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The Rand Daily Mail and the 1976 Soweto Riots. An examination of the tradition of Liberal journalism in South Africa as illustrated by The Rand Daily Mail coverage of the Soweto uprising on June 6 1976

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APPENDIX C: ARTICLES APPEARING IN THE RAND DAILY MAIL BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1976 AND JUNE 15, 1976

C.1 Articles appearing between January 1, 1976 and June 15, 1976.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
1	Outlook for 1976: mud or stars?	✕	03/01	Top page 1 lead	M	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account.	White on black text. Across 8 of 10 possible columns. Stands out from others on the page.	Head and shoulders of PM Vorster and Prof Steenkamp. Two black soccer players with a caption, which predicts easing of sports apartheid. There is no real purpose to the photos other than to break up the copy.	5	Appears under the comment banner.
2	Blacks reject big prayer day	Mateu Nonyane	06/01	Lead, top page 6	T	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account.	Wording bland and unimaginative. It is however bold.	✕	4	Comment from the community. Journalist's interpretation.
3	Blacks must have a say says Janson	✕	15/01	Top left page 4	M	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account	Bold and large in comparison to others on the page but bland and not eye catching.	✕	3	Comment from the community. Journalist's interpretation.
4	Student relations reach new low	✕	15/01	Middle bottom page 4	M	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account.	Bold but wording is bland.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
5	Stand alone photo	Ronnie Kwey	22/01	Middle, left page 1	T	✕	✕	✕	School children looking at the camera with miserable expressions.	✕	Journalist's eye view.
6	Bantu education slammed	✕	22/01	Middle, page 1	T	✕	Neutral and Factual account. While it condemns Bantu education there is no use of derogatory language.	Small. The story is set into the side of the lead and becomes lost as a self-standing story. The headline does nothing to make it stand out.	✕	2	Comment from the community. journalist's interpretation.
7	Govt created school crisis says Kambule	Maleu Nonyane	22/01	Top left page 1	T	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account from Kambule.	Anti-government. Bold but rather small.	Picture of Kambule. Adds nothing of real value to the story.	3	Orlando High school headmaster and the journalist's interpretation.
8	No room for school hungry hundreds	John Mojapelo	22/01	Top middle page 1 lead	T	✕	Neutral style of writing. Factual account.	Catchy, bold, and large. Attracts the reader.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
9	Parents demand full use of full school	Jill McIlraith	22/01	Bottom middle page 1	T	✕	Angry, demanded.	Small but bold which does draw the eye as the page as a whole is not overly exciting. Second lead on page.	✕	3	Community comment and journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
10	Kathlehong school chiefs to beat crisis	✕	22/01	Middle left page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Type is bold but language used is bland.	✕	3	Community and journalist's interpretation.
11	Soweto children quit classrooms in overcrowding protest	Mike Ndlazi	27/01	Top small page 3	M	✕	Angry, protest.	Very small. Overshadowed by unrelated photo under the story.	Child reading to the class. Dominates the page but does nothing to make the story stand out. Seems unrelated to the story.	3	Community comment and journalist's interpretation.
12	Govt cutback will hit school needs	✕	28/01	Middle left page1	T	✕	Factual report of events.	Very bland. Does not draw the reader in.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
13	Treurnicht promise to black children	✕	30/01	Top middle page 14 lead	T	✕	Factual account.	Bold, across 4 columns. Eye-catching.	✕	3	Comment.
14	Soweto school is out in the cold	Nat Serache	06/02	Middle page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Small but bold. Does get lost on page.	Used very small to show the poverty at schools. Because it is so small it does not give a real sense of the extent of problems at schools without facilities.	2	Journalist's interpretation.
15	Sacking shock – 14 000 kids may walk out	Nat Serache	10/02	Top page 1 lead	T	✕	Threatening, protest, take action.	Eye catching and bold. Point of entry on page.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
16	Officials refuse to comment (response to above article)	✕	10/02	Middle page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	Small and not very exciting. Put into above story in layout	✕	1	Response by Bantu Education department.
17	Stoning terror at Orlando	Ronnie Kwey	10/02	Middle page 1	T	Anti-police.	Pelted.	Stand alone photo.	Relatively small. Shows police chasing people running away. There is also a brick flying through the air towards the fleeing people.	N/A	Journalist's eye view.
18	Afrikaans officials stay silent	✕	10/02	Middle page 3	T M	✕	Factual account	Does not catch the eye because it fits into another story. The headline is bland.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation.
19	First sod of 'different' school	Mike Ndlazi	20/02	Bottom left page 1	T	✕	Jubilant	The word 'different' catches the eye and draws the reader in due to curiosity.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
20	Afrikaans in schools - stalemate	Mike Ndlazi	08/03	Centre page 1 lead	M	✕	Defiant, petition, stalemate	Bold and eyecatching.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
21	Mob stones police in city clash	✕	19/03	Top centre page 1, cont page 3	M	Angry crowds. Biased against / blames the crowd. Use of the word mob.	Pelted (4X), hurling	Bold, emotive, draws the reader in.	✕	4	Police version of events.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
22	Fists raised after trial	✕	19/03	Middle left page 3	M	Introduction is anti-police. (with batons and dogs).	Stormed the crowd.	Bold, draws reader in through use of the phrase 'fists raised'	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
23	Hundreds flee police	✕	19/03	Top page 3	M	Anti-police.	Police charge.	Stand alone photo.	Most prominent element on the page. Emotive crowd draws reader in as does police vehicle driving through the crowd. It is emotive, crowds with fists in the air. 6 of 10 columns wide.	N/A	Journalist's eye view.
24	Sharpeville will be remembered	Montshiwa Moroke	20/03	Middle left page 3	T	✕	Factual account.	Bland. Does not entice the reader.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
25	Mixed schools plan hailed	Mike Ndlazi	23/03	Middle top page 1	T	✕	Exciting, bold, applaud.	Bold. eye-catching.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
26	Two more churches want mixed schools	Lynn Stevenson	24/03	Top left page 2	M	✕	Encourages an integrated society.	Bold, eye-catching.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
27	Cops club workers in baton charge	Clive Emdon	30/03	Top page 5 lead	M	Anti-police.	Club, charge, baton-wielding.	Bold, large, emotive, draws reader in.	Shows police hitting out at people. Not used very large.	4	Journalist's interpretation.
28	I saw police, women as crowd sang	Nat Diseko	30/03	Middle left page 5	M	Anti-police.	Batter.	Bold, quote used, emotive.	Pregnant woman seen lying on the ground crying as a friend comforts her.	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
29	Factory attack will be seen as mini-Sharpeville	Clive Emdon	31/03	Left top page 2 lead	M	Anti-police. Shows unnecessary police violence.	Baton charge.	Bold, emotive. Plays on an extremely emotive period – Sharpeville.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
30	All-race congress is called	John Matisonn	05/04	Top middle page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Bland, does not entice the reader.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
31	Now teachers strike rocks crisis school	Nat Serache	08/04	Top page1lead	T	✕	Tension, confusion, anger, boycotting..	Large, bold, eye-catching.	Boycotting students used well in conjunction with the headline to draw the reader into the story.	4	Journalist's interpretation.
32	1 000 boycott classes over sacked heads	Nat Diseko	09/04	Middle, page 1 lead	T	✕	Jeering, boycott.	Huge, bold, draws the reader in.	Demands met, pupils are shown as happy. Used over 5 columns.	3	Journalist's interpretation.
33	White liberals hinder the black struggle	David Niddrie	13/04	Middle left page 3	M	Anti-white liberals. The language however is not derogatory.	Factual account.	Bold, three decks. Catches the reader's eye because it is the longest story on the page and because it attacks white liberals.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
34	650 still boycott school over axed head	Mike Ndlazi	15/04	Middle page 1 lead	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold, large.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
35	Kissenger to aid blacks hit whites	Guy Bernard	20/04	Top left page 2	M	Anti-white domination but is not attacking whites perse.	Hit (in headline only). Rest of the article is a factual account.	Bold over three decks. Eye catching.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
36	Language burden on too few teachers	John Mojapelo	21/04	Top left page 1 lead	M	✕	Simmering issue, enforced medium.	Catches the reader's eye because it is large and bold and the ensuing story is long but the headline is not very exciting by itself.	✕	4	Comment
37	Security cops grab 7 Soweto students	Nat Diseko	21/04	Top centre page 1 lead	T	✕	Factual account.	Bold, thick lettering.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
38	Elite speak English	Mike Ndlazi	21/04	Middle left page 15	M	English preferred over Afrikaans.	Word elite sets English speaking blacks above those who speak Afrikaans or cannot speak either.	Words Elite and English catch the reader's attention. Bold but not large.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
39	Minutes of a school board meeting	Mike Ndlazi	21/04	Top page 15	M	✕	Factual account.	Large, not bold. Does not stand out.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
40	End in sight for white domination	Patrick Laurence	23/04	Top left, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Largest on the page and bolded. Only catches the eye because it is the page lead.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation.
41	Soweto scholars held by security police	✕	23/04	Middle page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Not very distinct. Lost on page.	✕	2	Police version of events.
42	New Std 8 teachers have only passed Std 8	✕	30/04	Middle page 4 lead	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold, eye catching.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
43	Apartheid will not survive, says Buthelezi	✕	01/05	Top left page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Positive wording grads the reader. Bold, lead.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
44	Blacks undettered by Govt veto	Clive Emdon	06/05	Top page 3 lead	M	✕	Factual account although it describes an explosive situation.	Bold. Word blacks draws at the reader in.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
45	Give blacks a share, warns Oppenheimer	✕	13/05	Middle top page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold but it gets lost on the page as there are 2 emotive photos, which overshadow this story.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
46	More schools strike over Afrikaans	✕	21/05	Middle page 1	T	✕	Factual account	Bold but uninteresting.	Emotive, hands raised but used very small.	2	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
47	More join Taal strike	✕	21/05	Middle left page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, gets lost on the page.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation.
48	Parents meet on school strikes	✕	22/05	Middle left page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, draws no attention to the story.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
49	Tutu letter warms PM of violence Tutu pleads for justice in SA	Lynne Stevenson	24/05	Top page 2 lead Lead on page 1	M T	✕	Frightened, bloodshed, violence.	Bold, 3 columns. Grabs reader as it bears Tutu's name.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
50	Soweto Strikers due back in class Parents call off strike	Jan Tugwane (only appeared in T)	24/05	Middle middle page 3 Middle, middle page 1	M T	✕	Factual account.	Bold but is lost in the main edition due to the photo above the story, which draws attention away from it.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
51	More Black leaders fear race violence	Gerald Reilly	25/05	Top left page 1	M	✕	Urgent, orderly evolution.	Bold, large, grabs attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
52	More Soweto pupils on strike	Nat Serache	25/05	Middle left page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Small and bland. Does not pull attention from other elements on page.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
53	School row 'exposes the fraud'	Mike Ndlazi	27/05	Middle left page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	Word fraud draws attention. Bold, large.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
54	Striking pupils stone police after Soweto teacher stabbed	✕	28/05	Top page 2	M	Anti-students	Stoned, stabbed, hurled stones at police.	Large, grabs attention. Use of Striking and stabbed draws the reader in.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
55	All quiet on school row front	Mike Ndlazi	29/05	Middle page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	Small, non-descript.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation.
56	Senaoane kids join Soweto's long strike	Martin Mahlaba	02/06	Middle middle page 1.	T	✕	Factual account.	Bold, eye catching but unrelated photos on page compete with headline and story.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
57	Teacher stabbing – boy held	Jan Tugwana	04/06	Top page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	White on black under the masthead. Contrast makes story stick out event though it is in a tiny space.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation.
58	Soweto school violence	✕	09/06 10/06	Page 1 lead Page 3	T M	Shows excess force by police.	Fire, demonstrating.	Not very interesting or well placed to catch the reader's eye	Burnt out police car. Plain, does not add anything to the story as it is neither emotive nor impressive.	3	Journalist's interpretation.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
59	Stoning as police check on damage	✕	10/06	Top page 1 lead	M	Anti-students.	Stoning, raised fists, shouted power, hurled stones.	Large and bold, draws the reader's eye.	✕	3	Gives both the journalist's interpretation and police comment.
60	Police car burnt by protest kids	✕	10/06	Middle page 3	M	Anti-students but shows excess use of force by police.	Burnt, damaged.	Bold. Words used draw the reader in. Illustrates children were taking action.	✕	3	Gives both the journalist's interpretation and police comment.
61	Students refuse to write in Afrikaans	Jan Tugwana	11/06	Bottom left page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	Bold, relatively large.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
62	All students at seminar sent home	Nat Serache	11/06	Top page 1	T	✕	Factual account.	Bold and eye catching. Draws the reader in.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.

Articles appearing between June 16, 1976 and June 30, 1976.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
63	Police fired - then I saw four children fall	Nat Serache	17/06	Top left page 2	M	Anti-police who fired shots and threw teargas into the crowd. Also refers to the crowd as a mob.	Clubbed to death, call for revenge, mob charged, dragged, beaten with stones, clubbed with sticks.	Bold. Attracts attention as it shows action – shots fired, children fall.	Grown men standing around as an unknown victim is loaded into a mortuary van. The picture does little to tell the reader about the clash between students and the police.	3	Eyewitness account from the journalist.
64	Pupils loot van at Orlando roadblock	Nat Diseko	17/06	Middle left page 6	M	✕	Loot in heading. Story Factual account.	Not the lead but is slightly bigger than others, which are not riot related. Bold.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
65	I saw death at the hands of child power	Derrick Thema	17/06	Top left page 3	M	Refers to children as a mob. Fairly balanced as it lays blame at the feet of the children and the police who shot at them.	Child power, dragged, stoned to death, barrage of bricks. Gives children power and makes them an organised force.	Catches the reader's eye as it puts child and power into one concept.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
66	Only the tip of the iceberg, say black leaders	Helen Zillie	17/06	Top right page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Small at top of page. Gets lost on the page.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation .
67	Twice stoned … 'I was lucky to get out alive'	Gillian Murray	17/06	Top left page 5	M	✕	Factual account.	Quote, catches the reader's eye.	Head and shoulders of the victim. Does not add anything to the story as there is no action.	2	Journalist's personal account.
68	Elderly brothers among first attacked	✕	17/06	Top middle page 5.	M	✕	Factual account.	Relatively small. Would be easily missed without the accompanying photo of the brothers.	Photo of the brothers draws the reader's attention. It has an emotional as the victims are elderly.	2	Journalist's interpretation
69	Rioters stop firemen	✕	17/06	Top right page 5.	M	✕	Attacked, stoned.	Very small. Story is easily missed on the page.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation
70	Women dragger off by student mob	Chris Smith	17/06	Bottom left page 3	M	Gang of students.	Dragged out of car, beaten, hit on the head.	Emotive and bold. While this appears at the bottom of the page it still attracts the reader's attention due to the wording.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language (racial) Bias	Language loaded or emotive	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
71	Riot at Soweto	✕	17/06	Top left page 1	M	✕	Factual account but plays on the menacing facet of the riot.	Factual, has no real impact. Small.	✕	3	Comment.
72	Flaming night Sub head: Riots rage – Army on standby	✕	17/06	Lead on top page 1, continued centre, page 3	M	While it does not condemn the students the tone is more in favour of the Army and riot police.	Angry Africans, day of violence and death.	Grabs attention as it is bold, huge and centred on the front page. It also attracts the reader with the sub head.	Two photos on page 1. 1 shows the destruction in Soweto with a burnt out van in the foreground. The second shows a group of police with the charred body of an unnamed white man in Soweto. Both photos are very emotive and both show whites in a more favourable light as in both photos the loss is to whites not blacks. Two photos on page 3: the first shows protesting students. The second shows smoke form a number of burning vehicles with a burning truck in the foreground.	4	Journalist's interpretation
73	Victim loved Afrikaans	Viv Prince	17/06	Middle bottom page1	M	✕	Factual account.	Use of word victim attracts the reader to a story which would get lost below dramatic pictures of the destruction.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
74	Social worker tells of terror ride	✕	17/06	Bottom page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Attracts little attention.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
75	Riot in Soweto – warning signs were there	Patrick Laurence	17/06	Top page 15	M	While the language used is not biased, the article clearly points out that the NP government and the Bantu Education department had had ample warning that the riots where on the way and, if they had taken any notice these riots could have been avoided.	Ugly, violent turn. Violent confrontation	White on black, bold and very eye catching. Across 8 columns makes this, together with the photo the most important story on the page and forces the reader to take not. The *RDM* did not often use these headlines, making this draw more attention because it is not only big but different too.	Large photo showing a riot scene. The picture is the point of entry on the page and used larger than any of the other elements to draw attention and shock the reader with the scene. It is an effective use of this medium to make a statement and convey the message of the devastation caused by the uprising.	5	Journalist's interpretation and wrap up of the assertions made by other journalists at the *RDM* who wrote stories on the uprising.
76	The man who warned of another Sharpeville	✕	17/06	Top page 4 lead	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold. Large, 2 decks 4 columns. Spacing and use of emotion draws the reader in.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
77	I saw a child shot, and I couldn't look	Jan Tugwana and Nat Serache	18/06	Middle left page 5	M	Anti-police. Speaks of police shooting unarmed children without cause or warning.	Terror, looters, stagger and collapse, pool of blood, screaming, pleading. This is extremely emotional both in content and word usage.	The wording is very emotive which draws attention. The headline is 4 columns wide and bold making it prominent on the page.	✕	3	Journalists' interpretation.
78	We didn't expect riots, Kruger tells assembly	✕	18/06	Top, lead page 2.	M	✕	Factual account.	Large, bold. Draws attention to the story.	✕	4	Gives comment from the police but is not police propaganda.
79	Dossier of yesterday's violence	✕	18/06	Top left page 4	M	✕	Factual account done on time line between 8.00am and 5.15pm.	Headline is rather small and without the accompanying picture would not make the reader read this story.	Shows the aftermath of the uprising with a distraught woman in the foreground. 7 columns. Pulls the reader into the story.	4	Journalist's interpretation
80	Stop the riots a police dilemma	✕	18/06	Middle left page 4	M	✕	Factual account	Small, gets lost on page	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
81	Long walk home for many	✕	18/06	Middle page 5	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, gets lost on page	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation
82	Shot man ran, blood streaming	✕	18/06	Middle page 5	M	✕	Looters and stone throwers	Small, gets lost on page.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
83	Vandals burn down shop that won't serve them	✕	18/06	Bottom left page 5	M	Speaks against the residents of Soweto who took the uprising further and robbed shops, attacked people and furthered the mayhem. Mobs: most were drunk and armed with an assortment of weapons ranging from guns and pangas to stones.	Crowd described as - mob, thugs, most were drunk and armed with an assortment of weapons ranging from guns and pangas to stones.	Small type but the fact that it stretches over 3 decks makes it more prominent on the page. It does however not attract attention unless the reader is looking for stories on the uprising.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
84	Police chief can't fathom their thinking	✕	18/06	Middle page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, gets lost under unrelated photo on page.	✕	1	Police comment.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
85	Housewife tells of riot terror	✕	18/06	Middle page 2	M	Plays on the victim's looks – "an attractive …" and the fact that she was English.	Accosted. Looks at the event through the eyes of a victim Sylivia Carruthers. Another (white) victim, Freek Robinson, was hit on the head while his colleague, Chris Schutte, was also hit on the head by 'a missile' and suffered compound skull fractures. He was saved by a black man.	Quite small and gets lost on the page under a photo related to the riots but not this story.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation of an eyewitness account.
86	N/A	✕	18/06	Centre page 2	M	✕	✕	Stand alone picture	Photo of a JHB Municipal bus used to transport workers from Soweto into town set alight on 17/06. Also shows students singing with raised fists in the power sign. Others with sticks in their hands.	N/A	✕

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
87	Tembisa pupils march in sympathy	✕	18/06	Bottom page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Factual but gets lost at the bottom of the page.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
88	Sowetans shelter official	✕	18/06	Middle page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Lost within another story.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation
89	Orgy of plunder will cost millions	✕	18/06	Middle page 2	M	✕	Plunder. Otherwise factual account.	Bold and attention grabbing due to wording.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
90	Armed thugs demand money	Mat Nonyane & Chris Smith	18/06	Top left page 2	M	Armed thugs demand. Gang. Hooligans.	Factual account aside from name calling.	Draws attention due to bold type and words used.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
91	54 now dead in township riots	✕	18/06	Top left, page 1	M	Anti-rioters.	Marauding, rampaged, plundering buildings and terrorising people. Violence spread. Indiscriminate burning of buildings. Attacked and looted beer halls.	Bold, pulls attention both through size and through wording.	Large, well used photo of a beer store going up in flames.	3	Journalist's interpretation but Police quoted.
92	Police save nuns besieged in riot	Dick Epstein	18/06	Left middle, page 1	M	Anti-rioters - tells of the heroism of police – saving nuns. Police shooting in self-defence.	Factual account.	Small but stands out due to wording.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
93	Kruger tells rioters: I've had enough	Bernardi Wessels	18/06	Middle, page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Small but bold. Quote draws attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
94	'Get out quick, they're going to kill you …'	Geoff Dalglish	18/06	Bottom page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	8 columns and the threat which makes it stand out.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
95	Afrikaners' reaction to riot	Dirk Rezelman	18/06	Top right page 15	M	✕	Stresses Afrikaaner opinion and comment on the riots but does not have biased or loaded language.	Huge headline and long articles make this grab immediate attention.	Head and shoulders of Prof Willie Esterhuyse and Prof Johan Heyns. No real impact.	4	Nationalist opinions.
96	Afrikaans is not the only reason – Botha	✕	18/06	Middle bottom page 4	M	✕	Factual account	Bold, draws attention.	Shows a female student with a cut above her eye and blood streaming down her face after the police charged the students with batons. Shows police brutality without having to verbally point this out in the caption.	4	Journalist's interpretation
97	Parents to meet on crisis	✕	18/06	Middle bottom page 4	M	✕	Factual account	Small, gets lost on the page.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
98	Thugs and spivs cash in on the chaos	Martin Mahlaba	19/06	Middle top page 2	M	Anti those taking advantage of the riots to steal from Soweto shops.	Thugs, spivs, thuggery.	Stands out because of the wording – thugs and spivs	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
99	Security police hold Wits student	Helen Zillie	19/06	Left top page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Large and pulls attention but is overshadowed by the above headline.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
100	Police blackout, Kruger explains	Gillian Murray	19/06	Middle page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Boring, draws little attention.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
101	Mobs on rampage in East Rand Township	✕	19/06	Top centre page 2	M	✕	Factual account, headline has rampage in it but the language in the story is not loaded.	Emotive. Largest on page but small for length of story.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation
102	Fear … The nunu fell dead	Mike Ndlazi	19/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	The victim's name – Nunu makes this an intriguing headline because of the connotations attached to the word in English slang.	Side view of Nunu's brother and friend. Not very effective because the emotion is lost in this picture as the reader cannot see the subjects' factual expressions.	1	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
103	Property pullout as riots flare	Chris Freidman	19/06	Top, right, page2	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, gets lost on page.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
104	Looting and death in Alexandra	Doc Bakitsha	19/06	Middle, top, page 3	M	✕	Angry mob, looted, chanting.	Ineffectual, used very small and does nothing to attract the reader to the story.	Adults wielding placards – "Why kill kids for Afrikaans". Draws reader in as it is an emotional picture depicting fact that black children were slain because of a language which was not theirs. Could have been more effectual if used larger.	3	Journalist's interpretation
105	Fear hits white suburbs	Carol Lazar	19/06	Top, left, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Ineffectual, very small and wording does not draw attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation using eyewitness accounts.
106	Police guard white suburbs	Various white and black journalists and photo-graphers.	19/06	Top, centre, page 1	M	Anti black, shows the white fear and their need for protection.	Pillaging, looters, calculated bid (by blacks) to sow panic.	Large, bold and well used with a sub head offering more important information and helps draw the reader into the story.	Body of a dead girl in the foreground. Very emotive, large and effectively. Very emotional and shows the feeling behind the event as the crowds march in the background.	4	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
107	Pillage as beer and blood flow	Mervin Rees	19/06	Centre, middle, page 1	M	Anti-rioters.	Orgy of fire, pillaging.	Small, lost on page.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
108	Police made teenagers load Orlando corpses	✕	19/06	Middle page 2	M	Anti-police.	Factual account of police forcing victims to hop and run on the spot for extended periods of time and then forcing them to load corpses into a mortuary van.	Words used draw attention. The headline is small but has an emotive context which would intrigue the reader.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
109	Riots victim Edelstein is buried	Viv Prince	19/06	Left, middle, page 5	M	✕	Factual account.	Small but over 4 decks makes it noticeable.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
110	Kruger praises police action	✕	19/06	Centre, page 5	M	Police praised, Kruger tells journalists that police have not been praised sufficiently for the manner in which they have reacted to the riots.	Language is not loaded but does set the police up as heroes, police have done an outstanding job and deserve headlines for it.	Bold, attracts attention because it praises police after they had previously killed students without provocation.	✕	3	Police comment.
111	Parents' meeting is banned in Soweto	Nat Serache	19/06	Centre, page 5	M	Hints that the police are flexing their muscles, sending more people than necessary.	Factual account.	Gets lost on the page.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version	
112	Blacks tried to tell Govt of trouble	Mike Dutfield	21/06	Top left page 4	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold but not very large. Does draw attention because the story is at the top of the page but the headline does nothing for the story.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation	**By-li**
113	91 buses burnt, damaged in riot	✕	21/06	Middle left page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Small and boring.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation	
114	Has SA changed so little in 16 years?	✕	21/06	Top left, page 2	M	✕	Comment by a reporter from another paper.	Bold, large, draws attention.	✕	4	Rapport Journalist's interpretation	
115	Relief comes to riot areas	Patrick Laurence	21/06	Top, middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Large, bold, draws attention.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation	
116	Goodwill call to feed stricken riot townships	Pat Schwartz	21/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Three decks – draws attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation	
117	Regular talks with blacks in future	✕	22/06	Top centre, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold, makes a promise that there will be talks with stakeholders – blacks which draws the reader in.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation	
118	Violence aftermath 104 in court	✕	22/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	4 decks – draws attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation	

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
119	Riot peacemakers gassed	Nat Serache & Mike Louw	22/06	Middle, page 2	M	Anti-police.	Factual account.	Emotional words draw attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
120	Silent wait to view the dead	Chris Smith	22/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account	Small, gets lost on page	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
121	Schoolboy shot dead in Daveyton unrest	Doc Bakitsha & Mike Ndlazi	22/06	Top, middle page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold with a shadow which makes it stand out and draws attention.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation
122	School please refused	✕	22/06	Top, right, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Relatively small. Gets lost on page.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
123	3 townships hit by riots	John Mojapelo	22/06	Middle, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Used small but bold and the layout of the story makes this a strong headline as it, coupled with the layout draws the eye.	Students wave empty beer bottles after a bottle store had been locked and set ablaze. Very effective to show the mood in Atteridgeville at the time.	3	Journalist's interpretation
124	10 killed in latest riot flare up	Patrick Laurence	22/06	Top, right, page 1	M	✕	Factual account	Large, grabs the reader as a second point of entry on the page.	✕	4	Journalist's interpretation and police comment.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
125	We'll decide language problem soon – Botha	Bernardi Wessels	23/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account of what was said in the Assembly.	Draws attention because it puts the decision on Afrikaans in the hands of Botha and the NP and gives no option of debate or discussion with the people the language problem affects.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation of Botha's speech in Assembly. No comment from opposing side or blacks.
126	Kruger praises police	✕	23/06	Middle, near bottom of page 2	M	Pro-police. Praises them for their conduct during the uprising. Police described as young, rioters described as older, larger and threatening police who had no choice but to behave as they did.	Purely Kruger's take on the matter. While the language is not loaded it is definitely aimed at making the police out to be the victims who had no choice but to shoot at the violent students threatening their lives.	Grabs attention because it makes police the heroes.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation of Kruger's beliefs.

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
127	Rioters return to burn beerhall	Johan Buys	23/06	Top, right, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold at the top of the page. Draws attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation.
128	Six feared dead in fresh riot outbreak	Picture by Peter Magubane	23/06	Top, middle, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Huge, bold and attention drawing. 2 decks, 4 columns.	The body of 17-year-old Amos Mbata lies in the street partially covered.	4	Journalist's interpretation
129	More die as new unrest flares	Patrick Laurence	23/06	Top, page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Large, bold draws attention but is overshadowed by photo and story below..	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
130	A game of football on the battlefield.	Mike Ndlazi	23/06	Middle page 1	M	✕	Factual account of scholars and police putting their differences aside in the middle of the uprising to play a game of soccer with rifles reportedly being used as goalposts.	Tiny, lost on the page. The photo draws attention as the main point of entry on the page and draws attention to this light-hearted story in the middle of a series of extremely brutal and serious stories.	Soweto scholars and police meet on the soccer field. Not a conflict situation. Offers a break from the pictures depicting the violence of the riots. This picture is well used as it stands out among other photos and therefore draws attention.	2	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
131	Botha holds talks on riot repairs	✕	24/06	Top, right, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Draws attention but is misleading as it leads the reader to believe talks may have been with the people of Soweto which is not the case.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
132	Students in court	✕	24/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Simple. Does not stand out.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
133	Beer hall ablaze again	Johan Buys	25/06	Left middle, Page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Large in relation to story. Does attract attention.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
134	Beerhalls wrecked in stoning	Johan Buys	25/06	Left middle page 2.	M	✕	Factual account	Words wrecked and stoning draw attention.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation
135	Its all a plot says flustered Botha	Bernardi Wessels	25/06	Top middle, page 2	M	Based on assertions of Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and objections by opposition ministers to his remarks.	Factual account	Bold, word plot draws attention to this piece as well as flustered in conjunction with Botha's name.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
136	No decision yet on mass burial	✕	25/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold, pulls attention because of use of mass burial.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
137	Black leaders air their grievances	✕	26/06	Top, middle page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Page lead. Bold and eye catching.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
138	Riot was an explosion of race tension says Time	✕	26/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Student protest became a killer riot. Explosion of racial tension.	Light and inclined to be overlooked on the page, especially considering it appears directly under a photograph of drum majorettes.	✕	2	Report from Time magazine.
139	Records survive township riots	✕	26/06	Middle, page 2	M	✕	Factual account.	Small but bold which prevents the story getting overlooked.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation
140	Riots were bloodiest in 66 years	Patrick Laurence	28/06	Top left Page 5	M	✕	Factual account.	Large, bold, 3 decks. Very well used to draw attention to the story.	✕	4	Comment
141	Black Sunday in townships	Doc Bakitsha	28/06	Middle top page 5	M	✕	Factual account.	Used small, lost on page.	✕	3	Comment
142	Afrikaans but no force	✕	29/06	Middle, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold. Wording grabs attention.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation

	Title of story	By-line	Date	Page and where on page	Main or Extra	Language Bias	Language loaded	Headline treatment	Photo treatment	Length	Eyewitness or police version
143	First riot trials next week	Helen Zillie	29/06	Middle, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Gets a little lost on the page. It is however used relatively large in proportion to the story.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
144	Africans in new talks	✕	29/06	Middle, page 3	M	✕	Factual account.	Well used to bring attention to a news snippet.	✕	1	Journalist's interpretation
145	The riots: Soweto's power plan	Patrick Laurence	30/06	Top, left page 1	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold and eye catching. The headline takes more space than the story and gives a sense of the story without having to read the story.	Soweto's mayor. Used very small and does not lend anything to the story.	3	Journalist's interpretation
146	Police urged: release names of riot dead	✕	30/06	Top, middle page 4	M	✕	Factual account.	Bold, 4 columns. Eye catching.	✕	3	Journalist's interpretation
147	Police to hold talks on riot handling	✕	30/06	Middle, page 4	M	✕	Factual account.	Small, gets lost on page. Set into the story above this headline does not effectively distinguish this as a separate story.	✕	2	Journalist's interpretation