclough (1989: 20) adopts a concept of language as discourse. In this case, he regards language as a form of social practice. A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice about a particular point of view. This means that, in producing discourse, a person speaks from a social position. The notion of language as

discourse considers language as a social construct or as a tool, which people use to express ideas, which have traces in their immediate environment, social institutions and the wider society. Such discourses are produced as either written or spoken texts. My focus as I have indicated in the introduction is on how social identities are mediated in the written discourses of the Drum magazine letters separated by fifty years. In mediating social identities, these texts might reflect certain cues to the historical, cultural, political and social background, which might reflect peoples' preferences in terms of what their values and purposes are in 1951 and 2001. As other forms of discourse are represented in the form of visual images, I also look for traces of readers' identities mediated through visual illustrations in the cover pages of the two copies of the magazine. In doing this, I draw on insights from Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) for the critical discourse analysis of visual illustrations.

As people produce what they have conventionally internalised in their consciousness, their discourses carry assumptions about their social values, beliefs and purposes. Critical discourse analysis has to do with looking at language critically to question conventions which appear natural. As the readers' choices will reflect what they value, their preferences or resistance will indicate who they are. On the other hand, readers are constructed in the editors' chosen texts. As producers of the recommendations, the editors might make informed guesses about the targeted Drum audience.

Talbot sets an example of using CDA to investigate how written media texts construct social identities. Although I draw on Talbot's (1992) use of CDA to analyse texts to examine the construction of social identities, my focus of study, which is based on a similar investigation, is different. She focuses on how language helps construct women as feminine in a magazine for teenage girls, 'Jackie'. In doing this, she uses texts, which are a combination of editorial material and advertising. The editor tells readers about lipstick and how to put it on. The texts she

reproduces cover an assortment of topics relating to lipstick: testimonials from ordinary lipstick wearers, 'lip tricks', a 'do it yourself' element of how to apply lipstick, facts and figures section giving a selection of marketing details and a history of lipstick illustrated with pictures of media personalities (Talbot, 1992: 197-199). Talbot has chosen a consumer feature which offers readers entertainment in the form of information and advice about a single commodity. Her focus is mainly on the editor as a market researcher and an advertiser.

In exploring both the readers' and writers' identities, Talbot examines the editor's choice of grammatical features such as the process verb, the pronouns, and so on to describe and interpret the editor's texts. She regards the writer's (the editor) identity as important since the position that the writer takes in turn constructs the identity of the reader, without looking at how the readers position themselves.

To explore how social relations of power are enacted between the writer and the reader, Talbot examines the choice of personal pronouns. She suggests that you can be used as a simulation of face-to-face interaction to treat people as individual addressees, in what Fairclough (1992: 62) calls synthetic personalisation. According to Faiclough, this kind of a feature is widely used in the mass media to establish a friendly relationship with the readers. Talbot suggests that we is used exclusively for the editorial team to promote the interest of a particular institution, or inclusively to establish a common ground and a friendly relationship with the interpreter. As a result, Talbot sees the editor of Jackie magazine as representing multiple identities of an editor- as a friend, a facilitator, a knower and a narrator of the history of lipstick.

My investigation of social identities is different from Talbot's. Instead of taking one sample text from a female magazine, as Talbot does, my study is based on a contrastive analysis of the identity construction of Drum readers in the two publications of Drum separated by fifty years.

Janks (1996) suggests that in CDA, one text should be rubbed against the other. This might

provide certain clues about the possibility of continuity or change reflected in language choices made to construct readers' identities in different social, political and cultural contexts of South African history.

Such language choices indicate that, as people speak from a social position, CDA might show up connections between the producer of the texts, which reflect omniscient points of view that suggest the relationship between language, power and ideology. Critical linguists suggest that groups of people are constantly in conflict with the dominant groups seeking to maintain their power in less coercive ways, while those who are powerless try to wrest power from them with an intention to effect changes. Talbot uses CDA to show how identities are constructed through language choices, which indicate preferences of what people whose testimonials are given value in terms of reinforcing the consumer culture. For my study, however, in addition to the exploration of the audience construction in terms of social relations of power reflected in the editors' texts, I also look at whether, to construct their identities, there are any ways in which the readers themselves take positions to challenge the preferred social viewpoints by defending their value through insisting on their right to use them. Fairclough (1992: 204) states that the ability to resist or accept the established position depends on who the reader is. This brings us to the idea of language and power, which is associated with ideologies that are implicitly stated in texts.

2.3 IDEOLOGY

People have several conceptions about the term ideology. Some think that ideology refers to any worldview. Thompson (1990) argues that there is a danger of labelling ideology without its critical edge as if it were just a worldview. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English explains that ideology refers to visionary speculation. It is also believed that ideology is a set of beliefs and values motivated by social interests. Such conceptions of ideology, however, ignore

the question of power to control and sustain relations of domination in an institution, through the language choices that are made.

The question arises as to how one realises whether a statement is ideological or not. Eagleton (1991: 15) suggests that a statement is ideological if it is characterised by ulterior motives to legitimise certain interests in a power struggle. This ties in with Fairclough's (1989:28) idea that some people have power to select discourses that people internalise as legitimate. This is an indication that ideology is located in discourse and supports what was said earlier about discourse as a form of social practice and that as each person is a social being, people act within the constraints or the established constraints or structures.

Fairclough's idea that some people have the power to select a type of discourse which other people regard as natural means that the ability to select certain discourses over others is the prerogative of those who are powerful enough to do so. In the section of letters in Drum magazine the editor has a legitimate right to give readers instructions on the type of letters that they need to write. It might in fact be natural for the audience to be unaware of the power hidden in such a mundane and conventional right of the editor to recommend the type of letters that the readers should write as well as his right to select certain letters for publication. Fairclough suggests that where there is a type of discourse which functions to sustain unequal relations of power, it reflects the workings of ideology.

I will use CDA to explore the possibilities for denaturalising hidden mechanisms of exercising power through consent and in ways which render it plausible in the Drum discourses of the readers' and editors' letters in 1951 and 2001. Fairclough (1989:45) regards power in discourse as associated with controlling and constraining discourses of the non-powerful participants. I will investigate ideological assumptions which are embedded in readers' social, cultural and ethnic identities in order to establish whose interest the Drum discourses serve. From what has been said,

it is clear that Critical Discourse Analysis is used to explore how normal ways of using language can contribute to cultural, historical and political changes through social struggles, which are reflected in identities that are mediated through social positions and role relations of domination.

CDA will be a useful tool for my analysis of how the apparently neutral and purely informative discourses of Drum as mass media may convey attitudes enacted through social relations of power.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:147) suggest that visual images have their own subtle ways of expressing power. They argue that the power of an image producer can be transferred onto one or more represented participants. This involves the way in which the producer and the viewer can exercise power over the represented image or picture. The power of the editor and Drum magazine as an institution, and the power of the audience, may, for instance, be realised in the represented visual images on the cover page, for 1951 and 2001. On the other hand, the power in the editors' and readers' letters may linguistically be encoded in their roles and attitudes embedded in the discourses of their letters. Systemic functional Grammar, which I will focus on below, is the grammatical tool that I will use to critically analyse the discourses of both the editors' and the readers' letters as well as the visual images on the cover pages of the two magazines.

2.4 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR (SFG)

Systemic Functional Grammar is a functional approach to grammar, which accounts for each element in the language by describing how it functions. It is a method of using grammar as a tool to analyse the texts. SFG is associated with the work of Michael Halliday (1976: 7), who views language as having a social function, a view which is similar to Fairclough's idea of language as discourse. Halliday (1976) argues that registers, or verbal repertoires of a community or an

individual, which derive from a range of social uses of language in the context of the particular culture, determine patterns of language varieties.

This view of grammar is a move away from the traditional consideration of language as a set of rules. SFG is an approach to a grammatical analysis of texts, which suggests that structural elements of language show how the meanings are expressed through functional configurations. That is why Butt et al (1995: 12) regards grammar as a resource for describing, interpreting and making meaning. This notion of grammar indicates that we make certain language choices to realise some aspects of context of situation, which influence those choices. These are the key insights about language and society, which made me and other linguists such as Butt et al (1995) decide to use SFG as an analytic tool. I will examine how the chosen language structures have been used in the chosen texts to construct readers' identities. Butt et al (1995:11) suggests that writers use language in many more specific contexts of situation. The context of situation covers things which go on in the world outside the text. These extralinguistic features are given substance in words and grammatical patterns which people use consciously or subconsciously to construct texts of different varieties. In my study, the editor recommends the type of letters to be written because he has a particular audience in mind. On the other hand, readers write letters for a particular purpose. The readers' and the editors' texts in 1951 and 2001 are influenced by different socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-historical contexts of situation.

Language is functional in the sense that we use language at different times for different purposes.

Language is also functional in the sense that it determines social relations. As Butt et al (1995:10) suggests that appropriate language is used at different times for different purposes in different contexts, language changes depending on what people are talking about and whom they interact with. This indicates that language has interpersonal functions. Therefore, in looking at how changes of readers' identities occur at different contexts in which Drum texts are produced, I am

adopting a functional view of language. Social identities constructed during apartheid South Africa might be different for a democratic South Africa. Readers' experiences in different situations might reflect changes in language choices that they make.

The idea of language as having an interpersonal function is also cited in Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996:41) idea that visual images can project social relations between the producer, the viewer and the object represented. That is why I will draw on insights from Kress and van Leeuwen's analysis of visual grammar that is associated with SFG to analyse the cover pages of both the selected copies of Drum for 1951 and 2001.

By reading critically, through using media discourses of Drum, which are separated by fifty years, learners can develop the ability to discriminate and classify language experiences. Having learned and becoming aware how language works in different contexts, learners can recognise and reproduce appropriate language in different situations. Learners can become fully aware functional grammarians if they are exposed to a variety of techniques and appropriate vocabulary (which I will discuss in the next chapter) for exploring Drum texts and visual images to describe their contextual features. This idea brings us to the following discussion of Critical Language Awareness, which is a pedagogical application of CDA and SFG.

2.5 CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS (CLA)

Critical Language Awareness is a classroom application of Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach to discourse analysis is aimed at enabling learners to become critical readers and writers. I have decided to include the pedagogical application of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to examine possible methods of using Drum discourses of letters to teach learners to become critical readers. CLA, as part of CDA, views language as embedded in social, historical and in some cases, political contexts. Teaching learners to become critical readers has to do with the way in

which Janks and Ivanic (1992: 325) view the term 'read' in its broad sense as referring to 'hear', 'see' and to 'interpret'. Reading the Drum discourses of letters can enable the learners to see that meaning lies not simply in texts, but in social relations in which they are embedded. In using the Drum discourses of letters for critical reading, learners can discover how linguistic forms are socially constructed and contextually bound.

CLA can show learners how conventional usage can pressure people into writing and comprehending in particular ways. Through CLA the learners can explore the possibility of changes of identities as social conditions changed in South Africa between 1951 and 2001, through exploring whether there are any changes of words from the old common sense with which the audience no longer wishes to identify. For example, a succession of names has been used to refer to black people in South Africa: They have been referred to at different times in our history and political contexts as 'natives', 'non-Europeans', 'non-whites', 'Bantu', 'Africans' and 'blacks'.

Janks and Ivanic (1992; 312) suggest that CLA can help learners to develop a sense of social responsibility by practising discourses which do not disempower others. Reading Drum magazine texts can raise learners' awareness of how the language we choose sets up subject positions for others. They can be conscious of how language can construct people in terms of social class, race, ethnicity, education and so forth. In the readers' letters, the learners might also explore ways in which the words we choose reveal our positions.

CLA helps learners to recognise the power embedded in texts. In doing this, learners avoid offensive and disempowering language, that is, the language which recognises the identities and values of others. The Drum texts will provide learners with an experience of how people use discourse when faced with subtleties of real social contexts. Drum texts do not only focus on

content for communication, but also on complexities of social relations at work. The learners will recognise the role language plays in constructing identities.

Janks and Ivanic (1992:322) suggest that oppositional reading which resists the preferred ground rules, is helped by CLA, which can be raised by classroom activities. They also suggest that all texts anchor some meaning in preference to others, and that our resistance or acceptance of the preferred meaning depends on who we are and how we are positioned by what is said. As the central aim of CLA is to uncover the choices which have been made in the creation of a text, learners will consider the range of linguistic options that have been made to construct the readers' identities. According to Janks and Ivanic (1992:326), attention to what was and was not selected is a good starting point, in order to see the constructedness of a text, and so deconstruct it. From the written texts of the Drum magazine, learners might re-examine their own reading positions through recognising how readers are positioned in the texts which operate in different contexts, and think of how they can change the *established* identities in order to avoid being subjected by what is written or said.

From what has been said, it is clear that The Drum discourses which carry mundane text like the readers and editors' texts whose contexts might be regarded as commonsensical, can reveal the role language plays in constructing people as dominated, empowered or having their identities valued. Janks and Ivanic (1992:320) suggest that critical educators should help learners identify situations in their own lives in which they feel dominated after recognising the role language plays in constructing social relations. Looking at Drum texts can help learners as part of the audience to identify with the constructed identities in terms of articulating meanings based on who they are and where they fit in the whole social fabric mentioned in the texts. This can be a good way of moving from analysis of the texts to its function as discourse. In the next chapter I will explain how I collected data as well as how that data will be analysed.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on two main sections, which involve the methods of data collection and methods of data analysis. I collected selected texts from the "Readers' page" in each copy of the Drum magazine for March 1951 and 7June 2001. The rationale for choosing these two particular dates was given in chapter one on page 1. I also used the cover pages of the chosen copies of Drum to examine how the images on the cover pages reinforce the social identities that I investigate in the texts. I also explain how I conducted an unstructured interview with one of the Drum editors, as well as the questions that I asked him. Finally I give a brief explanation of the methods I used to analyse the chosen texts.

3.2 Methods of data collection

3.2.1 Data collected

As my focus of study is on contrastive analysis of the readers' letters and the editors' recommendations for the two significant periods in the history of South Africa, I selected texts from the "Readers' page" in each copy of Drum for March 1951 and 7 June 2001. From each copy I selected the recommendations made by the editor to prospective letter writers. I also chose one letter from each copy in which both readers write about the education system of South Africa in 1951 and 2001. The original copies of these texts are attached in the appendix. I selected the cover pages of the same magazine in order to investigate whether there is any link between the non-verbal elements of the cover pages and the selected linguistic features in the texts, which might reveal traces of social identities for the Drum readers. The cover pages of the same copies of the magazine also appear in the appendix.

3.2.2 Interview

I telephonically conducted a semi open interview with Kaizer Ngweya, a male senior editor of Drum in Johannesburg. He joined Drum in 1994. My focus was to find out about the focus of the magazine today. It was an unstructured interview which was based on question and answer type of a conversation. While an interviewee was responding to my question, I took down notes. The questions that I asked are as follows:

- 1) Who is your target group in terms of age, gender, ethnic group, social class and education?
- 2) What criteria do you use to select letters for publication?
- 3) I have noticed changes in the magazine's layout over the years. What brings about such changes?

As I have stated the reason for asking such questions, the interview was aimed at seeking some evidence in establishing a contrast between the socio- cultural, socio-historical and socio- political contexts of these texts, which are separated by fifty years. I wanted to explore how the discourses of Drum were, and most probably are, still shaped or reconstructed by social relations, which might reflect certain assumptions about knowledge, values and attitudes to portray social identities of Drum readers.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

3.3.1 Systemic Functional Grammar principles of analysis

In the SFG approach, the unit of analysis is the clause rather than a sentence. As a move away from a traditional description of grammar, I focus my analysis on clauses, which constitute a fundamental meaning structure in our linguistic communication. In each clause, words are combined into meaningful complete message structures. A clause constituent expresses our experience of the world in terms of things and events as well as various circumstances that surround those events (Butt et al. 1995: 36). In traditional grammar, words in sentences were

labelled in terms of class such as verbs, nouns and adjectives and so on. In taking account of functions as well as classes, SFG looks beyond mere words to consider the context of situation.

Functional Grammar looks at how words are patterned into smaller groupings in a clause design. According to Halliday (1978: 45), each clause is identified and labelled according to its function, and is ultimately multifunctional, as there are three major functions of language: (1) the ideational function which encodes the experiential meaning which refers to the writer's experience of the world, (2) the interpersonal function which refers to a language expressing interaction between the participants in a situation, and (3) the textual function which encodes meaning about the development of a text. Language simultaneously performs these three functions in a clause complex. These functions are realised in three contexts of situation: a 'field' of social process (what is going on), a 'tenor' of social relationships (who are taking part) and a 'mode' of symbolic interaction (how are the meanings exchanged). In my investigation of the construction of Drum readership, I am going to focus on aspects of the experiential and interpersonal functions only. The reason is that I am concerned with what is going on and who are involved in terms of the selection of a particular role in the speech situation for the reader or for the audience, and of judgements, assessment of probability and the like.

I have reproduced the texts with the full analysis in the appendix, which is my evidence for the conclusions I reach about the texts. In chapter four I discuss the main results of the analysis.

3.3.2 The experiential metafunction

The experiential function is the system of transitivity, which deals with the types of Processes encoded in clauses, the types of Participants, and the Circumstances associated with those processes. A clause constituent structure can be described functionally in terms of Participant,

Process and Circumstance. Butt et al (1995:52) suggests that these experiential groups are patterned to signify who did what to whom and under what circumstance.

A Participant can be a person, a place or an object, which can be realised by a nominal group. Processes are expressions of happening, doing, being, saying and thinking, and they can be realised by means of a verbal group. Circumstances locate the processes in time or space, and are realised by means of the adverbial group and the prepositional phrase. Each of these phenomena are analysed in terms of semantic configurations as follows:

Every month	the editor	will select	one letter	which	he	will publish	separately under "THE CROWN COMMENT"
Circumstance	Participant	Process	Participant		Participant	Process	Circumstance

Butt et al (1995:46) distinguishes between three types of processes:

- Processes that describe what is happening or being done in the external, material world, often known as Material Processes.
- Processes which simply describe relationships, known as Relational Processes.
- Processes which project the inner world by speech or thought, known as Projecting Processes.

Material processes are about doing. They could answer the question 'what did X do?' or 'What happened to X?' The main Participant is an Actor or Agent and they may be Goal as well. Here is

an example of a Material Process with an Actor or Agent, which typically does something on another Participant, the Goal:

Не	has applied	for bursaries and	but all in vain
		employment	
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	

In a Relational Process, one Participant is related to its Identity, an Attribute or to a Circumstance. Butt et al (1995: 49) suggests that these types of processes state that something is / was/ will be, and hence they are often described as the process of being. According to Halliday (1985:113), in the attributive mode, the attribute is ascribed to some entity as a quality or a possession. Structurally, this defines two elements, an Attribute and a Carrier. Relational Process, which represents the value of the entity that carries it, is as follows:

may	have	a good idea
	Relational attributive	
	may	

In identifying mode, one entity is used to identify the other. The identifying clause is reversible, whereas an attributive is not.

Example of the identifier is:

Only the rich middle class	are	able to reach highest level of		
		education without a financial		
		struggle.		
Identifier	process: relational	identifier		

Projecting processes, which project the inner world of consciousness, may be expressed in the form of a speech, thoughts or feelings. As a result Butt et al (1995:50) distinguishes between

verbal and mental processes. Mental processes can be realised through clauses expressing feeling, thinking and perceiving. Here is one example of a mental process:

We'd	Appreciate	frank	and	constructive
		suggest	ions.	
Senser	Process: mental affective			

When one looks at a text, the point of the analysis is to uncover patterns made by the choices of processes and participants. It is not what happens in one clause that is significant, but what happens across the text, in all clauses.

3.3.3 Interpersonal function

In exploring the readers' identities I will explore how social relationships are enacted in the chosen texts. Investigating categories of modality, which derive from interpersonal functions of language, will be useful for exploring both the Drum readers' and editors' judgement, in cases where they intrude by taking up positions.

Considering the conception that any modal reading is subjective, I will investigate modal choices, which are identified in several ways: This includes finite elements expressing modality, either congruently or metaphorically, modality that carries the writer's attitude, as well as that which identifies the modally relevant Person. An example of a major modality which is expressed either congruently or metaphorically is identified in bold: "If it were made compulsory that all African children should attend school, it would be necessary to treble the number of teachers of schools, and the present amount of money voted for African education".

Modal elements that carry the readers' attitudes towards the chosen subject matter might reflect some cues to the readers' identity. An example of modality which carries the writer's attitude is shown in bold: "Only the rich, middle class are able to reach the highest level of education

without a financial struggle" The attitudinal epithets used towards the content that is being expressed in the chosen texts, can in turn construct the social identities of the Drum audience.

Modal choices related to persons, such as the choice of personal pronouns 'we', 'I', and 'you', for instance sometimes carry modal meaning about whether the writer stands apart from the action, or otherwise persuades the addressee or even appears bossy. Here is an example of a modality which is expressed through personal pronouns: "We must know that we must help to solve these problem, and not sit and weep over them".

Modality shows some connection between the experiential and the interpersonal functions. This connection indicates a link between the signification of reality and the enactment of social relations. Investigation of identities in both the modal expression of probability and the social goings on might provide some clues to the kind of readers who are constructed in texts.

3.3.4 Visual elements

In this section I will explain aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen's framework for the analysis of visual images that I am using. The copies of the cover pages appear in the appendix.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 40) use the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar to analyse visual images. They have adopted a system of Halliday's (1978) use of the three metafunctions: experiential (what objects are depicted), interpersonal (what relations are projected between the depicted participants and viewer, and between the producer and viewer) and textual (what the composition of the image means).

For the analysis of visual illustrations, I am also using the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions: the investigation of what is going on with the represented image, and how projected relations reinforce the construction of identities as revealed in the chosen texts.

3.3.4.1 The Experiential metafunction in illustrations

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:56) divide expression of ideational/ experiential meaning in illustrations into narrative and conceptual processes. Narrative processes have a vector, an element that forms an oblique line. The vector often joins two participants, the actor from whom the vector emanates, and the goal, at which the vector is directed. Sometimes the vector is formed by the direction of the glance of a participant. In this case, for example, smiling at the viewer and presumably at the photographer makes the viewer and the photographer the object of an image's friendliness.

The second process by which the experiential meaning is expressed in images is through conceptual processes, represented in my study by classificatory and analytical processes. In the classificatory processes, the participants are distributed across the picture and are equal in size (for example both the participants on the cover page of 1951 are equal in size).

Some of the images in my study, are analytical, which might reflect specific forms of historical, social and cultural conditions. In analytical processes there is no vector. The image depicts two types of participants: the carrier (whole) and the attributes (parts). Examples of attributes associated with visual images of people in my study are the African artefacts, traditional weapons for the black people, a walking stick and the map of Africa.

3.3.4.2 The Interpersonal metafunctions in illustrations

As noted earlier, interpersonal meaning refers to the ways in which social relations are realised, and what roles the participants take on. In this section, I examine the participants, the distance between them, the attitude of the projected viewer to the image, and expression of modality. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:119) suggest that there are two types of participants that need to be taken into account in images. These are the represented participants (within the image) and the interactive participants (the producer and receiver).

Concerning the relations between the represented and interactive participants, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 121) divide images into those where the represented participants look directly at the viewer (these images demand a social response from the viewer), and those where the represented participants do not 'make an eye contact' with the viewer. Such participants are depicted as offering information to viewers.

Another important element in creating interpersonal meaning is social distance between the participants and viewer. This is realised through close-up, medium or long short. For example, the long shot stylised silhouetted pictures of people in 1951 visual images on the cover page depict what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 130) call far personal distance and social distance, eliciting our sympathy, and suggesting something about audience's identities.

The angle at which the viewer sees the subject matter of the image contributes to whether the producer wants the viewer to see him/herself as subjectively involved with the subject matter or as objectively observing it. Whether the angle at which the photograph or drawing has been taken is frontal or oblique contributes to whether the viewer is involved or detached in his /her view of the participant. Participants who are seen obliquely or are turned away are depicted as "not of our world", while those depicted frontally are represented as people we are involved with and who are "part of our world".

Similarly, high angles make the producer of the image or viewer more powerful. The participant represented from a high angle appears small and insignificant. Low angles make the image more powerful. In each case this allows the Drum readers to see how the producers of the images have positioned them in 1951 and 2001.

Modality refers to whether the depicted image represents a true reflection of the reality. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:168) suggest that visual modality rests on culturally and historically

determined standards of what can be viewed as true. Currently, the dominant standard that we judge realism by is photo-realism. What is perceived as real differs with culture and changes over time. For example, realism in drawing stylised images without colour, texture, brightness, or perspective can be judged more real than common sense photographic realism depending on culturally or socially determined standards of a particular period in history.

In summary, this section shows that in my study of exploring social identities, interpersonal meaning in texts and in illustrations is important for my analysis of texts and visual images. An analysis of interpersonal meaning in images can reveal how the producer of the image constructs the reader through the way in which he/she expects the reader to view the image at different times of South African history. It can indicate the relationship the writer expects to exist between the reader and the visual images depicted, and the extent to which the producer expects the image to be viewed as realistic or objective.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I provide an interpretation of the chosen texts from the selected Drum copies and their cover pages for 1951 and 2001. I also present the findings for my analysis. To interpret data, I draw from insights on Systemic Functional Grammar which involves the use of grammatical categories as discussed in chapter three, so that the goals of CDA are met. I will use SFG to examine how the readers' and editor's choice of grammar conveys meaning about socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts as reflected in the participants' positions, role relations and identities.

As my focus is on contrasting readership identities in the two periods of Drum separated by fifty years, my main concern will be an interpretation of the elements of the experiential and interpersonal meanings of the chosen texts and visual images. As mentioned in chapter three, the experiential meaning functions to convey messages about what is going on in the text. The interpersonal meaning provides some clues about how language is used to express personal and social relations to construct readers' identities (that is, the clause patterns related to the chosen forms of intrusion into the speech situation and the speech act).

4.2 Drum: 1951

The texts that I will discuss in this section include the editors' recommendation letter, the selected reader's letter and the cover page for the first publication of Drum in March 1951. Again the original texts and those that have been analysed can be found in the appendix.

4.2.1 The editor's letter

The full analysis of text 1 is on page 54 and the original text is in appendix C. Here, I focus on the following extract:

This page belongs to you.

In it you can express your own views and your own thoughts on any subject you like- as long as you don't hurt anybody's feelings and don't discuss politics.

You may have a good idea that will help other people...

You may have a problem or a difficulty that some other reader may help you to solve ...

You may have an idea that we can use in improving the magazine...

Or you may just want to write a letter ...

Whatever it is, address it to the editor and send it along. Every month the editor will select one letter which he will publish separately under the heading "CROWN COMMENT." A crown as you know is 5/-, and we will pay 5/- each month to the writer of the letter we select for "CROWN COMMENT."

To start the ball rolling this month we have made a little collection of extracts from letters written to us by contributors. It is nice to know that so many African writers and scholars agree with us that "The African Drum" fulfils the long felt want in the African community.

In terms of the experiential meaning, most of the processes are relational. They describe the type of letters that readers can write to the Drum. This characterises the text as giving a set of recommendations to letter writers. The readers referred to as you are the Carriers, and the types of content that can be included in the letters are the attributes. You may have a good idea that will help other people... You may have a problem or a difficulty that other readers may help you to solve... You may have an idea that we can use in improving the magazine. Or you may just want to write a letter. The relational process have is used as a possessive. This pattern is so strong that the uses of have in relational clauses function to cause, instruct and invite readers to take a particular kind of described action. The readers are constructed as having a potential to make choices of what to include in the letters.

Moreover, the three verbal processes, mental cognitive and mental affective processes which are associated with the reader, construct the audience as sayers (express, discuss, agree), who have feelings (like), as well as sensers (want) who have been credited with consciousness: "In it you can express your own views and your own thoughts on any subject you like (first paragraph)... or

you may just want to write a letter...It is nice to know that so many African writers and scholars

agree with us that The African Drum fulfils the long felt want in the African community". The

audience is an Actor in only three material clauses write, address and send. You may just want to

write a letter. Whatever it is, address it to the editor and send it along. The letter is the Goal.

Material processes use, select, publish and pay construct the editor as an actor in the following clauses: You may have an idea that we can use in improving the magazine. Every month the editor will select one letter which he will publish separately under the heading "CROWN COMMENT"... and we will pay 5/- to the writer of the letter we select for "CROWN COMMENT".

In terms of the interpersonal function, the kind of readership that the Drum is targeting is expressed through the use of the attitudinal epithet 'good', which carries the editor's attitude: "You may have a good idea that will help other people". Drum magazine wishes to attract writers who have 'good' ideas. The reader is presented as a Carrier of an attribute good, which is realised through a congruent modality, may to express a low value of probability as a matter of the editor's opinion.

There are five occurrences of may in the recommendations, which have just been cited above in the first paragraph. May is used as a low type of intrusion into the proposition, which also appears subjective. But such a choice appears neutral and so allows some flexibility, which constructs readers as having some freedom to choose from a range of possible options. Janks (1996) calls this kind of a choice 'emancipatory discourse'.

Reference to racial identity is encoded through naming in the classifier African, which suggests

Drum's target audience: It is nice to know that so many African writers and scholars agree with

us that The African Drum fulfils the long felt want in the African community. 'African' is a racial

classifier which suggests that the Drum attracted letters from the African community who were the writers and scholars. Changing words from the verbal groups write and the nominal group school, demonstrates the social class of readers that Drum attracts: the writers and scholars.

Some instances of both you and we are found in the above-mentioned examples. But choices of we refer exclusively to the editorial team. Seven occurrences of we are used exclusively for the editorial team, which represents the norms of Drum as an institution. However, the most frequently used personal pronoun you, whose referent is the reader, is mentioned eight times. Fairclough (1989:62) calls this kind of a feature 'synthetic personalisation'. It is widely used in the media discourse to treat people as individual addressees. This kind of choice bridges a social gap and thus, offer the reader some kind of membership in the Drum community.

4.2.3 Reader's letter: March 1951

The full analysis of text 2 is on page 56 and the original letter can be found in appendix C. The following extract is based on some aspects of my study, namely: the processes, attitudinal epithets, finite elements expressing modality and modally relevant person (the names, identifying terms and personal pronouns which carry modal meanings).

The fact that there are African schools does not mean that all is well in the proverbial state of Denmark. It is good for us to keep before us some of the problems connected with African education.

Unlke European children, African children of school going age are not all in school; seventy per cent of them are in the streets. What is even worse, thousands upon thousands of children are turned away from school doors at the beginning of each year.

Unless things turn for the better more than seventy per cent of the children of school going age will in the very near future be on the street.

If it were made compulsory that all African children should attend school, it would be necessary to treble the present number of teachers, of schools, and the present amount of money voted for African education.

Some years ago all African schools were private unaided schools. All the best schools today are government subsidised. There is a need for more of this type of school.

Nay, as many of us say there is a need for 100 per cent government schools. It would appear that the circumstances compel us to think of more private schools also.

A question worth considering about African primary schools course is whether it should concentrate on a small number of essential subjects such as languages and arithmetic or it should be a heap of small scraps from a large number of subjects.

I have not in this article done more than state the problems facing us. In future we may attempt solutions. It is at the present time good for us to allow these problems to simmer in our minds.

We must know that we must help to solve these problems, and not sit down and weep over them.

Most of the clauses in Nhlapho's texts are relational. These relational clauses are the attributes, which are associated with the following Carriers: African children of school going age, African schools, and the best schools: "African children of school going age are not all in school; some years ago all African schools were private unaided schools; today all the best schools are government subsidised". One of the attributes in the above assertions is circumstantial (in school), and the others are intensive (private unaided; government subsidised). This characterises Nhlapho's text as describing the system of education in South Africa.

The two material clauses associated with the children portray the African children as acted upon: thousands and thousands of children are turned away from school doors at the beginning of the year; If it were made compulsory that all children should attend school, it would be necessary to treble the present number of teachers of school. The education planners, who are presumably not mentioned as actors appear to be the main Agents. In addition, two of the material clauses represent the audience as Actors (in the last two paragraphs). In future we may attempt solutions. We must know that we must help to solve these problems. The two Goals are the solutions and problems. To act on these two goals, the audience is credited with consciousness through the mental cognitive process know.

Constant reference to African children, African schools and African education construct these carriers in terms of racial identities: The fact that there are African schools does not mean that all is well in the proverbial state of Denmark. It is good to keep before us some of the problems connected with African education. Unlike European children, African children of school going age are not all in the school; seventy percent of them are in the streets. The kind of racial naming found in the above assertions is reinforced by an interpersonal theme unlike, which encodes a categorical comparison between African and European identities depicting segregation in the education in South Africa around the fifties. African children are expressed metaphorically through a configuration of a sequence of nominal group: school and age as well as the verbal expression going, to mark the age group of the African children who are not in school.

The choice of attitudinal epithets signals the way in which the reader contests the position from which he makes his judgement. A pattern is created in the way the reader expresses his attitude reflected in his choice of good, worse, better and best. It is good to keep before us some of the problems connected with African education. What is even worse, thousands upon thousands of children are turned away from school doors at the beginning of each year. Some years ago all

African schools were private unaided schools. All the best schools today are government subsidised. The attitudinal epithets good and worse describe a situation, which is presented as a fact, and suggests what the audience prefers. Best describes the kind of schools that the audience prefers. Worse constructs the writer as opposing the ground rule and the premises on which the education system is based.

Instances of modal choices reflect different values represented in different categories: The modal choices representing the median value such as should and would are used metaphorically to express the way the writer sees things: If it were made compulsory that all children should attend school, it would be necessary to treble the present number of teachers of schools and the present amount of money voted for African education. A strong modal choice would is accompanied by necessary, which makes the clause a combination of modals expressed both congruently and metaphorically. The clause it would be necessary involves the writer's opinion in terms of obligations and probability. The major modality would is encoded to express Nhlapho's direct opinion based on what he thinks is possible to happen. In the same assertion, should in the clause saying: If it were made compulsory that all children should attend school, expresses probability, and it is used as a weaker form of must.

A low modal finite is expressed in the use of low modality may, in the 9th paragraph: in future we may attempt solutions, is followed by two occurrences of high modality must, in the last utterance. The choice of must encodes what is necessary, and persuades the audience not to stand apart from the action of finding solutions. We must know that we must help to solve these problems. A pattern is created in the above assertions for the use of median (should; would), low (may) and high (must) modality, to express opinions about possibilities and obligations.

The personal pronouns we, our and us are used to express solidarity between the reader and his fellow audience against the education planners. To include his own judgement as well as those of his fellow audience, Nhlapho's text ends strongly with these personal pronouns in the last paragraph.

4.2.4 Cover page: 1951 (see appendix A)

In this section I will draw on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) theory of interpreting visual illustrations, to examine how the features of the cover page for the first publication of Drum reinforce the readers' identities reflected in the two chosen texts found in the same publication. The original copy of this cover page is attached to appendix A.

The participants who appear on the cover page of 1951 are the two men, the map of Africa, and the artefacts, which represent the black culture. There is no vector, which is the line that divides the participants. As a result there is no actor and a goal at which the vector is directed. The two images of men are turned away from the viewer. The participants are expressed through classificatory process as they are spread across the page, and the two men are equal in size. The images are analytical as they reflect a specific form of historical, social and cultural conditions. As I have said there is no vector, as the images depict two types of participants: the carrier (whole) and the attributes (parts). At the top left corner there are traditional artefacts associated with black people, the walking stick which the urban man carries, the traditional weapons which the tribal man carries and a map of South Africa. All these parts are the attributes that describe the identity of the two men as black people of African origin, representing two different cultures: urban and rural.

The relationship between the represented participants and the viewer is that of an 'offer' of information. Both the represented men do not make any eye contact with the viewer. As a result all the participants are depicted as offering information to the viewer. As noted above, the map of

Africa is just an illustration, which is a circumstance, locating the two men in place. The long shot stylised silhouetted pictures of the two men suggests a social gap between the viewer and the represented images. These illustrations of the two men call for our sympathy. The social gap that is depicted, constructs them as living in different worlds. The angle at which the drawing has been done indicates that the viewer is detached in his view of the two men. These two men are seen obliquely as they are turned away from the viewer. They are depicted as not of our "world". In addition, the two are represented at a low angle, which makes them appear powerless and insignificant.

In terms of modal choices of the producer, the question of colour falls away as the 1951 images are in black and white. The pictures of all the participants are represented in the form of drawings.

The pictures of men are stylised silhouettes. They are not real.

4.3 Drum 2001

In this section I provide an interpretation of the editor's recommendation and that of the reader's letter for 2001. I also provide an analysis of the visual images of the cover page for the same year.

4.3.1 Editor's letter: 7 June 2001

This section offers an extract of the text on which I will base my analysis of the editor's text, written on 7 June 2001. A full analysis of this text can be found on page 57 (text 3) and the original text is in Appendix D.

DRUM turns 50 this year and this issue commemorates its anniversary.

We'd like you to tell us what you think of the magazine and how you think we could improve it. We'd appreciate frank and constructive suggestions.

We want to hear from you because you're important to us and your input and support are valued. We wouldn't be where we are today if it weren't for your support. And while you are about it, send us commemorative anniversary messages too, which we'll publish in coming issues.

Remember, DRUM is your magazine and it's our duty to give you nothing but the best publication in Africa.

Readers who come up with the best comments and birthday messages will win two DRUM 50th anniversary calendars.

Drum is the Carrier and 50 years are an attribute in the relational clause Drum turns 50 this year. Alternatively, the reader is identified as possessing the Drum in the clause saying: Drum is your magazine. This is realised through the choice of possessive deictic your associated with the reader. Drum is identified as having a value to the reader. The reader is also constructed as a carrier of an intensive attribute you are important to us and your input and support are valued. The reader is constructed as an Actor in the two material clauses which instruct the audience to send commemorative messages to Drum: Send us your commemorative anniversary message which we will publish in coming issues. The anniversary messages are the main Goal as they appear in both the fourth and the last paragraphs. The editorial team is an Actor in the material process publish, and the anniversary message is the Goal.

The reader is also constructed as a conscious being in the mental cognitive process think. We would like you to tell us what you think of the magazine and how you think we can improve it. The editorial team as well appears as a sensationalist in mental affective processes like and appreciate and mental cognitive want. The editorial team's feelings about what the reader should include in the letter are stated clearly: We'd appreciate frank and constructive suggestions.

The kind of readership that Drum is targeting is reflected in the choice of attitudinal epithets such as best, frank and constructive and commemorative messages. We'd appreciate frank

and constructive suggestions; send us commemorative messages too; Readers who come up with the best comments will win two Drum 50th anniversary calendars. These attitudinal signals, namely best, constructive and commemorative describe the kind of comments and messages that the readers are expected to write about Drum.

The modal finite would, which accompanies the recommendation, as indicated in the examples above, helps to mitigate the force of the proposition, so that the Drum's commonsense sounds like recommendations and not as the instructions. The use of would suggests the editor's wish for the type of content that he/she would like readers to include in their letters. The reader is thus constructed as a compliant.

To bridge the social gap, the use of the personal pronoun you, which is dialogic and the possessive deictic your, are designed such that they offer the reader some membership in the Drum community: We want to hear from you because you are important to us and your input and support are valued. We wouldn't be where we are today if it weren't for your support. The possessive deictic your offers imaginary reader membership based on the consumption of Drum.

Although five occurrences of you as a feature of synthetic personalisation, bridge the social gap, the personal pronoun we and us whose referent is the editorial team keeps the reader apart and excluded from making recommendations. This kind of choice is indicated in the examples cited above. Making recommendations is an exclusive right of the editor.

4.3.2 The reader's letter: 7 June 2001

I will provide an extract of Thabile's letter which gives the essence of what I will base my interpretation on. A full analysis of this text is in page 59 and the original copy appears in appendix E.

My sister's last born, aged 22, got a distinction in maths and science at school. But he spent two years unemployed and roaming the streets. With such a brilliant mind, he should be studying at a higher learning institution.

He's applied for bursaries and employment, but all in vein. He's now training as an apprentice in one of the companies around Krugersdorp. He had to compromise his potential and take what came along. That's the price of being black and disadvantaged.

Education is known to be a right, not a privilege. But if education is a right, why is it not accessible to everyone, especially blacks? Only the rich, middle class are able to reach the highest level of education without a financial struggle.

It's only a few poor blacks that are able to study successfully without financial difficulties. They are fortunate and intelligent. I am not in any way justifying the attitude of those who are lazy and expect the government to take care of them. I am speaking of those who have the will, drive and determination to succeed.

The only hope for the blacks to be empowered in this country is through education.

But if education is expensive and remains so, then all the dreams of blacks to be empowered are out of reach. That simply suggests blacks will remain poor forever.

Unless of course the government initiates a programme that will enable blacks be educated.

It's a well-known fact that blacks are poor. It's a contradiction to urge and encourage them to go to school whilst they have no means to do so. Simultaneously,

no alternative is in place or offered. The government has the capacity to help blacks.

In fact it's their duty to make certain education is accessible to everybody.

Most of the relational clauses are associated with the blacks and education. This characterises the text as describing the education for the black people in South Africa. The reader's nephew, who is a young male of 22 years of age, is presented as an Actor in the material clauses spent, applied and training, as illustrated in he spent two years of unemployed and roaming the streets; He's applied for bursaries; and he's now training as an apprentice". The writer's identity as an Actor is realised in the material process speaking: I am speaking of those who have the will, drive and determination to succeed. Those, whose referents are the blacks, is the Goal.

Most of the attitudinal epithets describe the blacks. These attitudinal epithets are realised in the following adjectival clauses. Examples are: With such a brilliant mind he should be studying at higher learning institution; Only the rich middle class are able to reach higher level of education without a financial struggle; It's only a few poor blacks that are able to study without financial difficulties; They are fortunate and intelligent. On the other hand, expensive describes the education.

All the other above-mentioned attitudinal epithets are associated with the black ethnic group. This constructs the writer as concerned about her fellow black audience. The emphasis is on comparison of the social class distinctions existing among the black community: Only the rich middle class are able to reach the highest level of education without a financial struggle. The rich middle class are expressed metaphorically through changing this adjectival clause into a noun clause, to make it appear human. In addition, few which modifies poor blacks (It's only few poor blacks who are able to study without financial difficulties), positions the writer as having done some research about problems related to black ethnic group, and has relevant statistics.

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The choice of personal pronouns I and my positions Thabile as committed to the assertion she makes: I am not in any way justifying the attitudes of those who are lazy and expect the government to take care of them. I am speaking of those who have the will, drive and determination to succeed. This kind of choice characterises her as someone who knows the principle she wants to uphold. She is not the kind of a person who presents knowledge as subjective and impersonal. She takes the responsibility for her resistant discourse and clearly states the premises on which her resistance is based.

Thabile's intrusion into the text is also encoded in her modality choices. With such a brilliant mind he should be studying at a higher learning institution. The choice of should portrays Thabile as an assessor of possibilities.

From what has been said, it is clear that the writer is concerned about black empowerment in a democratic South Africa.

4.3.3 Cover page: 2001 (see appendix B)

The ideational metafunction of the illustration

The praise singer is the only participant that is depicted on this cover page. There is no vector which joins the represented participant with others. Neither a Goal nor an Actor is depicted in the represented image. It is the praise singer's smile, which makes the viewer an object of his friendliness, as his glance is directed to us. The represented image is analytical, in the sense that the praise singer symbolises the preservation of black cultures which involves the singing of praises for prominent people. This young man sings praises for the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela. He can be classified as symbolic attributive.

The Interpersonal metafunction of the illustration

Not only does the praise singer show himself as representing a black cultural and ethnic practice of singing praises, but also as someone who is socially closer. The picture of a praise singer constitutes a demand. He looks directly at the viewer. He demands social response from the audience. He seeks recognition, and wants to be acknowledged.

In addition, the angle at which the photograph is taken is frontal. This positions him closer to the viewer. The audience is attached to the view of the participant, and this depicts the praise singer as part of 'our world'.

The picture is seen at a low angle, which represents the producer as having no power over the image. This low angle makes the image more powerful. The praise singer is depicted as big, significant and close, as having power over the producer. He is represented as an interactive participant. The picture is at the eye level; hence the point of view is one of equality.

The image is represented in the form of a photograph. The colours are not the choice of the producer, but reflect exactly the praise singer's type of dress. He is in black and white Xhosa attire, which also has some yellow spots.

4.4 A SUMMARY OF CONTRAST BETWEEN DRUM READERSHIP IDENTITIES IN 1951 AND 2001

The texts analysed for the two periods show a clear contrast between Drum magazine in 1951 and 2001. In this section I am going to focus on the contrast based on the following aspects: 1) identities 2) audience and 3) ideologies.

The readers' identities constructed in 1951 are extremely different from those that are portrayed in 7 June 2001. The Drum readership, which is constructed through the lexicogrammatical features in the editor's letter in 1951, is not an uneducated tribal community as Drum was only published in English around the fifties. This is reinforced by the language choices made in texts as well as

the two different cultural identities represented by the images of the city dweller and the tribal man on the cover page of 1951.

During the fifties, the focus was on the qualitative attributes which were assigned to the members of a class of readers who were the writers and scholars: It is nice to know that so many African writers and scholars agree with us that Drum fulfils the long felt want in the African community.

Good readers are attracted in the editor's recommendations in 1951. The attitudinal epithet good and the subsequent attributes realised through a nominal group, target readers who may have a problem or a difficulty; an idea that the editorial team can use in improving the magazine. In other words, this lexical choice simply suggests the readers' responsibilities, whereas in 2001, only the readers who can come up with the best commemorative anniversary messages about the Drum's 50th anniversary are targeted in 7 June 2001. This lexical choice which focuses on the anniversary message sounds like advertising a single commodity and thus constructs the present readers of Drum as consumers or an advertising community, which are a feature of modernity. In addition, the drawing of stylised silhouetted figures of visual images of tribal and rural men depicts abstract thinking among the audience, which is associated with education. On the other hand, the photograph of a celebrity on the cover page of 2001 is in line with the current thinking, which is dominated by popular entertainments resembling those of the TV.

The readers' identities encoded in modal choices reflect different social relations enacted in 1951 and 2001. For example, a pattern is created by the repetition of the major modal may, associated with a wide range of options given to the reader to construct the audience as having a wide choice of preferences. Drum is interested in the readers who can produce quality work that can be of good social comments that are given as options in 1951. However, Faiclough (1995) suggests that the use of may is one form of exercising power, since it is hard to know whose perspective may represents.

While the recommendations in 1951 simply assert what may be included as content in the letters, those of 2001 attempt to request the readers through the editor's modal choice of would, which is frequently used in the editor's recommendations attracting consumers of Drum to send commemorative messages, which is the only recommendation that is repeated several times. Would is also used as a direct expression of opinion: we wouldn't be where we are today if it weren't for your support. This assertion is preceded by overt, convincing attitudinal signals: we want to hear from you because you are important to us and your input and support are valued. These convincing attitudinal signals such as you are important and valued input resemble the lexical choices of advertising.

Notice the varying degree of control exercised by the editors over the audience contributions at different times. There are many instances of you in the recommendations for the first issue of Drum. Even though the reader is addressed in a dialogic way in both the copies of Drum, there are more instances of you in 1951 than in 2001. The editorial we has a greater frequency than you in 2001. The editorial team in 2001 use we to express their viewpoint about advertising the Drum magazine. Conte (1989) suggests that the use of the deictic we in a generalised sense, demand from the reader whether his own sensual perception is involved, and if not the reader has to look for another possibility. However, in the case of the recommendations in 2001, we is used exclusively for the editorial team. But, you bridges the social gap and offer the readers some membership in the Drum community.

The idea of the Drum targeting an educated readership in 1951 is also apparent in the way Nhlapho positions himself as an educated member of the middle class in the letter he wrote to the Drum. He is mediating the identities of the African children as the victims of the system of education in place in 1951. In doing this, Nhlapho uses the discourses of Bantu education which saw the closure of the mission schools and the emergence of government subsidised schools, the

changing of principles related to the medium of instruction, the changing structure of the curriculum, and so on. He constructs himself as contesting the ground rules that can be challenged by an educated elite. This is reinforced by his title as Dr Nhlapho which adds to his construction as an educated member of the middle class. In the letter written to the Drum in 2001, Thabile is only mediating her concern about black empowerment in a democratic South Africa.

In using different forms of attitudinal epithets, the readers express different viewpoints about the education system at different times in the history of South Africa. This ties with what is said in chapter three about using appropriate language at different times for different purposes. This kind of difference in social identities is encoded in the letters written to the Drum. Readers in 1951 and 2001 see themselves as contesting the preferred systems of education in different contexts.

In 1951, Dr Nhlapho's choices of worse, better and best position the audience as resisting the preferred system of education. For example, the negative connotation of the attitudinal epithet worse constructs the audience as rejecting a legitimate viewpoint concerning the apartheid education: what is even worse, thousands upon thousands of children are turned away from school doors at the beginning of each year. The readers' unassailable confidence in the values of a particular preferred education system is encoded in Nhlapho's lexical choice of better in clauses which are preceded by an interpersonal theme, namely, unless: Unless things turn for the better, more than seventy per cent of the children of school going age will in the very near future be on the street. This kind of preferred commonsense is reinforced by the attitudinal signal best, which shows the reader's preference of the private schools to the government subsidised schools. These ideas are joined by the comment adjunct some years ago and today which locate the status of all the African schools in time: Some years ago all the African schools were private unaided schools. Today, all the best schools are government subsidised.

More importantly, interpersonal meaning in these texts which are separated by fifty years function to demonstrate different ideologies embedded in social, cultural and ethnic identities of the Drum readers. The evidence of an audience characterised by racial division in South Africa is extremely clear in Dr Nhlapho's racial naming process of African and European children to highlight the apartheid education system which was instituted as a legitimate policy in South Africa around the fifties: Unlike European children, African children of school going age are not all in school. In 2001, the readers see themselves as divided in terms of social class differences. This is encoded in opposing attitudinal epithets such as rich and poor. Such choices of attitudinal epithets describe and compare blacks in terms of social class differences related to economic empowerment, which determines their accessibility to higher learning institutions. Modality choice of should, for instance, encodes the writer's concern about her nephew's right to have an access to an institution of higher learning, despite poverty, which is characteristic of most of the black audience in 2001: With such a brilliant mind, he should be studying at a higher learning institution. The lexical choice of the attitudinal signal brilliant, demonstrates Thabile's opinion about the potential that her nephew can realise if he can have an access to a higher learning institution. Contrasting attitudinal signals in terms of the economic empowerment marks a division among the black community in 2001. Some blacks are poor, while others are rich, whereas, as mentioned above, division is marked by racial segregation in 1951.

This contrastive analysis has revealed the apparent dynamic nature of social identities. The notion that the social identities are not static is highlighted in Kamwangamalu's (2000: 91) assertion that identities, including ethnicity, are indeterminate, situational rather than primordial, and are historically produced endlessly anew. This ties with what Janks and Ivanic (1992: 326) suggest that the changing terminology is related to changes in the policy of the ruling party. The choice of the language of African and European children in the discourses of 1951 is a racist terminology associated with the audience in South Africa around the fifties. This racist language was the

language of apartheid ideology. In 2001, *black* is the suitable discourse of reform, which places emphasis on cultural differences and ethnicity as factors which characterise diversity in the country's population.

Moreover, on the cover page of 1951, the African society itself is divided in terms of cultural differences. Such kind of a difference is also portrayed in the visual images on the cover pages of both the copies of the magazine. The tribal man depicted on the cover page in 1951 is dressed in pure African traditional attire, which is made of the animal skin to represent the old black culture, while the urban man is dressed in western clothes to reflect a new emerging culture. These men represented two different cultures, which construct Africans as urban and rural. In spite of the praise singer's representation of the black culture of singing praises, the cover page for 2001 depicts him as representing hybridisation of both the western and African culture of dress, but there is nothing in him that can be associated with rural life. This suggests that the Drum now does not aim to attract rural people.

Nhlapho's uses of we, us and our reinforce the solidarity of all the African audience in opposition to the education system: I have not in this article done more than state the problems facing us; In future we may attempt solutions; It is at present time good for us to allow these problems to simmer in our minds. In addition, a strong deontic form: must, in the last paragraph, is directed towards the restatement of an accepted legitimised system of values: We must know that we must help to solve these problems, and not sit and weep over them. This overt modalised expression constructs Nhlapho as having an obligation to contest ideologies about education in 1951. The use of we constructs him as a facilitator who persuades his fellow audience to take position against the preferred commonsense about the education system. The use of we together with the major modal must is so strong that it encodes Nhlapho's point of view in terms of what is necessary. On the other hand Thabile in

2001 sees herself as an individualist in using I to state her position about the education system in an assertive and persuasive way.

4.5 IMPLICATION FOR TEACHING CRITICAL READING SKILLS

As noted earlier, teachers use Drum magazine to develop teaching material. After reading these Drum letters and recommendations critically learners can see how the discourses of letters and recommendations are shaped by historical, social and political situations of different periods in the history of South Africa. The description and interpretation of the chosen texts can increase the learners' awareness of how conventional usage and the prevailing orders of discourse shape the language choices made at different times in the history of the country. Deconstruction of texts such as this is part of CLA. In using SFG, learners can see how linguistic categories in a text together with visual images position and construct them as educated, seeking empowerment, rich, poor and so on. Before I make some suggestions that might help the educators to train their learners to become critical readers, I will look at some methods that Janks (1996) suggests.

Janks (1996) suggests that as students learn by talking and writing about new ideas, they often do not know what they know until they have tried to put their ideas into words. Most of the ESL classrooms in Kwazulu Natal are overcrowded. In large classes it is impossible for everyone to talk to the teacher. I agree with Janks' suggestion that students benefit from telling a friend their ideas and feelings. The friend then gives them feedback that enables them to revise and change their ideas before committing themselves to a final answer. This idea is in line with new Outcomes Based Education in South Africa, which emphasises the idea that a learner should indicate his/her achievement of the outcome by displaying his/her skills, knowledge, values and attitudes about the content in question. In supporting this idea, Janks suggests possible methods, of which I have chosen the following, for teaching critical reading in large classes:

- Students need to get the opportunities to work in pairs with the person next to him, as pair work
 makes everyone in class to speak to some other student.
- 2) Learners can work in groups of 3 to 5 on the same or different tasks. In doing this, different groups can be asked to do different questions, or all the groups can be asked to do the same question. The teacher should keep track of what the groups are doing by:

moving from group to group to listen to the discussions

seeing that all group members contribute

asking each group to make notes and sometimes to hand in written answers.

- 3) Group and pairs should report back to the whole class. They should be encouraged to listen to one another especially during report backs. They should decide whether they agree or disagree with what the other person is saying.
- 4) If the class gets really interested in something the teacher should encourage students to find similar examples in the newspapers or magazines, which they can bring to class for additional discussion.
- 5) Teachers should help students to apply ideas from their workbooks to all their school subjects.
- 6) Teachers can make ideas less abstract for the students by encouraging them to do research, the collage and the drawings as well as dramatisation, debates and discussions suggested.

Learners can work in pairs or in groups to explore both the ideational and interpersonal functions of language, which is a critical examination of how language can construct social identities for them as readers of the Drum. Deconstruction of texts can reveal how discourses of Drum carry mundane texts, which learners can regard as commonsensical, as they are also the targeted readers of Drum.

Teachers should design exercises based on the critical reading of texts and visual illustrations to explore social identities, realised in the examination of language and power embedded in texts. I would suggest that after the learners have been exposed to an understanding of using grammatical

categories of SFG to analyse the Drum texts, they could explore their own positions by relating to their own experiences what has been described and interpreted through role-playing the following identities:

- A child who has done well in matric, but could not study further, because of financial difficulties
- 2) A child who wants to study in the institution of higher learning, and has no financial constraints.
- 3) The Drum editor who gives recommendations of the types of letters that the audience can write to the Drum.

This might be followed by the discussion of the identities realised in language choices. Janks (1992) also suggests that a carefully designed discussion should follow the role-play, so that learners can see that people read one text differently. Learners can discuss positions taken through exploring modal choices made in the production of texts. The role-play will show the learners' own reading positions in terms of what they value.

Describing, interpreting and explaining the Drum discourses of letters and recommendations can raise learners' awareness of how language choices provide cues to how texts and visual images of different times can provide different readings of the same topic, depending on the social conditions of context and culture. Using SFG categories to deconstruct the texts and visual images is a move away from the traditional way of looking at characters in a text.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It is clear that Drum has been, and still is a social barometer for mediating changes in social identities as reflected in the language choices made in the chosen letters and recommendations. On the other hand the Drum letter writers have been constructed differently in their interpretation of the ideologies related to the education system at two different periods in the history of South Africa. As social beings, the readers have acted within the conventions established for the education in South Africa at different times. Using SFG as part of CDA has revealed certain ideological assumptions about historical cultural and ethnic identities which are recorded in the "Readers" section of letters.

Modal choices related to persons reveal Nhlapho as preoccupied with racial differences. Racism is marked in several textual signifiers through the repetition of African children and African education. This kind of choice is compared with another racist naming 'European, to background race as a real classifier. Nhlapho has acted as having a flair for implicitly expressing a social and political control, through challenging the system of values for the education around the fifties. Racist naming of African and European has changed with the new political ruling party in South Africa, as indicated in the 2001 publication. One example of this is that Drum magazine was then called THE AFRICAN DRUM, which has now changed to DRUM. The ideal reader of Nhlapho's text is a racialised individual who is the victim of the introduction of Bantu education, whereas Thabile's reader in 2001 is a young black person who seeks empowerment through education in a democratic South Africa.

These different identities are also reflected in the way that the cover pages of the two periods are turned away from the viewer, and the way the images of men are separated in the text to reveal disunity among the blacks. But, this fragmentation is revealed through the portrayal of cultural differences among the blacks. Urban and tribal cultures are depicted as a potential classifier of the black community. The praise singer, on the other hand, is a Carrier of African Renaissance, which is now the goal of the president of South Africa. His type of dress symbolises a hybrid of both western and African culture.

As language is embedded in social practices, specific relations of power are reproduced and contested, and different interests are served. For example, recommendations include procedures of exclusion which prohibit certain forms of speech, and limit who is entitled to write to Drum and what could be the possible options to choose from. Only African writers and scholars with good ideas are the ideal readers in terms of Drum's institutionally established truths.

As depicted on the cover page, the focus in 1951 is on readers who are urbanised, educated elites illustrated in the social distance between the two images of men themselves and between them and the viewer. In 2001, the ideal reader is an entertainer who aligns him/herself with the example set by the popular media depicting celebrities. Drum is writing for a popular audience in modes which are essentially illustrative.

This kind of change is also reflected in the consumer culture reflected in the visual image of a celebrity in 2001, which is a feature of modernity. The audience is persuaded to identify with the depicted celebrity. The visual illustration of 1951 depicts historical changes which affected tribal solidarity as reflected in the identities of the tribesman and the city dweller.

For teaching critical reading, these Drum texts are relevant as they carry the community's common sense. They are mundane texts in which ideology is naturalised, and social identities are constructed. In both readers' letters, learners can realise that the position that people take in a text,

construct them in terms of who they are, as they are aware of themselves and what they need. This is indicated in the positions that both readers in 1951 and 2001 take in resisting the status quo related to the education system at different times. Janks and Ivanic (1992) suggest that meaning does not lie in texts, but in social relations in which it is embedded. Both readers do not experience a fit into the ground rules related to the education system at different times.

The learners can also practise taking positions in the activities suggested earlier. Using CLA as an application of CDA in the classroom, learners can use grammar to uncover modal choices made either congruently or metaphorically to construct the audience as rich, middle class and so on.

As noted earlier, the focus of my research is restricted to two significant periods of Drum's existence, which are separated by fifty years. A similar kind of analysis can be done through using the Drum publications around the 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s to compare linguistic construction of readers' identities at these different periods in the history of South Africa. Drum is a case study for media critical educators as it outlines the forces at work in terms of the institutional changes which in turn leads to the construction of different social identities. The same type of critical reading exercise can be done in class using newspapers reporting on the same social issues at different times.

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ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

- 1. Processes are in bold underline; types of processes are in bold italics
- 2. Modal choices are identified in several ways:

in broken underline are the major modal elements of the text (i.e. Finite elements expressing modality either congruently or metaphorically);

in italics are the items that help carry the writer's attitude towards his or her subject matter; in dotted underline are the items that identify modally relevant Person(i.e. the names, identifying terms or personal pronouns which carry modal meanings).

TEXT 1

Editor's recommendations: March 1951

This page belongs to you.

relational attributive

In it you can express your own view and thoughts on any subject you like as long as you

verbal

mental affective

don't hurt anybody's feelings and don't discuss politics.

mental affective

You may have a good idea that will help other people...

relational attributive

You may have a problem or a difficulty that some other reader may help you to solve...

relational attributive

material

You may have an idea that we can use in improving the magazine...

relational attributive material

Or you may just want to write a letter ...

mental cognitive

Whatever it is, address it to The Editor, The African Drum, P.O.Box 90, Cape Town,

material

and send it along. Keep it as short as you can as we have no doubt there will be a lot of letters

material

relational attributive

and we will be a bit crushed for space.

material

Every month the Editor will select one letter which he will publish separately under the

material

material

heading "CROWN COMMENT". A crown as you know, is 5/-, and we will pay 5/- to the

mental cognitive

writer of the letter we select for "CROWN COMMENT"

material

One other thing. We <u>like</u> to see what our readers look like- and so do our other readers.

mental affective

If you have a photograph of yourself, send it with your letter.

relational attributive

material

To start the ball rolling this month we have made a little collection of extract from material

letters written to us by contributors. It is nice to know that so many African writes and

relational attributive

scholars <u>agree</u> with us that "The African Drum <u>fulfils the long felt want</u> in the African

verbal mental affective

community.

TEXT 2

Reader's letter

Dr J.M. Nhlapho's letter: March 1951.

The fact that there are African schools does not mean that all is well in the proverbial state

Relational attributive

of Denmark. It is good to keep before us some of the problems connected with African relational attributive

education.

Unlike European children, African children of school -going age are not all in school;

relational attributive

seventy percent of them are in the streets. What is even worse, thousands upon thousands of

relational attributive

children are turned away from school doors at the beginning of each year.

material

Unless things turn for the *better* more than seventy percent of the children of school going age will in the very near future be on the street

...... If it were made compulsory that all children should attend school, it would be necessary to

material

treble the present number of teachers, of schools, and the present amount of money voted for African education.

Some years ago all African schools were private unaided schools. Today all the best

relational attributive

schools are government subsidised. There is a need for more of this type of school.

relational attributive

Nay, as many of us say there is a need for 100 per cent government schools. It would appear that the circumstances compel us to think of more private schools also.

relational attributive

There is the ever-burning question of the medium of instruction. While on the one hand there are those who are opposed to the mother tongue instruction, there are those who are

relational attibutive

relational attributive

going ahead with the application of this medium.

There is a wide gulf between standard V1 and standard V11 which necessitates the taking

of three years by African pupils over normally two years Junior Certificate course.

A question worth considering about the African primary school course is whether it should

relational attributive

concentrate on a small number of essential subjects such as the languages or it should be a heap of small scraps from each of a large number of subjects.

I <u>have</u> not in this article done more than state the problems facing us. In future we may relational attributive

attempt solutions. It is at present time good for us to allow these problems to simmer in our

material relational attributive

minds.

We must know that we must help to solve these problems, and not sit down and weep over

mental cognitive material

them!

TEXT 3

Editor's letter: 7 June 2001

DRUM turns 50 this year and this issue commemorates the anniversary.

relational attributive

We'd like you to tell us what you think of the magazine and how you think we could

mental affective

mental cognitive

improve it. We'd appreciate frank and constructive suggestions.

mental affective

We want to hear from you because you're important to us and your input and support are

mental cognitive

relational attributive

valued. We wouldn't be where we are today if it weren't for your support.

relational attributive

And while you are about it, send us your commemorative anniversary messages too,

material

which we will publish in coming issues.

material

Remember, DRUM is your magazine and it's our duty to give you nothing but the best

Rel. ational identifying

publication in Africa.

Readers who come up with the best comments and birthday messages will win two

DRUM 50th anniversary calendars.

Send your comments and anniversary messages to DRUM, PO Box 653284, Benmore

material

2010.

TEXT 4

Reader's letter: 7 June 2001

Thabile's letter

My sister' last born, aged 22, got a distinction in science and maths at school. But he spent

relational attributive

material

two years unemployed and roaming the streets. With such a brilliant mind, he should be studying at a higher learning institution.

He's applied for bursaries and employment but all in vein. He's now training as an

Material material

apprentice in one of the companies around Krugersdorp. That's the price of being black and

relational attributive

disadvantaged.

Education is known to be a right, not a privilege. But if education is a right, why is it not relational attributive relational attributive

accessible to everybody, especially blacks? Only the rich middle class are able to reach the relational identifying

highest level of education without a financial struggle.

It's only a few poor blacks that are able to study successfully without financial difficulties.

relational attributive

They are fortunate and intelligent. I am not in any way justifying the attitude of those who relational attributive mental process

are lazy and expect the government to take care of them. I am speaking of those who have the relational attributive relational identifying

will, drive and determination to succeed.

The only hope for blacks to be empowered in this country <u>is</u> through education. But if relational attirbutive

education <u>is expensive</u> and remains so, then all the dreams of blacks to be empowered are out relational attributive

of reach. That simply suggests that blacks <u>will remain</u> poor forever. Unless, of course, the relational attributive

government initiates a programme that will help blacks to be educated.

material material

It's a well-known fact that blacks <u>are poor</u> It's a contradiction to urge and encouraged to go to school whilst they have no means to do so. Simultaneously, no alternative <u>is</u> in place relational attributive

or offered. The government <u>has</u> the capacity to help blacks. In fact, it's their duty to make relational attributive

certain education is accessible to everybody.

THE ARCAIN

MAGAZINE OF AFRICA FOR AFRICA

PRICE 69



DICE OF AFRICA

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TION'S POET: y love for Princess

MAN'S NIGHTMARE

nrown out of

y own country

M A WOMAN AGAIN oodbye to my onster breasts

ANNIVERSARY MABHAKABHAKA **listory of the eague champs**

/USIC STAR'S UNERAL

Buried With a bunken



Views and Comments Readers'

TEXT

This page belongs to you.

In it you can express your own views and your own thoughts on any subject you like — as long as you don't hurt anybody's feelings and don't discuss

You may have a good idea that will help other

You may have a good idea that will help other people...
You may have a problem or a difficulty that some other reader may help you to solve...
You may have an idea that we can use in improving the magazine...
Or you may just want to write a letter...
Whatever it is, address it to The Editor, The African Drum, P.O. Hox 90, Cape Town, and send it along. Keep it as short as you can as we have no doubt there will be a lot of letters and we will be a bit crushed for space.

Every mouth the Editor will select one letter

crushed for space.

Every month the Editor will select one letter which he will publish separately under the heading "CROWN COMMENT". A crown, as you know, is 5/-, and we will pay 5/- each month to the writer of the letter we select for "CROWN COMMENT."

One other thing. We like to see what our readers look like — and so do our other tenders. If you have a photograph of yourself, send it with your letter.

To start the ball rolling this month we have made a little collection of extracts from letters written to us by contributors. It is nice to know that so many African writers and scholars agree with us that "The African Drum" fulfils a long-felt want in the African community.



PAUL KYANYADO

tul, KYANYAGO, Alexandra Township, Johannes Alex-

andra Township, Johannes-hurg:
The idea of producing "The frican Drum" flashes in the inda of all African well-ishers as a newly-lit candle irning brightly to lead the ay for the African commu-ity as a whole to better aderstanding, unity and co-peration. Such a publication as my good blessing and all ope for prosperity.

HARLES DLAMINI, Cler-mont Township, Natal: It is my greatest wish that The African Drum" should o born and grow vigorously ith robust health. May my

words be found suitable for blessing the new face of the prospective baby to be chris-leacd: "The African Drum."

D. G. S. M'TIMKULU,
Oldange Institute, Durban:
I was most interested in
your projected publication.
"The African Drum" and I
look forward to seeing the
first issue.

W. S. MATSIE, Lusala, N.

lihodesia: I am sure you will find a lot of support and encouragement from many Africana. Personally I would like to see something more on the literary side than most of our papers and magazines cater for and I wish you see the success you deserve in attempting an essential but difficult task.

J. C. K. MUWAMBA, Chiffra,

Nyusaland: Indeed, you have my sym-patical support in your work which greatly interests me. I wish your work a great suc-

G. B. SINXO, Hota-Mileula, P.O. Cala, Cape Province: I congratulate you on your new venture and I am a hundred per cent, confident that it will be a great success... You will find that we Africans will send stories

with a fairly good plot and ideas but that our English style and presentation may not be up to standard . . .

not be up to standard . . .

Dr. J. M. MHLATO, Ph.D.,
Wilberforce Institute, Evaton, Transvaul:

The fact that there are
African schools thes notmen all is well in the proverbial state of Denmark. It is
good for us to keep before us
good for us to keep before us
good for us to keep before a
tion.

Unlike European children,
African children of schools
going uge are not all in
school; seventy per cent, of
them are in the streets. What
is oven worse, thousands upon
thousands of children are
turned away from school
doors at the beginning of each
year.

Unless things turn for the

doors at the organisms or cases year.

Unless things turn for the better more than seventy percent of the children of school-going age will in the very near future be on the street.

If it were made compulsary that all African children should attend school, it would be necessary to treble the present number of teachers, of schools, and the present amount of money voted for African education.

Some years ago all African schools were private unaided schools. All the best schools to-day are government sub-

to-day are government sub-sidised. There is need for more of this type of school.

Nay, as many of us say, there is need for 100 per cent. government schools. It would appear that the circumstances compel us to think of more private schools also.

There is the ever-burning question of the medium of instruction, While on the need hand there are those who are land there are those who are

hand there are those who are opposed to the mother-tongue medium of instruction, there are those who are going ahead with the application of

ahead with the application of this medium.
There is a wide gulf be-tween Standard VI and Stan-dard VII which necessitates the taking of three years by African pupils over the norm-ally two years Junior Certi-fleate course.

A question worth consider-ing about the African primary school course is whether it should concentrate on a small number of essential subjects such as the languages and arithmetic or it should be a heap of small scraps from each of a large number of subjects.

auticets.

I have not in this article done more than state the problems facing us. In future we may attempt solutions. It is at the present time good for us to allow these problems to simmer in our minds.

We must know that we must help to solve these problems, and not sit down and weep over them!

(Mure letters on page 36)

(More letters on page 36)



USE OUR FAMOUS LAY-BYE PLAN



(PTX.I. LTD. OPPOSITE THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, GI MARKET STREET, Corner SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG

letters

Ticket the traffic department

There's nothing more aggravating than commuting on a road
where the traffic lights are frequently out of order. Faulty and
damaged traffic lights are causing havoc on our roads and the
problem is exacerbated due to
the lack of a central computer at
the traffic control centre. The
powers that be at the traffic
department don't know when
the traffic lights are out of order.

Before the arrival of computers we had slow cars and faster traffic, today we have high-powered cars but slower traffic. Something must be done about this anomaly, otherwise spending money on high-powered cars will be an investment in futility.

Commuters are frequently inconvenienced when they approach unworkable traffic lights

APPENDIX D - THE EDITORS' LETTER: 7 JUNE 2001 (TEXT 3)

WRITE TO: Readers' Forum, DRUM, PO Box 784696, Sandton 2146. Or fax

Competition help line

QUERIES ABOUT COMPETITION FORMS AND PRIZES ARE HANDLED ON (011) 340-56

and jump to conclusions resulting in unnecessary accidents, traffic jams and many lost work hours.

Drivers who exceed the speed limit or infringe the rules of the road are ticketed, but the traffic department is not reprimanded for neglecting its duty. The traffic department, faithful to its modus operandi, remains an impotent and worthless institution.

Clive Percival, Benmore

Seduced again? - ag shame

I am a 20-year-old woman and I'm disgusted by the article on Brenda and Tronix (DRUM, May 17). I may sound like a feminist but I think for once men should take responsibility and start accounting for their actions.

What I don't understand is that suddenly, after he had a great time, Tronix has the nerve to make himself appear as the victim. Are we supposed to now say: "Ag shame Tronix, Brenda really seduced you, you poor thing?"

Sorry, but I don't see it in that light. They say it takes two to tango and he definitely did the tango. If this guy so much as thinks twice before accusing Brenda of almost ruining his marriage, he should know he's wrong to accuse her. What about the part he freely played as the new lover ready for marriage? He's not even ashamed to say that Brenda is old enough to be his mother, but how many times did he jump into bed with her? It makes one wonder, doesn't it?

As for the wife, girl catch a wake-up. I admit Brenda could have seduced your husband to his knees but for crying out loud, the man went out with her for a while. If this was a matter of a regretful one-night stand I would perhaps find it in me to agree with all your statements and reactions.

Why do we sisters always find it easier to blame each other and call each other "sluts", when our men are giving in to their weaknesses? When the man has had enough outside he comes back home.

I know you love Tronix but it does you and your marriage no good to blame Brenda. It might make you feel better but what about later? Do you believe he won't do it again? Think carefully about it. Solve the problem in your house.

Neo Lekhoathi, Harrismith

Stop this Yizo Yizo violence

I was listening to people saying what they feel about Yizo Yizo. I was amazed by those who said it should be on TV because it was filled with reality and was



WIN DRUM 50TH ANNIVERSARY CALENDARS TEXT 3

DRUM turns 50 this year and this issue commemorates the anniversary.

We'd like you to tell us what you think of the magazine and how you think we could improve it. We'd appreciate frank and constructive suggestions.

We want to hear from you because you're important to us and your input and support are valued. We wouldn be where we are today if it weren't for your support.

And while you're about i send us commemorative an niversary messages too, which we'll publish in comin issues.

Remember, DRUM is you magazine and it's our duty t give you nothing but the best publication in Africa.

Readers who come up with the best comments an birthday messages will win two DRUM 50th anniversar calendars.

Send your comments an anniversary messages to DRUM, PO Box 653284, Benmore 2010.



helping the youth.

The truth is, we the youth absorb what is bad quickly. one of the scenes a teacher was hijacked and the windscreen of his car smashed, few days later, the windscreen of my brother's car was

These Aids victims are heroes

Tom is a friend I met five years ago. He's a young, very nice-looking guy in his mid-twenties. He's friendly, holds a master's degree in computer science from Westville University and is currently studying for a marketing diploma. He's in love with a woman and has been obsessed with her for three years, but has been battling to communicate his love for her.

If someone like Tom is afraid to communicate his love, what about someone who is HIV positive? Imagine if you have to tell the whole world you are living with Aids! That's not easy. Informing your family, friends and neighbours is a mammoth task. Above all, it's risky. You may lose your friends and loved ones. The solution may be to remain silent.

Despite the challenges and consequences, there are individuals who have drawn some inner strength and gone public to disclose their HIV positive status. Their concern is not what people may say or think, but to alert the world that Aids is real. They are living with it. Because they know the challenges of this epidemic, they don't want to see others falling into the same trap of contracting it.

They have offered themselves voluntarily to educate the nation about Aids. Through them we learn more of the scourge of this deadly disease. They have risked everything for the gain of others. These are the people I regard as selfless. I have great respect for such individuals. Love is the driving force behind their

We owe it to ourselves as a nation to acknowledge the love of those who need it the most. Instead of seeking love, they are freely giving it without expecting anything in return. It's our turn to do the same

Thabile Mange, Kagiso

(011) 322-0891. This week's R60 for the best letter goes to Thabile Mange, Kagiso

readers say

eki's losing ANC votes

concerned about the petty politicking in the and I think it's sad for our politicians to be ich other's throats when the masses destely need their help.

rate to say this, but I concur with The Mail and dian that President Thabo Mbeki does not erve the presidency. Ever since he occupied e all he's done is cause controversy when he

uld be concentrating on attending to the plems our people are facing.

don't want him to cause the ANC to lose votes ture elections. But I am afraid that's where he's ding, and the ANC is letting him get away with wish he would consult the ANC before he

ens his mouth.

What infurated me most was the way he barrassed former President Mandela and Cheryl rolus during the South African week in London. ey won't admit it but Mbeki messed up what omised to be a major opportunity for South rica to advertise itself to the world. Nobody will ny that the celebration did not achieve what it eant to achieve, and all because of Mbeki. The ANC is my party but the way they've handled sues up to now has been very unprofessional, nd it's going to cost them everything unless they think their strategy.

Villiam Lamola, Hillbrow

 It's a shame people like advertising executive... Peter Vundla, his brother Mfundi, lawyer Christine Qunta and others, saw it fit to stand up and fight battles for president Thabo Mbeki

If patriotism was what drove them to spend R160 000 to pay for a space in a large circulating Sunday newspaper to defend Mbeki, then I don't need their kind of patriotism. First, Mbeki is a big boy and should be left to fight his own battles. Why defend him when he can challenge the white editors for a debate where he can articulate his own feelings and how he plans to lead this country?

Secondly, why not start your own newspape since the white-owned media is hostile to the president? If you can spend that kind of money or such hot air, it means you could pool your resources and start a genuine black media house.

If your money is burning a hole in your pockets, why not give it to the poor or pay school fees for some bright pupils who come from very poor families.

I think the R160 000 could have been better used to start a bursary fund or donated to orphanages where there is a shortage of beds linen, blankets and food.

I don't think Thabo Mbeki was impressed with the advert you took out to defend him. We also don't need such intellectuals whose thinking is slower than a snail. You just exposed yourself, you publicity hungry myopics.

Jerome Nkosi, Sandown

Cash for news

O you have story ideas or news tips for us? Turn them into hard cash right now.

We're offering R250 for every newsworthy, true story we print - even more for exceptional stories - and R250 for every picture we publish. Stories can be about anything: a crime you might have heard about in your area, a human tragedy, someone who's achieved something exceptional, some sort of scam you think should be exposed, and so on.

Pictures should capture a moment of high drama, humour or tragedy. They should not be family snaps.

You can phone in with ideas for stories or write a short proposal (not more than 250 words) and post it to us. We will then contact you if we think it's worth following up.

Pictures (never send negatives) should be sent with a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Include a brief description of what the picture shows

and the names of all the people

Phone (011) 322-0888, or write to Justinus Maluleke, PO Box 653284; Benmore 2010.

ashed by a youth who tried steal it. They took his cellone and ran away.

The rape of schoolgirls by noolboys is on the increase as ys try to do what they see in zo Yizo.

The SABC and some of our aders say if we don't like Yizo zo, we must change the chanal. That's not the right way of ealing with the voices of con-

'etrus Mzimeni Herimbi, ebokeng

TEXT 4 telp our

1y sister's last-born, aged 22, jot a distinction in maths and cience at school. But he spent wo years unemployed and

brilliant mind, he should be studying at a higher learning

He's applied for bursaries and employment, but all in vein. He's now training as an apprentice in one of the companies around Krugersdorp. He had to compromise his potential and take what came along. That's the price of being black and disadvantaged.

Education is known to be a right, not a privilege. But if education is a right, why is it not accessible to everybody, especially blacks? Only the rich, middle class are able to reach the highest level of education without a financial struggle.

It's only a few poor blacks that are able to study successfully without financial difficulties. They're fortunate and intelligent. I am not in any way justifying the attitude of those who are lazy and the covernment to take

care of them. I am speaking of those who have the will, drive and determination to succeed.

The only hope for blacks to be empowered in this country is through education. But if education is expensive and remains so, then all the dreams of blacks to be empowered are out of reach. That simply suggests blacks will remain poor forever. Unless, of course, the government initiates a programme that will help blacks be educated.

It's a well-known fact that blacks are poor. It's a contradiction to urge and encourage them to go to school whilst they have no means to do so. Simultaneously, no alternative is in place or offered. The government has the capacity to help blacks. In fact, it's their duty to make certain education is accessible to everybody. 0

Thabile, Krugersdorp

Your copy of DRUM Do you have difficulty finding a copy of DRUM every week? Is it unavailable at a shop or magazine outlet near you? Or has it sold out by the middle of the week? Let us know so we can make sure you get your weekly copy of DRUM. Call DRUM's marketing executive, lerry Nhiapo, on (011) 402-3980, fax him on (011) 402-3983, write to him at PO Box 16609, Doornfontein 2028 or e-mail him at JNhlapo@naspers.com