Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

> *South Africa's social history has been sustained, even delineated, by what was and was not able to be published. Colonialism, followed by apartheid, circumscribed the exchange of ideas, stunted the development of identities and nurtured the artificial growth of ideologies concerned with exclusion. The many forms of political opposition to the order of the day included publishers and publications, driven by courageous individuals who produced magazines, ran newspapers and publishing houses, and wrote, in the deliberate hope of a new order.* (Evans & Seeber, 2000: 4)

South Africa's intellectual and publishing history is linked to its social history of colonialism, apartheid, and democracy. The expansion of South African higher education after key decolonising moments – notably the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and even more extensively after the declaration of a Republic in 1961 – led to a sharp increase in the number of local tertiary institutions, academics, and scholarly publications. This growth in universities was accompanied by the formation of university presses or publishing divisions at some of these tertiary institutions: at Witwatersrand University in 1922, Natal in 1947, University of South Africa (Unisa) in 1956, Fort Hare in 1960, and Cape Town in 1990.

These university presses emerged and functioned within a specific historical context. The development of education and of publishing in the former British colonies in general has followed a particular pattern, imitating the English models of universities and their presses, and the South African experience of print culture is not unique in this regard. However, South Africa's Dutch colonialist experience had an important impact, too, not least on the late introduction of printing in this country – in 1796 after years of delay by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) – as well as on the promotion and development of Afrikaans. This mingling of colonial experiences has led to certain unique characteristics, which emerged particularly during the twentieth century, and in intensified form after the introduction of the apartheid policies from 1948 onwards. The history of publishing from that point onwards is marked by increased domination of the state and an array of repressive legislation, especially censorship or the threat of censorship, and increased segregation of

writing and reading among the country's population groups. As a result, it has become a truism to say that "[t]he history of book publishing and the print media is intimately connected to the history of colonialism and apartheid" (CIGS, 1998: 12).

The emergence of apartheid provoked a wide spectrum of responses, ranging from the one extreme of collaboration and complicity, to the middle ground of silence and tacit acceptance, to the opposite pole of opposition and resistance. The universities fell between these extremes. Because of the imposition of the policies of separate development on the universities, certain academics and students came into conflict with the state. With polarising campus conflicts throughout the 1970s and 1980s, questions arose about the nature and aims of the academy, its structure and its purpose in relation to the wider society (cf. Meisel, 2010: 130). Between the poles of collaboration and resistance, the universities became a significant site for disputes around the concept and practice of academic freedom. The history of those institutions and of their academics is thus both historically and politically important, as "intellectual practices are signals for what counts in a given historical period as a 'fact', 'knowledge', or indeed, 'truth' itself" (Gordon, n.d.: 14). But what of the freedom to publish, and especially that most intimately connected with the universities themselves – the dissemination mandate channelled through the university presses? Where did these presses fall on the scale of responses to apartheid, and how did they reflect their insertion in a wider social context?

To answer such questions, we need to look to the historical experiences of the publishing industry broadly, and of the university presses in particular. Because publishing is an important cultural industry, historians seeking sources look to its products as these form part of the record of our social and cultural history. These products, like the broader forms of records that are usually maintained and preserved in archives, make up society's "accessible memory" of itself (Brereton, 1998: 1). However, less attention has been given to the history of such publishing houses themselves and to the potential sources for social history that may be located in the records of these publishers – the voluminous correspondence, financial information, manuscripts, policies, review reports, and so on – or to what John K. Young (2006: 185) refers to as "cultural, social, and textual histories as reflected and represented through editorial theory and practice". What South African

publishing histories exist tend to have focused either on the oppositional publishing groups (such as David Philip Publishers or Ravan Press), or on the publishers that formed part of the Afrikaner establishment (such as Nasionale Pers and its subsidiaries). But, with university press publishing falling between these two extremes of resistance and complicity, it may have been ignored thus far due to a perception that it had little to tell us about either apartheid or the struggle against it. Perhaps as a result, this area has not been studied at all. In contrast, however, I will argue that such publishing can tell us more about freedom of speech within a constrained society, and thus about the interplay between academia and other, more overtly political, sections of society.

1.1.1 Publishing and print culture

> *What was and was not able to be published, has exerted undue influence on South Africa's social history*. (Greyling, 2003: 53)

Print culture has come only relatively recently to South Africa. The history of printing in South Africa dates back to the late eighteenth century, with the first printing press being installed in Cape Town in 1796. The first publishing enterprises started soon afterwards, developed by missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century to spread the Word more widely – with possibly the best-known examples being established at Lovedale, in the Eastern Cape, in 1823, and Morija, in what is now Lesotho, in 1861. Newspapers were also introduced, amid a climate of censorship and control, from 1824. The oldest continuously operating (secular) publishing house was established as recently as the mid-nineteenth century, in 1853, by a Dutch immigrant, Jan Carel Juta. Several small, family-owned houses were established in the years that followed, such as Thomas Maskew Miller's eponymous press in 1893 and the Central News Agency (better known as the CNA) in 1896. But very little of what was published in the nineteenth century was in book form; rather, the focus was on newspapers and various forms of ephemera, such as almanacs, brochures, pamphlets, and blank order forms. As Smith (1971: 131) notes, "book-printing as such had to wait for the twentieth century". Early publishing in the Cape Colony was in a variety of languages, in English, Afrikaans (Dutch) and French, as well as local African languages.

In the early years of the twentieth century, a few more local book publishers and then a number of international publishing houses began to set up shop in the then-British colonies of Southern Africa. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was formed, and the nascent country supported Britain in the world war that broke out in 1914. In 1915, with the world still at war, Oxford University Press opened a South African office to distribute its books. In the same year, J.L. Van Schaik began publishing locally and the Nasionale Pers ('National Press') was established. Just a few years later, in 1922, the first university press would be established, at Wits University.

During this early period of the twentieth century, although the early book publishers were beginning to make their mark, the vast majority of books, especially in English, were still imported. This was a common trend in the British colonies, which satisfied most of their publishing needs by importing books from the metropole. However, the pattern in South Africa was complicated by the multilingual situation, and in particular the strong promotion of Afrikaans due to the imperatives of Afrikaner nationalism: thus, on the one hand, "[t]he post-colonial period from 1910 to 1960 saw the development of a very strong publishing movement in support of the strong Afrikaner language nationalism which grew after the Anglo-Boer War", while on the other hand, "[m]ost books in English were imported from Britain, and most South African writers published in British publishing firms" (Hooper, 1997: 72). Afrikaans was promoted as a language through the activities of a number of newly formed local publishing houses, among them Van Schaik and the newspaper and book publishing groups of Nasionale Pers and Perskor (the latter an abbreviation of the Afrikaans term for 'Press Corporation'). A power struggle between the English and Afrikaans-speaking Establishment was reflected in the growth and development of publishing houses catering for these language groups.

Because of these unique factors, after World War II, and especially after 1948 (the coming to power of the National Party) and then 1961 (when South Africa became a republic), the trajectory of publishing in South Africa diverged from the general Anglophone pattern. This pattern may be briefly illustrated by the Australian example: until World War II, the demand for books was largely satisfied by imports from Britain. The war hampered the circulation of books internationally, and widespread shortages of paper had a constraining effect on

publishing in Britain, as well as other countries. For a number of reasons, local publishing began to grow and then to flourish after the war, emerging from what the publisher Allen Lane called an "absorbent phase" into a "creative phase" (quoted in Tian, 2008: 16). The publishing industry continued to grow until the late 1970s, when a world-wide economic recession led to a downturn in local publishing, and the influx of multinational companies. In the 1990s, Australian publishing again experienced a resurgence, followed by a renewed dip, again linked to the effects of global recession, in 2009.

But the South African publishing industry was partially insulated from such world-wide trends. While other countries experienced a downturn in the 1970s, government support for educational publishing and for the promotion of Afrikaans publications created a counter-trend. Moreover, the impact of economic sanctions during the 1970s and 1980s and the withdrawal of a few multinational companies served partly to stimulate the local publishing industry, as certain publications could not be imported. As a result, "international isolation … proved an effective stimulus for local production" (Greyling, 2003: 54). At the same time, constraining factors were not only economic; political shifts, from United Party to National Party, and the increasing legislation of segregation in society, affected the growth and development of new publishing houses. The political and legislative segregation of the country's population groups affected all spheres of society: "By the mid-1950s the United Party had come to accept Africans as an inextricable part of the South African community. It endorsed white leadership, but considered one of its main tasks to be the co-ordination of 'European and Native interests in the social, economic, political life of the country'. By contrast, the NP emphasis was the separate development of the different racial communities" (Giliomee, 2000: 321). But, while the local production of knowledge was promoted, it also became more inward-looking and isolated. Such trends and stimuli also affected publishing at the country's intellectual institutions, the universities.

1.1.2 Universities and the academic culture

At much the same time as the first indigenous publishing houses were beginning work in South Africa, and print technology was slowly filtering through the country, higher education was also introduced during the nineteenth century, with the South African

College (now University of Cape Town) being founded in 1829. In keeping with the country's colonial status, the first universities began life as colleges which initially offered secondary education, and then examinations through boards in London. The University of the Cape of Good Hope was founded in 1873 to become "an examination and degree-awarding institution of which all existing colleges at the time became constituent members" (Darko-Ampem, 2003: 124). This institution was later to become the University of South Africa. In 1916, the Universities Act established the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch as autonomous institutions, which could conduct their own examinations. The University College of Fort Hare was founded in the same year, in a move to provide separate education for African students.

The expansion of local educational institutions, as in other British colonies, was considered a source of self-satisfaction and pride for the 'new' nation (cf. Dubow, 2006). In the inter-war period, academics sought to carve out a specifically South African niche for themselves, excelling in fields as diverse as linguistics, palaeontology, and tropical medicine. The number of higher education institutions once again experienced a boost after World War II, and in particular after the Nationalist government came to power and restructured higher education in the 1950s.

The academic culture at the local universities was thus initially coloured by colonial ties with England, and by scholars who had studied in the imperial metropole. Over time, this shifted to include a politically emergent group of Afrikaans-speaking scholars, who were often closely allied with the governing regime after 1948. The imposition of apartheid policies on the higher education system from the 1950s onwards led to considerable changes to that system. As racially focused policies were imposed on the universities, and institutional autonomy appeared threatened, debates around the concept of academic freedom grew, but the universities were largely compliant with state policies – being reliant on state funding, among other factors. The academic boycott of the 1980s and international isolation limited the scope for local scholars further. Academia became increasingly inward-looking, cautious of giving offence, and, some have argued, mediocre. But this was not the only response: opposition grew at the same time.

Du Toit summarises this complex history by asking, "Is the intellectual colonisation and racialisation of our intelligentsia and academic institutions not a historic reality, and if so are these not threats to academic freedom?" (quoted in Taylor & Taylor, 2010: 899).

1.1.3 Repression, complicity and resistance

A discourse of complicity and resistance, with all its shades of ambiguity, is inscribed in the various literatures of South Africa. (Oliphant, 2000: 113)

The social context saw huge upheaval and political change during the twentieth century, with the National Party government coming to power in 1948, and introducing its official policies of separate development and apartheid. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Universities Act of 1955 reflected this changed context, as did the Extension of University Education Act in 1959, the introduction of new censorship laws with the Publications and Entertainment Act in 1963, and the Terrorism Act in 1967; all this, amidst a milieu of unrest and increasing opposition, as illustrated by the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960. As a result of the effects of the increasingly repressive laws and their stifling effect on freedom of expression and freedom to publish, the 1960s are sometimes known as the decade of "black silence" (Kantey, 1990: xii).

As the repression intensified, the country saw the intensification of opposition and resistance. The Freedom Charter of 1955, the Women's anti-pass March of 1956, and the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 all exemplify this. In the 1970s, as international and local opposition to apartheid grew more outspoken, several new kinds of highly politicised publishers were formed – such as David Philip Publishers, Ravan Press, Skotaville, and Ad Donker – not to mention the underground and exile publishing activities of the African National Congress (ANC) and its associates. The 1970s also saw increased pressure on freedom of speech, with the Publications Act of 1974, mirrored by increased opposition as typified by the Soweto Uprising of 1976. As a number of commentators point out, "[t]he choice facing publishers was between confrontation and capitulation". Thus, "[w]hile the larger companies, both indigenous and foreign, all played it safe and made their money on school textbooks, the small oppositional publishers tried defiance and paid the price of their boldness" (Hacksley, 2007: 2).

Opposition and resistance grew during the 1980s, amid the institution of a State of Emergency, and student and other protests became more intense. An international cultural and academic boycott started to take effect, and a number of companies left the country in protest against the government's policies. Paradoxically, this may have had a stimulus effect on local publishing efforts. As Hacksley (2007: 5) points out, "[w]ith the withdrawal of multinational publishers during the cultural boycott of South Africa in the late seventies, the influence of the old colonial models declined". The result was that, "[a]s more South African writers were published for South African readers, local voices became more audible."

The country's political and educational situation was normalised only at the beginning of the 1990s, as communism also crumbled in Eastern Europe. Nelson Mandela was released from prison and the ANC was unbanned in 1990. The year 1994, inaugurating the first majority-led government in South Africa, marks the official end of the apartheid period, and the beginning of a new era in South African history. The effects, of course, are still being felt.

This history of repression, complicity and resistance forms the backdrop for any historical study of South Africa during the twentieth century, and a study of publishing history or knowledge production is no exception.

1.2 Publishing studies and the neglect of university presses

> *Texts are not simply transmitted seamlessly across periods and places (as book history models are wont to suggest) but contemporary book culture is itself actively complicit in excluding, silencing, censoring and prohibiting. Publishing studies needs to cultivate an eye to reading the contemporary print record as much for what it excludes as for what it canonises...* (Murray, 2007: 13)

Although a broad picture of book history in South Africa may be pieced together from various studies, South African print culture and publishing history has not yet been studied in a systematic and integrated way. Yet the history of the book and of printing in South Africa tells a fascinating story, and offers an interesting lens through which to view the country's history. One may, for example, view printing as a colonial activity, sponsored (reluctantly) by the Dutch East India Company and then by the British governors at the Cape. Or the lens could turn to the role of missionaries, the presses they established, and their key

role in promoting and standardising the use of African languages. Attention has also been given to narratives of the black elite not as passive consumers of Western publications, but rather as using literacy and print for their own ends, and establishing newspapers in order to develop an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983). This angle also offers new ways of viewing the impact of apartheid in South Africa, for instance by looking at the power of the trade unions (one of the earliest of which was the South African Typographical Union) in creating preferential employment for white workers. But, as the literature review in Chapter 2 will show, there are clearly gaps in the literature, and at the same time the stories told do not form a cohesive narrative.

One of these gaps is the story of scholarly publishing in South Africa, and in particular the biography of the university presses, which have a special place in the field of scholarly publishing. In general, in fact, and in contrast to the situation in the UK, USA, Australia and Canada, "[t]he history of publishing in [African] countries makes only brief mention of university publishing for the apparent reason that this kind of publishing captures nobody's attention; neither the government nor the private sector" (Darko-Ampem, 2003: 89). Very little has been studied or written of the history of scholarly publishing or the university presses in South Africa – indeed, there has been no focused study of any of the university presses. To date only a few articles and book chapters, and parts of a DPhil dissertation, touch on aspects of this country's university press publishing – see, for instance Gray, 2000; Darko-Ampem, 2003; Ebewo and other chapters in Ngobeni, 2010 – while some attention has been given to the history of Oxford University Press in South Africa (see Davis, 2011; Nell, forthcoming). One of the reasons for this lack of scholarly interest may be that book history scholars largely focus on fiction, and not non-fiction, and priority is thus given to literary publishing in research studies. Another factor may be linked to interest in the country's political (and politicised) history: to date, publishing history studies from the apartheid period have tended to focus either on the oppositional publishing groups (such as David Philip, Ravan or Taurus), or on the publishers that formed part of the Afrikaner establishment (such as Nasionale Pers). University press publishing, while often associated with the promotion of academic freedom, is situated between the two poles of resistance and complicity. As a result, my contention is that it has been ignored thus far due to a perception that it had little to tell us about either apartheid or the struggle against it.

In contrast, I argue, such publishing can tell us a great deal about academic freedom in a constrained society, and about the interplay between the universities and other sectors of society. While apartheid had a constraining effect on freedom of expression in South Africa, it would be of interest to ascertain whether, while some universities became known for an anti-apartheid stance, the university presses responded by playing a similarly oppositional role. It has often been contended that these presses resisted the repressive forces of apartheid, but in fact, oppositional or activist academics rather tended towards publishing abroad or with the independent publishers, such as David Philip and Ravan Press. While there was an atmosphere of repression, state censorship and the banning of books, the degree of interference in the university presses appears to have been minimal. Strict control of publishing would have been difficult and costly, and it seems more likely that the presses practised a form of self-censorship: "The effects of apartheid turn out to be not simply the direct results of discrimination or of repressions, but to be also indirectly articulated through informal selection, through the production and reproduction of a certain knowledge" (Rex, 1981: ii). Certainly, what Sapiro terms "extra-intellectual values" (2003: 449) would also have had an effect on the selection and certification roles of the university presses.

The study of university presses has thus far been neglected, and their historical significance under-estimated. Suttie (2006: 284) argues that this has been the case for university library histories as well, ignored due to their 'institutionality'. However, she makes a strong case for the importance of such studies:

> The 'institutionality' of libraries discloses their plurality and diversity and often explains their contradictoriness, serving different constituencies and interests, accommodating conflicting and competing ideologies, apparently serving many masters. Researching libraries from the vantage point of social and cultural history is therefore likely to uncover such embeddedness of ideology and consciousness in library management and practice, not to mention its potential to identify intellectual and political currents.

Similarly, then, a study of the publishing structures of higher education institutions can reveal the diversity and contradictions of responses to the apartheid control of universities.

This will enable a relational analysis of academic freedom and intellectual trends, linked to the concrete evidence of publication outputs and policies.

1.3 Aims of the study

The university presses published actively during a very complex era in South African history, and at a time when scholars and students were fighting for the right to academic freedom and to freedom of speech. It could be expected that their publishing programmes would shed new light on this historical period, and on the struggles between academia and the government. This study attempts to fill the gap in our knowledge of local scholarly publishing and its wider context, by focusing on the history of South Africa's university presses, as well as the links and discontinuities between their publishing lists and philosophies, and questions of academic freedom, access to the privilege of publishing, and the research communication cycle. The study is inserted into growing scholarly interest in the history of the book, as well as growing "appreciation for the institutional bases of power in knowledge production" (Frickel & Moore, 2006: 7).

1.3.1 The research question

The main research question which this study aims to investigate is the following:

What does the history of South Africa's university presses reveal about knowledge production and academic freedom during the apartheid period?

This key question can be elaborated further: Did South Africa's university presses play an oppositional role during the apartheid period, producing publications that challenged public perceptions and the government, or did they play a more apolitical role as service-oriented departments within their institutions? If they 'failed' as oppositional publishers, why is this the case? Can the concrete evidence of a scholarly publisher's output be used to comment on patterns in intellectual thinking? In answering the main research question, this study is intended to reflect on academic freedom in South Africa during the apartheid era, and to contribute to the debate on social and intellectual history during this period by providing a

lens for examining the impact of apartheid policies on higher education, research and the circulation of knowledge in society.

1.3.2 Sub-questions

Sub-questions that arise out of the main research question, and which this study will aim to answer, include the following:

- What was the motivation for establishing university presses at certain local universities (and, by extension, why were they *not* established at other universities), and what were their publishing philosophies and missions?
- To what extent did or do the local university presses conform to international models of scholarly publishing, and specifically what I refer to as the 'Oxford model'?
- How can we conceptualise the shifting roles and intellectual responses – between resistance and complicity – as represented by academic knowledge production?
- What did the local presses actually publish during the apartheid period, and what do their publishing lists, author profiles and philosophies reveal about their and academics' shifting responses to apartheid?
- To what extent can the local university presses be seen as oppositional publishers, and what was the role of the independent oppositional publishers?

Through archival research, a literature review, and the compilation and analysis of bibliographies, the aim of this study is to contribute to a social history of the South African university presses focusing on the twentieth century, and specifically the apartheid period (in this case, 1960–1990). An examination of the histories, organisation and achievements of the country's university presses during this period – i.e. the university presses of the Universities of the Witwatersrand, of Natal, and of Unisa – is expected to provide further insight into the country's narratives of colonialism and decolonisation, nationalism and identity, as these are reflected in the knowledge production of academics of the apartheid period. The results of the study are also expected to deepen our understanding of intellectual history during a significant period of South African history, and to have an

impact on the present by strengthening the current practices of university presses, both in South Africa and beyond.

1.4 Methodology

In order to tackle the research question, an appropriate methodology must be employed. Because this field has not previously been the object of study, and additionally because of the newness and diversity of publishing studies, the researcher faces the difficulty of not being able to build on previous work and established techniques, but of working in *terra incognita*. The study thus uses a combination of methods and techniques from a variety of fields, in an innovative and interdisciplinary approach, to develop an appropriate methodology for answering the research questions.

In general, the research methods used in publishing studies vary widely, partly because of the dual nature of the field: it is at once a highly academic field, specifically in terms of the (inter)discipline of book history, and a vocational field, focused on training people to work in publishing. The complexity is increased through the dual nature of publishing itself, a field that is at once a commercial industry, concerned with products and profits, and a cultural industry, concerned with ideas. Publishing studies is thus a highly interdisciplinary field, resting mainly on three pillars – history, literary studies, and bibliography (Howsam, 2006) – and borrowing methods or developing hybrid or synthetic methods from all of these, as well as various other disciplines (including some as diverse as media and communications studies, sociology, anthropology, and political economics); examining, in effect, "how the practices and institutions of textual production, transmission, and reception are imbedded in and informed by larger social and political structures" (Suarez, 2003–4: 153). Partly because of this interdisciplinarity, there is a recognised lack of methodological and theoretical coherence in the field. Indeed, this diversity and interdisciplinarity raise their own problems and challenges for the scholar in publishing studies, as there is no shared vocabulary, few common methodologies, and little integrated research that synthesises prior findings. As Suarez (2003–4: 145) reminds us, "the forms our questions take often dictate the nature of the answers we develop".

Martyn Lyons (2010), in a recent keynote address, refers to the historical development of the methods used in book history and publishing studies over the past century. He begins with the seminal work of the Annales school of historians in France. Their use of statistical data and quantitative data, and later move towards the use of case studies, set the model for a great deal of publishing studies to follow. These methods remain widely used, especially those in the sub-fields of cultural history and social history, in the tradition of scholars like Roger Chartier. To illustrate his approach, Chartier argues, for instance, that "[t]he task at hand is thus not to explore so-called popular culture yet again but to analyse how various elite groups – state administrative personnel, enlightened notables, specialists in the social sciences – have understood and presented a fragment of the reality in which they lived", as well as "how, in different times and places, a specific social reality was constructed, how people conceived of it and how they interpreted it to others" (1989: 4–5).

The second historical movement identified by Lyons was that of British Marxism (as articulated in the journal *Past and Present*). Their collective studies of the working class and labour movements provided a new prism for viewing history generally and print culture specifically, and paved the way for studies of 'ordinary' readers, of printers and their apprentices, and of small, especially subversive, publishing houses. The use of sociological methods enabled a shift in print culture studies towards work focused on the writings of smaller groups of ordinary people, such as emigrants or the poor. An echo of such studies may be seen in South African researchers' preoccupation with the links between printing or publishing and the labour movements, as exemplified by the South African Typographical Union (see, for instance, Ewert, 1990; Downes, 1951).

Lyons then refers to the so-called linguistic turn in theory, which focused on the deconstruction of discourse, and on studies of how discourses are constructed (rather than consumed). The post-structuralists have not had a great influence on publishing studies, except in the sense that the so-called "new history" (to use Lyons's term) privileges individual narratives and personal experience. The move is now towards micro case studies, and the use of both direct and indirect sources, such as diaries and oral histories. An example in the South African context is Lenta's (1997) examination of the editing and transcription of Lady Anne Barnard's diaries. These narratives are often supplemented by

more 'traditional' data collection methods, examining for instance library records, the paratexts of different editions of books, and so on. There is also a shift towards looking at the reader rather than the consumer, often from an anthropological perspective (using the methodology of ethnography). In contrast to these micro-studies, there is also growing use of technologies such as geographical information systems (GIS), to create macro-studies such as historical geographies of the book (to produce maps showing the historical movement of printers, for instance). An important book edited by Ogborn and Withers (2012) examines precisely the "geographies of the book".

The over-arching methodology used for this study has been influenced, to differing extents, by all of these main threads. The influence of social history is clear in the way in which the study uses case studies and attempts to reconstruct the activities and perceptions of a small group at a specific time in history. The influence of sociological and political science methodologies can also be traced, in the theoretical construct of a continuum of resistance and complicity, and in the use of methods such as content analysis and key informants. The influence of the linguistic turn may be seen in the use of content analysis and the concept and use of discourse. The study also looks at micro cases, in that it focuses on a few specific publishers during a specific period. The various methods that this study will employ will now be examined.

1.4.1 Literature review

The study relies on a focused literature review as base. A literature review aims to provide a "clear and balanced picture of current leading concepts, theories and data relevant to the topic" (Hart, 1998: 173). A summative or integrative review, as employed here, may also be used to summarise past research in a particular field. The review thus helped to sketch a clearer picture of previous studies of university presses, as well as the development and dispersal of the so-called Oxford model of university press publishing.

As background to the study, and to situate it within the broader field of book history, a much wider literature review on book history in South Africa was first conducted (Le Roux, 2010a; Le Roux, 2012a). This was considered appropriate because "book history as a field

seeks to trace the histories and social consequences of the production, distribution and consumption of print" (Hofmeyr & Kriel, 2006: 10). The methodology began with a search of the Index to South African Periodicals (ISAP) and Book History Online for sources relating to South Africa and to publishing in a broad sense. This netted a large number of sources focused on current trends in publishing, as well as a few historical sources. Then, starting with the bibliographies of certain key articles from special issues of journals published since 2001, a snowball technique was used to locate further relevant sources. Personal communication with a number of scholars added further sources. A number of the works reviewed, even the majority, may not describe themselves as 'book history' or even publishing studies, but were included for their relevance – with inclusion based on criteria such as a historical focus, a concern with books as material objects, or attention to the publishing and/or reception context of texts. The literature review thus compiled cannot claim to be a truly comprehensive overview, especially given the wide array of disciplines with a stake or interest in this field, but it is certainly the most complete to date.

For the purposes of the study, and because of the dearth of research in this particular field, the literature review of book history studies needed to be supplemented by further kinds of published research. Thus, secondary sources consulted also included the published histories of a number of university presses world-wide (largely in the UK and USA, but also in Commonwealth countries such as Australia, and in other African countries), as well as wider studies of scholarly publishing and its evolution in other contexts, for comparative purposes. From this literature, the outlines of the Oxford model emerged, as described in Chapter 2.

However, a different kind of literature also had to be consulted, because of the inter-disciplinary and historical focus of the study. For this reason, the literature review in this study is divided into two parts: the first part, in Chapter 2, examines the concept of university press publishing, and the models used world-wide, as well as the literature on publishing studies in South Africa. This chapter forms the backdrop for Chapter 3, which traces the origins and structures of the university presses – their application of the model of the university press in practice. The second part of the literature review, in Chapter 4, examines the concept of academic freedom in greater detail, referring to the historical context in which resistance or complicity emerged. The chapter also examines the literature

on oppositional publishing in the South African context, for comparative purposes. The most important contribution of this chapter is methodological, as it includes the development of a tool which will be used in the analysis and classification of university press publications. To develop this methodology, a wide range of theoretical sources was consulted (to be described in greater detail in the theory section of the methodology, section 1.4.6 below).

In addition to the literature review, further quantitative and qualitative methods were used.

1.4.2 Quantitative methods

This study uses elements of both quantitative and qualitative research methods, in a blended approach. The collection of raw statistical data and the creation of enumerative bibliographies is essentially quantitative work, to provide the basis for further study. In this field, Francis Galloway is particularly well known for her use of a quantitative methodology to further our knowledge of publishing in South Africa. Indeed, her studies aim to develop a research framework based almost entirely on statistical analysis (see, for instance, Galloway, 2002; 2004). Internationally, a number of studies of early printing, especially those based on the French Annalistes' approach, are based on a similar approach, involving the collection of statistics and the application of quantitative social history methods to textual production and reception.

However, while there have been a number of useful baseline studies, there is also a great deal of criticism of business-focused, descriptive industry research, based on an enumerative methodology and bibliometrics. Robert Darnton (2002: 240) notes that their value lies in revealing broad trends and patterns, and providing a basis for further study:

> … however flawed or distorted, the statistics provided enough material for book historians to construct a general picture of literary culture, something comparable to the early maps of the New World, which showed the contours of the continents, even though they did not correspond very well to the actual landscape.

Simply producing these statistics is not enough, for, as Eliot (2002: 287) argues, "quantitative book history carries with it a responsibility to make sense of what it reveals".

Joshi (2002: 271, emphasis added) concurs, using the same verb: "the endless lists [of statistics] are interesting not simply as raw numbers but in their capacity to *reveal* a wider literary sociology". The key problem, then, with the use of a quantitative method is that such studies are often more descriptive than critical, and that the analysis and interpretation of the data collected may be lacking. However, done well, such a study is of enormous value. D.F. McKenzie's study of Cambridge University Press (1966) is exemplary in its use of historical bibliography as well as economic history. The present study is not specifically quantitative in nature, but it does build on McKenzie's approach by combining rigorous analysis of actual bibliographical data with consideration of the broader historical, sociological and political contexts of university press publishing.

1.4.3 Historical bibliography

In terms of quantitative methods, this study does not focus to a great extent on statistical analysis or production figures *per se.* Rather, the study relies on the methods of historical bibliography, which assumes that books are a primary source of information on production, information exchange, and on their social context and history (see Finkelstein & McCleery, 2002). In line with the bibliographical approach, one of the first activities necessary to conduct this study was the attempt to compile a comprehensive listing of all of the titles published by the South African university presses. Since no such bibliography exists, except in fragmentary and incomplete form, the first method used was to manually compile a list of titles published for each of the core university presses – Wits, Natal and Unisa – based on the South African National Bibliography (SANB) compiled by the South African National Library (now the NLSA), the country's main Legal Deposit institution and library of record. To verify the lists, comparisons were also made with archives and ISBN lists held by the publishers themselves (for material published after 1968); the library holdings described in the online catalogues WorldCat and SACat; the catalogue and holdings of Unisa Library, the largest academic library in South Africa; and catalogues and other marketing materials from the publishers themselves (where these exist). Reviews in academic journals were also located, where possible, to assess the impact and scope of the readership of these texts. Wherever possible, extant copies of the works themselves were consulted for further

bibliographical clues. The use of multiple sources of evidence helped to ensure that the bibliographies captured accurate and valid information.

An attempt was also made to verify the bibliographies against the Production Trends Database (PTD), produced by the University of Pretoria and based on the National Library's SANB (the PTD is further described in Galloway, 2004). Unfortunately, the PTD data was found to be too corrupt to be of much use, with, for instance, at least 50 duplicate records for Unisa Press alone, as well as eight inaccurate records. Many of the PTD records were incomplete or lacked some of the basic data sought, and the database was difficult to use. The PTD was thus not used for verification.

The categories used for the manual compilation of the bibliographies were as follows: title, author(s) or editor(s), ISBN, year of publication (and of subsequent reprints and new editions), language, subject category, series (where applicable), extent (in number of pages), price, and any other significant information that could be found. The physical aspects of the books, such as bindings, paper, illustrations and type, were beyond the scope of this enumerative bibliography. The bibliographies thus assembled are available in the form of a CD-ROM packaged together with this PhD dissertation.

After compilation of the bibliographies, the next step was a content analysis of the titles, in order to place this publishing history within a wider historical context. This is, once again, one of the methods of historical bibliography. Keeping in mind Murray's (2007: 6) criticism of the "... larger failure of quantitative studies of the book to engage in dialogue with the key trends in qualitative humanities research over preceding decades", the study makes a deliberate attempt to contextualise the bibliographies, to analyse them, and to draw out their implications in a wider sense. McKenzie (as quoted in Finkelstein & McCleery, 2002: 29) also criticises bibliographies unlinked to a wider sense of history: "For any history of the book which excluded study of the social, economic and political motivations of publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed to die, would degenerate into a feebly digressive book list and never rise to a readable history." The aim is closely linked to Murray's argument that:

The productiveness of such works for a discipline of publishing studies lies in their situating of publishing within a complex network of cultural-political concerns. Publishing thus emerges not as a passive medium for transmission of ideologies, but as itself inextricably implicated in maintaining and/or challenging ideological structures. (2007: 15)

Bearing such aims and potential pitfalls in mind, it was thus considered important to supplement these methods with more qualitative and analytical techniques and tools.

1.4.4 Historical research and archives

On its own, the method of compiling and analysing a bibliography cannot answer the research questions. To gain deeper insights, a more qualitative approach must be employed, in order to study the publishing process as a social and cultural phenomenon within a specific context. Research questions following such a method may focus on texts, on people and institutions, or on concepts, but always on context. Qualitative research is sometimes seen as unstructured, and this may be the case with some kinds of research in this field, such as historical archival research or document analysis (usually based on primary sources). But such research may also be quite structured, using questionnaires (often open-ended) or in-depth interviews to elicit more information. This kind of research enables the less tangible factors to emerge, such as social influence or gender roles, or to describe and explain relationships.

A social history approach, based on the use of figures, but relating them to a wider context, is becoming more common in book history studies. In general, publishing is seen as a reflection of the social history of the times: "It [publishing] is a source of information and knowledge and a vehicle for political, social and cultural expression – this is particularly important in a context where expression has been deliberately suppressed and creativity discouraged" (CIGS, 1998: 12). Joan Shelley Rubin (2003: 566), for instance, categorises publishing history studies in the United States as (i) those devoted to "taking stock"; (ii) studies of values and needs shaping the publishing industry; and (iii) studies of the concept of culture and society. Rubin (2003: 561) asks, with reference to the second category, "Which values, interests, ideologies, and needs have shaped the production, dissemination,

and reception of books?" – a question which is certainly of relevance to a number of studies of South African publishing, and how forms of mediation (such as censorship or literacy) have an effect on what is or may be produced. Indeed, Foucault held the "social appropriation of discourse to be one of the primary procedures for gaining control of discourse, subjecting it, and putting it beyond the reach of those who through limited competence of inferior position were denied access to it" (as described by Chartier, 1989: 13).

A significant research method in the social history model of publishing studies is the use of exemplars or case studies, to look at "the relationship between particular observations and more far-reaching analysis" (Suarez, 2003–4: 154). Case studies of both people and organisations are employed, because they allow for in-depth investigations. What is the publishing history of an individual text, author, or publishing house? Some see this as the most appropriate methodology for studies of publishing, print culture and social history; Chartier (1989: 3) argues that "[t]he access to print culture we propose is not through a synthesizing, global approach but, quite to the contrary, by means of case studies – more accurately, object studies". Smaller case studies can also help us to address broader, more theoretical issues, if we understand the relationship between our particular observations and more far-reaching analysis. The use of case study methods is significant because it enables individual cases to be described in detail.

It is also important to remember that qualitative historical studies are only made possible by the availability of sources, such as extant archives or census data. This enables us to create an evidence-based understanding of a certain period in the past. The historical materials required for this study were largely archival – including correspondence, the minutes of committee meetings, reports, memoranda, newsletters, catalogues, publicity materials and copies of the books published – and were located around the country, in Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Pietermaritzburg. Problems were encountered with gaps in the archives, largely relating to the decisions made over the years as to what was valuable enough to preserve. These decisions reveal the dual nature of an archive: compiled for functional reasons, but later used to create or maintain a historical record:

The primary functions of records are the functions that the actor had in mind when creating them and in particular the evidential functions. In their primary function records play an active role: they document and regulate social relations. The secondary function of records is the function which the actor generally does not have in mind, and which records only acquire once they have fulfilled their primary functions: the cultural-historical function or the function of source for historical research. (Thomassen, 2001: 376)

Thus, for Wits University Press, for instance, relevant material was found to be located in the corporate institutional archives and in the Press itself, as well as in the historical records of the William Cullen Library. In the institutional archive, there was some information on the early years of the press, from 1922 until about 1969, including an unofficial 'history' of the Press written in 1969. For the 1970s through to the 1990s, the records were entirely to be found among the files and records of the Press itself. For UNP, records were largely located in the institutional archives, with only a few supplementary documents being housed at the Press. Most of the Minutes of the Press Committee meetings were available, although a file containing records for the early years was missing.

In contrast, Unisa Press has a more complete record available, again split between the Library's formal archive and the Press records, but gaps were still encountered – for instance, a file marked 'Important Reports', and purporting to contain significant foundational documents such as the Ziervogel Report, was empty. Nonetheless, the complete run of Publications Committee Minutes could be consulted, with a great deal of supporting documentation available in the form of correspondence, readers' reports, and other information.

Darnton (1982: 76) notes that this inconsistency in availability of documentation is typical of publishers, noting that "publishers usually treat their archives like garbage". He goes on: "Although they save the occasional letter from a famous author, they throw away account books and commercial correspondence, which usually are the most important sources of information for the book historian." Indeed, Fredeman (1970: 187) elaborates, "[f]aced with endemic problems of storage, many publishers regularly destroy correspondence, business records, vouchers, and printing orders according to predetermined regulations and schedules in order to reduce the sheer bulk of accumulated papers, though some kinds of

documents are classified 'Not to be destroyed', or 'Keep Always'." This is an ongoing problem at publishers, including university presses.

Because of the dearth of documentary evidence available, and to improve the validity of the information collected, the archival and secondary research conducted for this study was supplemented by qualitative methods such as content analysis and interviews, with a select group of academics who were involved in research and publishing during the apartheid era.

1.4.5 Qualitative methods

The key method used for engaging with the bibliographies was that of content analysis. Content analysis is useful in this regard, as it is "a systematic research method for analyzing textual information in a standardized way that allows evaluators to make inferences about that information" (GAO, 1996: 7). This method, used in a qualitative rather than quantitative sense, enables us to examine shifts in terminology over time as well as to categorise and compare a large group of publications (Krippendorff, 2004: 93). One of the advantages of content analysis is that it helps to illuminate the attitudes or perceptions of the authors of various documents (GAO, 1996: 8).

The content analysis in this case was performed on the whole sample of publications produced under the auspices of the core university presses (Wits, Natal and Unisa), within a specific period. The analysis is limited in certain ways: for a start, the sample of the university presses is limited to the three at Wits, Natal and Unisa. As elaborated in the section on limitations of the study (section 1.7, below), these were the only operational university presses during the period under investigation. Fort Hare had a university press for a time, but due to a dearth of sources, it was elected to omit this smaller publisher. Cape Town established a university press only in the 1990s, which falls outside the scope of this analysis. Another limitation is that the content analysis focuses on books only, and thus does not include service publications, but the definition is of books in a very broad sense, including research papers, inaugural lectures, and conference proceedings. The analysis also does not include journals, for the key reason that their oversight processes (peer review and selection) are not the same as those of the university press when selecting book

manuscripts; rather, the press performs only a service role in publishing and distributing the journals.

The content analysis is also restricted in terms of the historical timeframe, focusing on the period between 1960 and 1990. These placeholder dates correspond to important milestones in South African history. The first, 1960, comes immediately in the aftermath of the passing of the Extension of University Education Act in 1959. Under this Act, no non-white person was allowed to register as a student at a traditionally white university without express permission from the relevant minister. The year 1960 was also a key date in the struggle against apartheid, with the Sharpeville Massacre being followed by intensified government repression. At the other end of the timescale, 1990 also stands out as a significant date in the nation's history, as the unbanning of the ANC and the freeing of Nelson Mandela not only signalled but expressly demonstrated a sea change in the politics of the country (for more on the impact of these dates on higher education in South Africa, see Badat, 2008; Bunting, 2002).

But, as there are limits to what a content analysis can reveal, it is supplemented by an author profile of the three key presses, Wits, Natal and Unisa. This research technique provides further context to the description and categorisation of the content and themes of publications, as well as revealing who had access, as an author, to the university presses as publication outlets. Attention is also paid to the business practices, distribution and marketing of the university presses. This inclusion of the wider societal and institutional context enables greater insight into the policies and constraints informing the selection of the titles that are included in the content analysis, and thus provides greater explanatory power.

The second key supplementary technique was that of using key informants. Using the key informant technique, a small group of scholars was identified: those who had been involved in the university presses in various capacities over the years, and who could thus be expected to have opinions and knowledge concerning their history. The informants were selected based on the generally accepted criteria of: knowledgeability, credibility, impartiality, and willingness to respond (Kumar, 1989: 30; Marshall, 1996: 92). The use of

key informants is recommended for qualitative research, because they are able to provide in-depth information on attitudes and motivations, which are seldom captured in official documents (Kumar, 1989: 2). Some of the advantages of this methodology include the following:

- Key informant interviews often provide more in-depth knowledge, information and insights than could be obtained using other methods (e.g. archival research alone). They can also offer opinions or interpretation as well as facts: "One precise advantage of oral evidence is that it is interactive and one is not left alone, as with documentary evidence, to divine its significance; the 'source' can reflect upon the content and offer interpretations as well" (Lummis, quoted in Yow, 1994: 10).
- This high-quality data may be obtained in a relatively short time (Marshall, 1996: 93).
- The informants may offer confidential information that is not found in the public record, and would likely not be revealed in other settings, such as the official minutes of committee meetings.
- It is a flexible technique, partly because an interview guide is used rather than a questionnaire: "Key informant interviews provide flexibility to explore new ideas and issues that had not been anticipated in planning the study but that are relevant to its purpose" (see Kumar, 1989: 3).

In the field of historical research, the key informant method is not widely used, except when oral histories are being collated to supplement a scarcity of documentary sources – as in this case. As historical research begins to draw in methodologies from other disciplines, such as ethnography, this technique may become increasingly common (Yow, 1994: 1). In South Africa, where the use of oral history is widely practised and accepted, this technique is appropriate when developing a social history. In addition, in the field of publishing studies, key informant techniques have been used in a variety of settings, including print training (e.g. Smallbone, Supri & Baldock, 2000), marketing strategies (e.g. Walker & Ruekert, 1987) and the impact of new technologies (Anand, Hoffman & Novak, 1998). It is thus considered a suitable technique for this study.

An attempt was also made to counter the potential limitations of this particular method. First, the sample was made as representative as possible, in terms of the university presses under investigation – an attempt was made to source informants from the universities of the Witwatersrand, Natal, and South Africa (Unisa), as well as Fort Hare (though with no success in the latter case). Because of the possibility of subjectivity or bias, and the limited nature of information obtainable from such informants, multiple sources of evidence were again used, to triangulate or ensure the validity and consistency of the data collected. Thus, secondary materials, largely scholarly studies on topics such as higher education, censorship and academic publishing, were also very useful to corroborate inferences and fill in certain gaps. In addition, such materials assisted in the assessment of the primary sources for potential bias. An attempt was made to remain aware of the potential bias of sources; at the same time, evidence of bias is at times revealing of attitudes and perspectives at certain periods in the past. Moreover, what is known as "elite bias" (Kumar, 1989: 31) is unavoidable, because of the elitist nature of university research and publishing.

1.4.6 Theoretical models

The theoretical basis for this study is, like the methods employed, eclectic. In the main, insights from book history, sociology and intellectual history are used to structure the argument and enable a deeper understanding of certain concepts. In book history, for instance, there is widespread use of the theoretical constructs embodied in Robert Darnton's communications circuit (1982) and Pierre Bourdieu's fields of cultural capital (1993). But a somewhat wider range of theoretical models also had to be drawn in, to cover the range of concepts used in this study. As De Glas (1998: 395) has pointed out, there is no single model by which we can analyse the publishing list of a publisher or determine its position in the field of cultural production: "we have no fixed coordinates by which everything can be measured". A key methodological advance of this study thus involves the application of models from a variety of disciplines to the analysis of publishing history.

Bourdieu's cultural sociological model of publishing, which he conceptualises as a series of interrelated 'fields', is widely used to provide a framework for publishing histories. Of particular relevance to this study is his conceptualisation of a "field of restricted production"

(rather than a "field of large-scale cultural production"), as this tallies most closely with the conditions under which scholarly publishing operates. University presses publish on the basis of a mandate, often for non-profit purposes; this echoes Bourdieu's view that, "[i]n [the field of restricted production] properly economic profit is secondary to enhancement of the product's symbolic value and to (long-term) accumulation and gestation of symbolic capital by producers and consumers alike" (Bourdieu, 1985: 13). Moreover, the specialised use of peer review as a selection mechanism is also a feature of the field of restricted production (FRP): "The FRP is fairly closed on itself and enjoys a high degree of autonomy; this is evident from the power it has to develop its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products. But even the producer within FRP has to define himself in relation to the public meaning of his work. This meaning originates in the process of circulation and consumption through which the work achieves cultural recognition" (Bourdieu, 1985: 14).

Bourdieu's theoretical framework has, to date, largely been applied to literary or artistic studies, but a careful reading of his use of the term "cultural" shows that he intends it to refer to the "intellectual, artistic and scientific" (1985: 16) fields. University press publishing provides a good case study of the intellectual or even scientific field of production. The examination of university presses forms a unique case study because of the balance between commercial imperatives (economic capital) and academic merit (symbolic capital). Davis, for instance, uses this theoretical understanding to examine the twentieth-century publishing history of OUP in South Africa, although she concludes that "[t]he cross-subsidisation of economic and symbolic capital in the publishing industry is contradictory according to Bourdieu's model" (Davis, 2011: 98). She finds that, for OUP in particular, "[e]conomic capital generated at the periphery supported the cultural endeavours in the metropole whilst symbolic capital accrued by the academic, Oxford-based Clarendon Press helped sell educational textbooks throughout Africa and Asia" (Ibid.). The model thus has certain limitations in this specific setting.

Thus, it may be that this model does not apply particularly well to the university presses in South Africa. Developed largely for utilitarian purposes, with a secondary purpose of boosting the research reputation of the host institutions (i.e. symbolic capital), the local presses did not have an economic role (i.e. a profit-making role) until very late in the

twentieth century. Although they had always struggled for funding and other resources, at this time, there was intensified pressure to become self-supporting and even to generate a surplus (a fairly unrealistic expectation given the market size and demand for scholarly books in South Africa). Moreover, the interference of external factors such as the state in the supposedly 'autonomous' field of intellectual production is a factor falling beyond a traditional analysis using Bourdieu's terms. Bourdieu's model is thus not fully applicable in this context, although it provides a theoretical background for understanding how publishing operates at various different levels.

Another cultural sociologist, Richard Peterson, has also developed a theoretical model to describe the production of cultural goods (like publications), the so-called production of culture perspective. Peterson's (1985) work focuses on the producers at all points of the value chain, which is akin to Bourdieu's focus on the position-taking of different subjects in the fields of cultural production. However, where Bourdieu does not take into account the producers to a great extent (his focus tends to fall on authors, to a very limited extent publishers, and then on consumers such as critics), Peterson specifically examines those involved in material production processes. He argues that "the nature and content of symbolic products, such as literary works, are significantly shaped by the social, legal, and economic milieux in which they are created, edited, manufactured, marketed, purchased and evaluated" (Peterson, 1985: 46). This has now become a common way of looking at discourse, in fields such as cultural history and intellectual history. The focus in this study falls to a greater extent on the production and gatekeeping processes described by Peterson than on the authors themselves (i.e. academics), but Peterson's emphasis on the larger environment is significant.

Indeed, one of the merits of Robert Darnton's celebrated communications circuit (see Figure 1.1), which is widely used in publishing history studies, is that it factors in this external environment to a greater extent than various other models. As with any model, it too would require adaptation to the special demands and logic of scholarly publishing in the apartheid period, but it is specifically designed to be adapted to various settings. As Darnton (1982: 67) notes, this model "concerns each phase of [the publishing] process and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems,

economic, social, political, and cultural, in the surrounding environment". Gordon Johnston (1999) has developed a sophisticated model of *samizdat* publishing on the basis of Darnton's conceptualisation of publishing, and his model served as theoretical inspiration for this study.

Methodologically, the communications circuit described by Darnton (1982) has been extended by the socio-economic model of book history described by Adams and Barker (1993) (see Figure 1.2). The key difference between these two models is that Darnton's privileges the role of individuals in the publishing value chain, while Adams and Barker highlight the primacy of the book as material object. The latter model also emphasises the 'survival' of the book, in modes beyond its original edition. Neither model places the publisher at the centre, nor can they trace philosophical shifts in publishing strategy over time. While Darnton's model is of most use when describing the life cycle of a single book, Johnston's (1999) use of this model to describe the history of *samizdat* publishing reveals its explanatory power in a wider oppositional publishing context. Building on these models, Claire Parfait's (2012) questions about publishing history help to structure an investigation into the nature of publishing. She asks: Who published (the works in question)? Who paid for these works to be published? How were they circulated? How were they received? And what was their influence? These questions reflect key nodes of the publishing value chain (or communications circuit), and highlight the significant editorial decisions that must be made at each node. Thus, these models remain of great importance in conceptualising the various interconnecting 'events' and influences at work in the publishing process.

So, while Darnton's model is not overtly applied as a methodological tool, once again the reminder of the larger environment and the broad publishing value chain is salutary. Where such models fall short, though, is in the complicated interplay between the academic or institutional setting, the very specific political setting, and the wider social setting of the apartheid period – and the various shifts and changes over time.
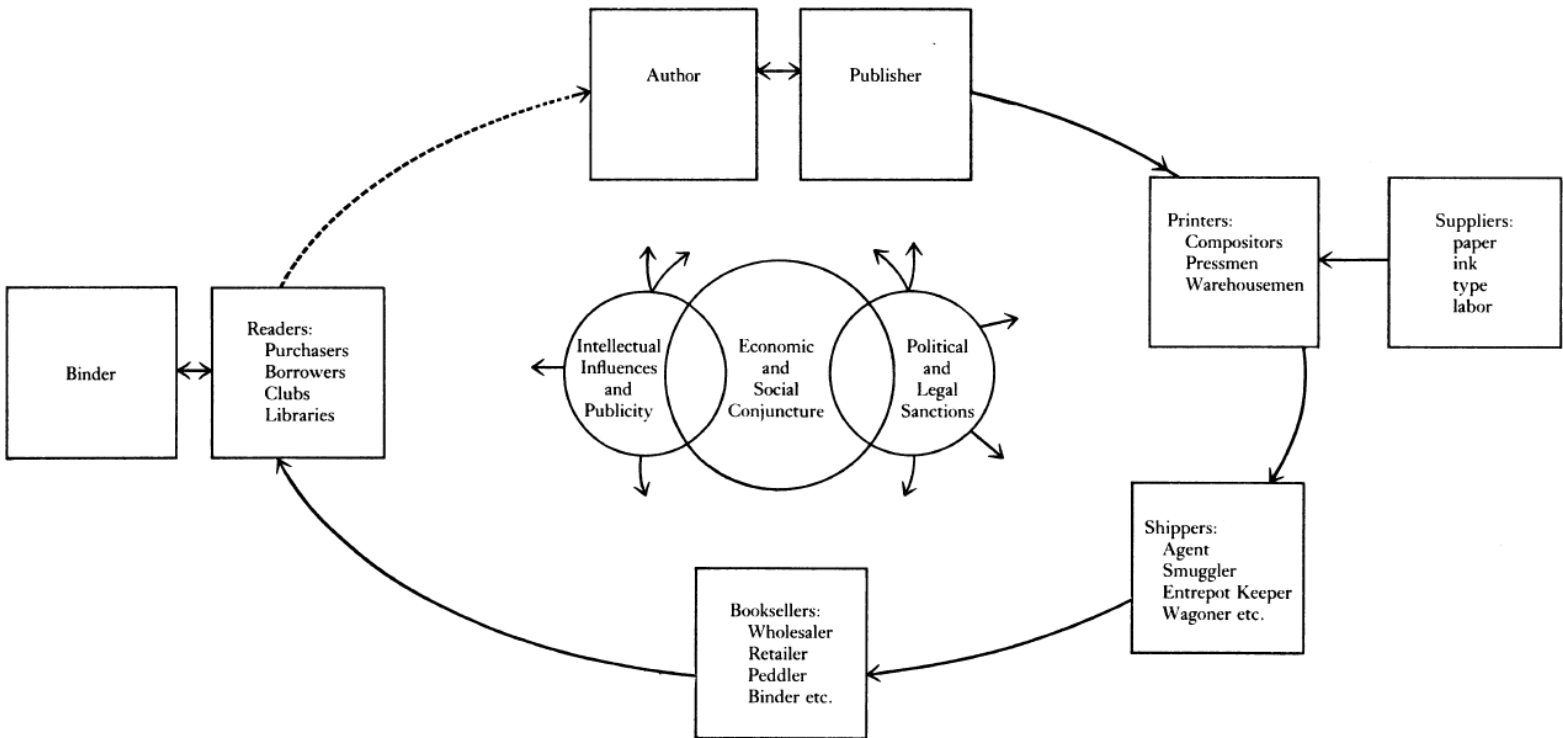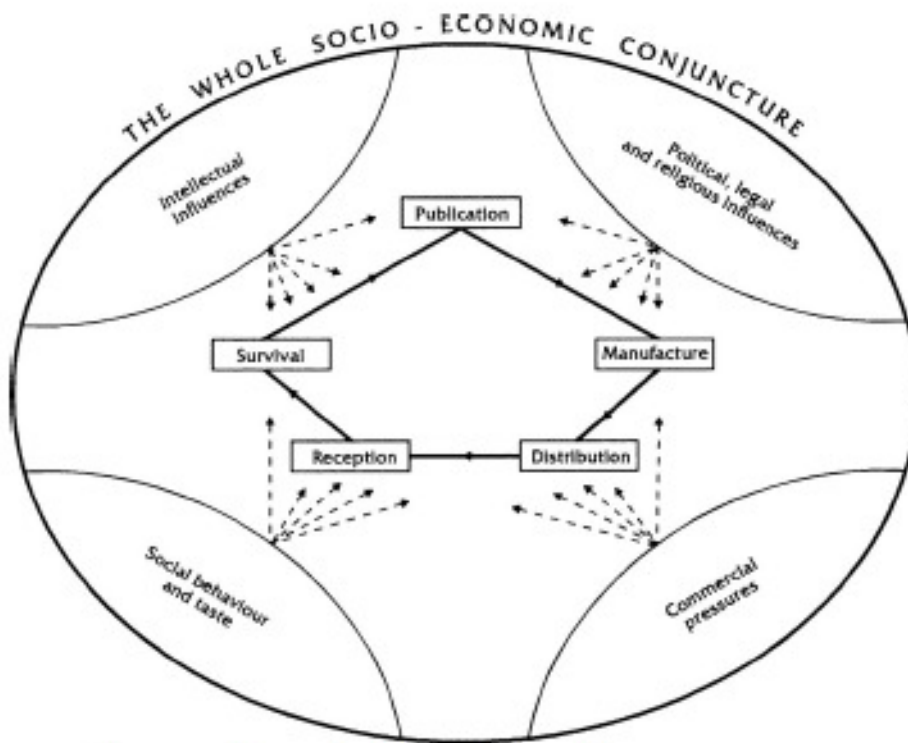
Figure 1.1: The communications circuit of Darnton, 1982

Figure 1. The Communications Circuit

Figure 1.2: The socio-economic model of book history

Source: Adams & Barker, 1993.

Because of the limitations of the usual publishing studies frameworks, which did not allow for a detailed study over time of the political and intellectual influences on knowledge production, a model from the field of political sociology was adapted, to allow for a shifting continuum ranging from collaboration to opposition. It is appropriate to use a sociological model, given that book history has been heavily influenced by sociology, from Bourdieu's literary fields to Escarpit's literary sociology (see Finkelstein & McCleery, 2002). Moreover, the field of the political sociology of science focuses on the power dynamics within the research environment (Frickel & Moore, 2006). Thus, the work of Heribert Adam (1977), Pierre Hugo (1977) and Mark Sanders (2002) on academics during the apartheid period was found to be more directly applicable than other, existing models, to the notion of position taking on a (shifting) continuum of response to the political system, and thus served as the basis for the development of such a model. For a fuller discussion of the model, and its applicability to the case studies under investigation in this study, see Chapter 4.

1.5 Key concepts

For the purposes of this study, a number of key terms need to be defined. **Scholarly publishing** is an important part of the intellectual life of a nation, particularly in the context of the knowledge economy. It may be defined as follows:

> Scholarly publishing, along with teaching and research, is one of the key activities of the university. Research increases the sum of human knowledge; teaching trains the new generation of scholars; and publishing makes the results of research available to the wider world. Without publication, the other activities of the university would become even more insular than they are – ideas, particularly the ideas discovered and discussed at universities, need to be published – to be made public in order that their true value be achieved. (Harnum, 2009)

Scholarly publishing is usually considered a sub-sector of **academic publishing**. While these terms are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, there is a significant distinction between the two. 'Academic publishing' refers to the publishing of tertiary-level textbooks, academic journals, and other publications aimed at an academic (i.e. tertiary, higher education or university level) or student readership. The focus of 'scholarly publishing' is a smaller niche, referring to books (usually; it may also refer to academic journals) written by scholars themselves (academics, researchers and experts, on the whole), and aimed at a particular market, consisting largely of the same groups as the producers: academics, researchers and educated people interested in a recognisable and specific area of study, but not necessarily students of this field. Andrew (2004: 80) makes a useful distinction in these terms: "One must distinguish here between student texts (prescribed books), recommended reading material for students, and specialised works bought by the academics themselves (scholarly works)".

Such publishing may be undertaken by a wide variety of publishers, but in its purest form, scholarly publishing is most closely associated with the **university press**. The university press is a very specific form of publisher, producing very specific kinds of texts, and intricately embedded in the practices of research and dissemination at the modern university. While definitions of scholarly publishing vary, there is a surprising amount of agreement as to the purpose and functions of a university press. A representative definition of a university press, as found in the literature, is the following:

The purpose of the university press is to provide an outlet for the publication of research by faculty members of its own and other universities, and extend the instructional function of the parent institution by publishing and disseminating knowledge and scholarship as widely and as economically as possible to both scholars and educated laymen. It publishes learned books of small sales potential and limited possibility of financial returns that commercial publishers cannot profitably undertake, and gains favourable publicity and prestige for the university of which it is part. (Darko-Ampem, 2003: 3)

A more popular definition is the following, as used by Max Hall to describe Harvard University Press: "A university press is a curious institution, dedicated to the dissemination of learning yet apart from the academic structure; a publishing firm that is in business, but not to make money; an arm of the university that is frequently misunderstood and occasionally attacked by faculty and administration" (Hall, 1986: back cover blurb). The Association of American University Presses (AAUP, 2004) has brought out a document designed to answer this very question, 'What is a University Press?', which is worth quoting at some length as it covers several important aspects:

University presses are publishers. At the most basic level that means they perform the same tasks as any other publisher – university presses acquire, develop, design, produce, market and sell books and journals … But while commercial publishers focus on making money by publishing for popular audiences, the university press's mission is to publish work of scholarly, intellectual, or creative merit, often for a small audience of specialists.

University presses also differ from commercial publishers because of their place in the academic landscape. A university press is an extension of its parent institution, and it's also a key player in a more general network – including learned societies, scholarly associations, and research libraries – that makes scholarly endeavor possible. Like the other nodes in this network, university presses are charged with serving the public good by generating and disseminating knowledge. That's why the [US] government has recognized our common interest in the work of university presses by granting them not-for-profit status.

Many of the books university presses publish, then, are meant primarily for scholars or other people interested in certain concentrated fields of research. Thousands of these books (generally termed monographs) have been published. (AAUP, 2004)

The purpose of a university press, as these quotes imply, is to publish and disseminate research of significance. The very specific context of a university – and the specific kinds of textual practice undertaken and valorised here – constrains the form that such a press could

take. For one thing, the missions of university presses are closely bound to those of their parent institutions, and the mission-driven nature of their publishing often enables them to publish in a non-commercial or not-for-profit setting (although this particular feature is declining). Because of the close link to research and the practice of peer review, university presses usually confer a certain amount of prestige on their host universities, linking them in the public eye to research and to excellence.

Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins University is often quoted for noting that "[i]t is one of the noblest duties of a university to advance knowledge and to diffuse it not merely among those who can attend the daily lectures but far and wide" (1880, quoted e.g. in Kerr, 1949: 3). This quote is regularly used to justify the existence and value of university presses. The so-called 'Oxford model' of a university press will be described in more detail in Chapter 2, which will also provide a further elaboration from the literature on the conceptualisation and application of the concept, in a number of different geographical contexts.

One of the key contributions of this study is its development of a fuller bibliography for each local university press, and an analysis of these publishing lists. A **publishing list** is a collection of books produced by a publishing house, which usually coheres to some extent, whether due to the kinds of texts published, the authors, or the fields covered. A publishing list is closely related to the company's **publishing strategy** (which includes a publishing philosophy, house style and policies). The strategy and list may be related to the business objectives of the publishing house (non-profit in the case of university presses), social objectives (to contribute to knowledge production), and the key markets targeted (a scholarly, niche market rather than a mass market).

University presses usually focus on scholarly publishing, but at times also extend their lists into the areas of academic journals, academic textbooks, and even general books aimed at the commercial or trade market. However, their core focus is the dissemination of scholarly work, and in this way their mandate is closely linked to, even intertwined with, the university's academic mandate. And, because university presses disseminate views, opinions, research and other voices from within academia, their role is also closely linked to the concept of **academic freedom**. Academic freedom was a contested issue during the

apartheid era, raising questions about the role of the universities and their academics, the possibility of maintaining an objective or neutral stance, and the autonomy of state-funded institutions.[1]

The concept of academic freedom arose from the nineteenth-century German practice of *Lehrfreiheit*, which gave academics 'lifetime' appointments to pursue teaching and research as long as they forswore "religious heterodoxy and political subversion". Under this system, as Axelrod points out, "scholars thus secured considerable autonomy, but surviving as they did at 'the pleasure of the state', their freedom was clearly conditional" (1999: 352). Altbach (2001: 207) makes the important point that differing definitions of academic freedom exist, as "nowhere has academic freedom been fully delineated, and nowhere does it have the force of law". He thus concludes: "There is no universally accepted understanding of academic freedom".

The classic view of academic freedom in South Africa is often linked to a statement by T.B. Davie of Wits: "freedom from external interference in (a) who shall teach, (b) what we teach, (c) how we teach, and (d) whom we teach" (quoted in Taylor & Taylor, 2010: 898). Many consider academic freedom to relate to the university's autonomy, to conduct research and to teach without undue political (or other) interference (Greyling, 2007: 7). Often, these aspects are considered interdependent; indeed, Edward Shils argues that the concept of academic freedom should be extended to the political freedom of academics themselves, which includes "political activities outside the university" (quoted in De Baets, 2002: 5). Thus, an extreme view of academic freedom is the belief that an individual academic should be able to hold *any* views, orthodox or not, without censure or penalty, thus allowing for critical enquiry (Dlamini, 2006: iii). In South Africa, a certain amount of lip service was paid to the ideal of academic freedom, but it certainly never went as far as fulfilling Shils' or Dlamini's definition.

University presses, like universities, are closely linked to such notions of intellectual and academic freedom. If there is no freedom to conduct research in any area of study, or to

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[1] Post-apartheid debates in the literature over the concept of academic freedom will not be included here, as they fall outside of the scope of the study.

write up the results of that research, unfettered by political or other constraints, then there can also be no freedom to circulate or debate the results of that research, nor to engage in open discussion of ideas and theories. Thus university presses, an integral part of the academy itself, also have an important role to play in supporting and promoting academic freedom.

Intertwined with the ideal of a university press upholding academic freedom through its publishing programme, a related key concept is that of **oppositional publishing**. As this concept will be elaborated in more detail in Chapter 4, a brief definition at this point will suffice. In the South African context, oppositional publishing refers to publishing programmes that specifically rejected the apartheid government and, in particular, its censorship regime. Essery (2005: 2) notes that the definition "encompasses all organisations that published material that questioned governmental policy and ideology, from the inception of a Nationalist government in 1948, to the policies of the ANC government today". Various publishers may thus be described as occupying an oppositional stance.

A number of terms have been used for this concept – alternative, interventionist, subversive, undermining, anti-establishment, left-wing, radical, progressive, or independent – and the term 'oppositional publishing' has been chosen for use in this study for several reasons. The first is that a term such as 'alternative publishing' (cf. Cloete, 2000: 43) is too broad in its definition, referring to "anything outside mainstream commercial publishing, where the market is the final determinant of what is published". By such a definition, any non-profit publishing (even such as that undertaken by university presses) would automatically be considered 'alternative'. The more precise term 'oppositional publishing' places the focus on the political motivation of such publishing, and its deliberate anti-government stance. The second reason is that this was a term used by oppositional publishers themselves, such as David Philip (1991), and it was thus both accepted and current during the period under investigation.

In the South African context, oppositional publishing falls on a spectrum of political responses to apartheid, from 'liberal' to 'radical'. These terms also have specific meanings in the local context. For example, the political label of being **liberal** holds very specific

connotations, unlike common definitions found in the US or Europe. A useful definition in this context is that of Butler, Elphick and Welsh (1987: 3): "To be 'liberal' in South Africa is to demand limitations on the power of government, holding it to strict adherence to the rule of law and demanding protection of minorities, individuals, and non-governmental entities like the press". However, it should be borne in mind that 'liberal' may also be used in a more derogatory sense, given that many of those identified as 'liberal' during the struggle years did not in fact oppose separate development for the different race groups. It is thus often derided for being irrelevant or out of date.

In turn, the term **radical** was applied to what was in fact a wide range of political positions. 'Radical' students and academics openly opposed apartheid; but they did not necessarily belong to a particular political party or endorse violent revolution to overthrow the government. They may have been associated with movements as different as Marxism and Black Consciousness. In this study, I will use the term to refer to those academics who were most outspoken in their opposition; they will also be referred to as activists.

A final point should be made regarding terminology. The use of the racial classifications contained in the terms '**white**', '**black**', '**coloured**' and '**Indian**' is unavoidable, given their usage during the main period of focus of the study. Terms that were in current use during an earlier period, such as '**native**' and '**Bantu**', are also used when appropriate in their historical context. None of these terms is intended in any derogatory or exclusionary sense, and an attempt is made wherever possible to contextualise their use.

1.6 Benefits of the study

The university presses in South Africa have never been the focus of academic study before. The present study is thus the first of its kind, in keeping with a growing tradition of producing histories of significant publishing houses in other parts of the world. Due to this lack of scholarly interest, little is in fact known about the university presses, their origins and their publishing profiles. Several myths and misconceptions have arisen as a result, and a second contribution of this study is that it enables us to distinguish between factual practice and myth-making, to a large degree.

For instance, there appears to be a widespread belief that there were only two university presses in South Africa in the twentieth century – Nan Wilson of WUP, to cite one example, mentions "the two S.A. presses" in an internal report on university presses (1983: 3). This is a reference to Wits and Natal's university presses. In a survey of other university presses in South Africa, in 1987, Wilson examined the situation at UNP and Unisa, as well as, oddly, UCT and Rhodes (which had no presses at the time). She noted that UNP was the "only other formally constituted university press" (S87/414, 1987: 165–166). Mobbs Moberly of UNP similarly noted that "[t]he only other such press in South Africa [apart from UNP] is the Wits University Press, but its aims are in some ways more restricted than those of the University of Natal Press" (Minutes of the Press Committee, 7 December 1977). Reports from 1989 and 1990 from UNP repeat this idea: "The University of Natal Press is one of only two university presses in the country (the other is at the University of the Witwatersrand) and the most active of these. There are no other university presses in southern Africa and very few active in the entire continent, so that the University of Natal Press, in an African context, is a unique and special institution" (Milton, 1989: 2); "The University of Natal Press is one of two university presses in the country and today the most active and prolific of these and, indeed, of all university presses on the continent" ('Response', 1990: 1). One UNP report goes even further: "This university [Natal] has the only thriving press in Southern Africa; it must therefore take steps to retain its present eminence" ('Reconsiderations', 1989: 2). This myth has thus endured for some time, and the present study is the first of its kind to provide a broader picture of university press publishing in South Africa.

Moreover, the importance of a study such as this is that it combines both the creation and analysis of an enumerative bibliography with a study of the wider historical and intellectual context. As D.F. McKenzie (quoted in Howsam, 2006) points out:

> By dealing with the facts of transmission and the material evidence of reception, [historical bibliography] can make discoveries as distinct from inventing meanings. In focussing on the primary object, the text as a recorded form, it defines our common point of departure for any historical or critical enterprise. By abandoning the notion of degressive bibliography [that is, of finding an abstract ideal version of a literary text] and recording *all* subsequent versions, bibliography, simply by its own comprehensive logic, its indiscriminate inclusiveness, testifies to the fact that new readers of course make new texts, and that their new meanings are a function of their new forms.

Reinforcing this point as to the importance of such a study, Darnton (1982: 76) notes, similarly, that "[h]istorians have barely begun to tap the papers of publishers, although they are the richest of all sources for the history of books". He asks: "How did publishers draw up contracts with authors, build alliances with publishers, negotiate with political authorities, and handle finances, supplies, shipments, and publicity? The answers to these questions would carry the history of books deep into the territory of social, economic, and political history, to their mutual benefit."

Similarly, William Germano (2010) argues that, "[i]n their function as record-keepers, books transform history into the present and the present into history. Books cause us to remember and to prevent future generations from forgetting or misunderstanding us and the long collective story of particulars." At the same time, we are reminded that "[t]he conditions that obtain today as well as many current causes for concern have a long history. It is important, therefore, to gain greater historical perspective" (Meisel, 2010: 123). This historical perspective on publishing in South Africa is thus an important contribution of the present study. The greater accuracy deriving from the use of enumerative and historical bibliography provided a historical perspective that is based on evidence.

The value of the study is also linked to the outputs emerging from the research. The first output of this research is thus the historical study that has been sketched. The second key output, which was developed during the course of this study, is a complete bibliography of the works published by each of the major university presses in South Africa (this may be found on the accompanying CD). In addition to being a contribution to the digital humanities, the bibliography may also be used as the basis of future research (see Recommendations in Chapter 7).

The study also adds to our understanding of publishing and social history in the specific context of apartheid, by developing and applying a model (based on a political sociology approach to intellectual history) to assess the contribution of the university presses to academic freedom and to gauge their shifting responses, in selection and publishing decisions, to apartheid. This model could be applied in other geographical contexts or historical periods, and is a third key output of the study.

The outputs of research may also include publications and presentations – the dissemination of the knowledge produced in the course of the study. The key findings of this study will be disseminated in the form of conference papers, journal articles, and a book-length study. Some publication and research outputs have already been produced during the course of the research. An example is the publication of a chapter in a book on *Print, Text and Book Cultures in South Africa* (edited by Andrew van der Vlies, see Le Roux, 2012b), and the inclusion of a chapter in an edited collection on *Scholarly Publishing in South Africa* (edited by Solani Ngobeni, see Le Roux, 2010b). This has enabled the study to make a wider contribution to debates around South African print culture and history.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Inevitably, there are certain limitations to the research and to the methodologies used. The literature review revealed certain constraints, to begin with. A key, and recurring, feature of the literature available on publishing, especially in African countries, is that it tends to focus on current issues, not historical ones. At the same time, little has been written about university presses in an African context. Therefore, the secondary material available was limited. The study relied more heavily on the use of archival and supplementary sources (such as interviews and book reviews) for this reason. Yet, these too revealed certain limitations, the main problem being that of archives with missing or incomplete records.

It seems unlikely that records in the university archives are absent due to a deliberate policy of excising information from the record; rather, it appears that records were retained or discarded depending on the personal wishes of the directors of the presses concerned, as well as the archiving policies of the institution as a whole. Thus, Unisa has kept almost everything, while Wits and Natal have been far more selective in what has been retained. For example, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's archives, there are folders of minutes for the Press Committee from 1967 to 1974, 1975 to 1985, and 1987 to 1990, but not for other years. As handwritten references may be found to the minutes of earlier meetings, from 1948 onwards, these must have been mislaid or destroyed since then. At Wits, there is evidence of archiving from the 1920s, and more systematic record-keeping from the late

1940s until 1969, after which the main records are still located at the university press and not in the archives. This inevitably creates gaps in the record.

The records for Fort Hare are patchier still, and it appears that "[t]he troubled history of Fort Hare since the 1950s has had an impact on the archival sources for its history" (Morrow & Gxabalashe, 2000: 484). Some documents are now held at another institution altogether, at the Cory Library at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, while "a large collection which is central to the study of Fort Hare itself lies unused for historical purposes at the university, and is at present inadequately cataloged and described" (Morrow & Gxabalashe, 2000: 486). In fact, because of the scarcity of documentary evidence and the difficulty in obtaining other forms of data (through key informants and the secondary literature, for instance), a key limitation of this study is that the original intention to include the University of Fort Hare Press was not viable. Reference will be made to this Press in passing, but a detailed analysis was not possible on the basis of the available evidence.

There is also an ongoing danger that important documents about the university presses are not being archived. I was personally present at Unisa Press when the Executive Director to whom the Press reported elected to pulp all the records and backlist books remaining in an old storeroom – and I was fortunate to be able to salvage certain records. How often has this happened without similar intervention? The dearth of records on the university presses at certain institutions thus led me to speculate on the importance (or lack thereof) of the presses to their parent institutions.

Another limitation refers to the scope of the study. For instance, in terms of periodisation, the study focuses entirely on the twentieth century, and in particular the apartheid period between 1948 and 1990. Keeping in mind "the significance of local events and circumstances" in setting up a periodisation (Suarez, 2003/4: 146), the focus is particularly the 'high apartheid' period between 1960 and 1990, but attention is also given to other key local events within the twentieth century. The origins of the university presses fall into this broader period, before 1960, and because of their significance are also included. Similarly, some reference is made to the transitional, post-apartheid period after 1990, but this will mainly be in the context of assessing trends, patterns and changes in policy over the years.

Because of this periodisation, little attention will be given to the role of the UCT Press, which was only formally established in the 1990s. As with the University of Fort Hare Press, this press and its history requires future study.

1.8 Overview of chapters

The format of this thesis is in part chronological and in part thematic, reflecting the various methods used in the study. Chapter 1, the Introduction, provides a contextual setting to the study by describing the establishment of printing and publishing in South Africa. It also sets out the objectives and research questions of this study and provides an overview of the methodological approaches which will be followed. The use of a hybrid approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative research techniques to obtain a broad yet detailed picture of university press publishing in South Africa, is discussed and justified. Key concepts are defined, and the benefits and limitations of the study are clarified. It is shown that this study will fill an existing gap in the literature and present a methodological advance for the study of publishers' lists and their history.

In Chapter 2, a literature review that further contextualises the study is presented. This review of the literature describes the models of university presses established in the West, and which later spread to colonial settings such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and parts of Africa. This model is termed the 'Oxford model', and its key features are discussed. The chapter also describes research on scholarly publishing in both a broad African context and in South Africa specifically. What emerges from this literature survey is that there have been only a very few scholarly references to university press publishing in South Africa thus far, and no systematic attempt to chart their histories – in contrast to the situation in other parts of the world, where the history of various university presses has been better documented. Book history in South Africa is generally less developed than in the rest of the world, and the gap is particularly noticeable in this specific sub-area.

Chapter 3 describes the origins of South Africa's university presses, based largely on archival research. The structure and development of higher education in this country is given as essential background, and a categorisation of the universities (as English-medium, Afrikaans-

medium, and black institutions) is used as a framing device. The presses were established at key moments in the history of their parent institutions, and were much influenced by the character and interests of the men who were instrumental in their establishment. This may be seen when examining their missions and publishing philosophies. This chapter also speculates, based on the evidence, as to why university presses were *not* established at the majority of universities in this country. The operations and evolution of the presses are briefly described, in an attempt to show the institutional contexts in which the presses developed – their struggle for existence in a context of economic scarcity, academic isolation, and a lack of institutional support. This also reflects the presses' insertion into a wider academic and political context.

Chapter 4 contains a further literature review that supports the key focus area of this study: the debates around academic freedom and the role of the university presses during the apartheid period. It is also a key methodological chapter. The chapter begins with an examination of the wider political context: the response of the universities to apartheid, the legislative context of censorship, and the generally repressive environment in which the university presses operated. Referring to both the international and South African context, an attempt is made to develop a model to chart intellectual responses to apartheid that could be used to assess the contribution of the university presses. The key methodological influence was the categorisations of academics by political sociologists Heribert Adam, Pierre Hugo and Mark Sanders. Attention is also paid to the concept and practice of oppositional publishing. The business practices of the independent oppositional publishers are interrogated, with a view to assessing whether the university presses could, in any sense, be considered oppositional publishers during the apartheid period. This discussion also has implications for the traditional models used in the Book History environment.

Chapters 5 and 6 specifically relate the history of the university presses in South Africa to questions of academic freedom and censorship. In Chapter 5, applying the extended continuum of intellectual responses developed in Chapter 4 as a measuring instrument and framework, a content analysis is performed on all scholarly publications produced by the university presses between 1960 and 1990, with a view to evaluating the responses of the presses and the academics who published with them to the apartheid system. The content

analysis reveals some disparities between reputations and the actual publishing output of the presses, as well as a large measure of flux – shifts between various intellectual responses and roles. An author profile is also developed, which raises questions about exclusion and gatekeeping at the university presses. Specifically, the categories of black authors and activist or radical academics are examined in this author profile. The focus thus falls on gatekeeping practices at the university presses, including their peer review policies and practices, as well as their compliance with the censorship regime, and the question of whether or not they resorted to self-censorship.

Extending the analysis developed in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 enlarges the focus by considering the wider social and institutional milieu of the university presses. The chapter examines their business practices, in comparison with the independent oppositional publishers, and in particular the identities and funding patterns of the presses. This background provides a variety of explanations as to why the university presses behaved in certain ways, in accordance with the constraints of government, institutions, and the academic environment. Both differences and similarities in the operations of the university presses, on the one hand, and the oppositional publishers on the other, are examined. Attention is also paid to the presses' image-building efforts, through marketing, collaboration and distribution. This leads to a consideration of the university presses' readership and impact during the apartheid period.

The last chapter, Chapter 7, concludes this study. The findings and outcomes of the study are described and evaluated, and a number of suggestions are made for future research. For example, the creation of the bibliographies for each university press has led to a new resource for future studies being created. This chapter also considers to what extent the study has responded to all of the research questions delineated in Chapter 1 – the Introduction – of the dissertation, and makes a final assessment of the role of the university presses during the apartheid period, and in particular from the 1960s until the transition of the 1990s. This study argues, in closing, that the social history of South Africa's university presses reveals ongoing shifts and a greater degree of both conservatism and tolerance than anticipated, in the knowledge production of the apartheid period.

Chapter 2: Literature review: The university press

This chapter is the first part of the literature review conducted for this study, to provide the context and background to the history of the South African university presses that this dissertation describes and analyses – in Chapter 3, the origins of these presses will be described. This chapter moves from a somewhat broad description of previous studies in the field of book history and publishing studies in South Africa, to a more narrowly defined focus on the extant literature on university presses in this country. In particular, the extent to which the university presses have been described in the literature relating to South Africa is examined. Because there is a distinct lack of published sources on the narrow topic of university presses, the literature review is based on a relatively wide sweep of sources, from several categories of research that form the basis of this study. These include publishing history in South Africa, intellectual histories (in particular those that describe the history of higher education institutions and libraries in South Africa), and studies of scholarly publishing and university presses.

The lens then shifts, in this chapter, from a geographical focus on South Africa specifically, to consider the dispersal of the 'Oxford model' of university press publishing to various parts of the world. Attention is specifically paid to how the university press has developed and has been studied in the Commonwealth countries – the former British colonies – because their systems of higher education (including their university presses) were set up in the image of the metropole. A remarkable degree of consistency is found among these countries, although their own specific contexts have also affected the further development of both higher education and of publishing. It is this consistent set of elements that I call the 'Oxford model' of the university press.

Further aspects of the literature review for this study, focusing on academic freedom, intellectual history and the constraints of apartheid legislation, may be found in Chapter 4.

This also forms essential background for the study of the actual publishing lists and operations of the local university presses during the apartheid period.

2.1 Current research on publishing and the university press in South Africa

Because of the dearth of studies identified in the study area of this dissertation, this first section of the literature review will not focus only, and narrowly, on the university press. Rather, I will begin by surveying publishing history or book history studies generally in South Africa, to provide a broad background and context. The focus then shifts to relevant literature on intellectual (institutional) history in South Africa, because the university press is itself an integral part of the scholarly communication and thus the higher education system. Thirdly, this review surveys studies that have examined (or, to be more precise, have mentioned) the university presses in particular, although it was found that there is very little secondary literature in this field. This broad array of studies is required for the review because the university press falls into more than one category: it is at once a publisher, and a university department, and a curious hybrid of the two.

2.1.1 Publishing history

This literature review will begin by sketching a broader picture of book and publishing history in South Africa. An exceptionally rich and well-researched study by Anna Smith (1971) provides a good starting point, with an overview of the spread of printing and print culture through South Africa, from the early Cape printers to the development of newspapers on the Witwatersrand following the discovery of gold. Smith's work on early printing endeavours is supplemented by Nienaber's (1943) short history of "Hollands-Afrikaans" printing, some studies of the newspaper pioneers Douglas Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle (Meiring, 1968; Doyle, 1972), and the bibliographical studies of Fransie Rossouw (1987) and Elna Buys (1988). The Settler's Press in the Grahamstown area has been studied in some depth (Gordon-Brown, 1979), with reference to the printing of a wide variety of materials, including books, pamphlets, directories, almanacs and newspapers.

There are also studies from the early twentieth century, such as Lloyd's *Birth of Printing in South Africa* from 1914, and several studies from the 1930s on early printing endeavours (such as Laidler, 1935; McMurtrie, 1932; Morrison, 1934), but these are largely descriptive, sometimes contradictory, and difficult to locate; moreover, they are well summarised in Smith's study. While providing details of early printing initiatives, Smith (1971: 127) notes that, "[u]ntil the discovery of gold, and the consequent influx of people, the demand for products of the printing press was extremely small and was largely satisfied by importing from Holland and Britain" and that "book-printing as such had to wait for the twentieth century" (Smith, 1971: 131).

An interesting aspect that emerges from such print history is that language was an issue from early on. Printing was established at a time when governance of the Cape was oscillating between Dutch and British rule. Much printing, especially of newspapers and ephemera, was bilingual (English and Dutch) from an early period. The local publishing industry now grapples with eleven official languages, and it is clear that the issue of language has only become more important and more problematic over time.

The first printing and publishing was often of newspapers, and there is thus a close link between the history of printing and that of the press. As Smith (1971: 83) notes, "[i]n South Africa throughout the nineteenth century almost every newspaper printer was also the jobbing printer for the area in which he was established, and the history of printing is therefore very closely bound up with the history of the press". The first 'newspaper' in South Africa – the precursor to the government gazette, named the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* – was established in 1800. It was followed by the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, privately printed by George Greig, assisted by Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn, which was published from 1824 (Smith, 1971: 33). Reflecting the very close relationship between the press and freedom of the press, this newspaper was censored after just 17 issues, but resumed printing a few months later. Another important pioneer newspaper was the *South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser* printed by Bridekirk (also established in 1824). The first newspapers for a black readership were published by the mission presses as early as the next decade, with, for instance, *Umshumayeli Wendaba* appearing from 1837.

Book printing and publishing has to date received less attention, although some significant work has been done in this field. It must be acknowledged that there are a number of publisher histories in existence, but in this field quantity unfortunately trumps quality. There have been several studies of publishers and of their publishing history in South Africa, but the first problem with many is that they are tributes (a *huldeblyk*, to use a descriptive Afrikaans word, celebrating anniversaries, in particular), memoirs or journalistic overviews, rather than substantive, objective and rigorous studies. The second problem is that these have largely been undertaken in an isolated manner, without full attention to the wider context of publishing internationally or nationally, and without taking the wider academic context into account (e.g. building upon other publishing studies). They have also not been situated within a specific theoretical or disciplinary framework.

Rosenthal (1970) provides one of the first historical overviews of publishing in South Africa, but although it was published in an academic journal and the author was a well-known historian, the paper is not very scholarly (it has no references, for one thing). Hooper (1997) provides a similar, and very concise, overview of the history of publishing in South Africa. Evans and Seeber (2000) have published the closest we have to a comprehensive survey of trends in South African publishing, while Galloway (2002) has concentrated on producing statistical trends for book publishing in the 1990s up to date – but these studies are focused more on the present and the future than on the past. Important bibliographic work, which could lay the basis of good publishing histories, has been done by Mendelssohn (1979, 1991, 1997), Rossouw (1987) and the South African National Bibliography produced by the National Library of South Africa (e.g. NLSA, 1985; 1997; and now available online).

In the histories available, there is a distinct focus on the missionary presses established in South Africa in the colonial period, especially by historians and to some extent by literary or linguistics scholars examining African-language texts. Mission printing in South Africa dates back to about the same time as the first government printing (believed to be in the 1790s), with the printing in 1801 of a spelling table by the London Mission Society at Graaff Reinet (Smith, 1971: 53). A great deal of attention is rightly paid to the important role of Lovedale Press in South African publishing, and especially its role in publishing black authors and in

promoting local languages. Lovedale first published in isiXhosa in 1823 and went on to publish many significant authors in that language (Opland, 1990: 135; White, 1992).

Interestingly, Hofmeyr (2005: 99) bemoans a split in publishing studies: "The two arms [of publishing studies] – secular and religious – are often treated discretely, the former the domain of historians of the book and publishing…, the latter the domain of scholarship on nineteenth-century Christianity, mission and philanthropy". It is true that the secular side of publishing has not been as well studied as the religious in South Africa (although there is little on Christian publishers as opposed to mission presses). There is a group of studies focusing on Afrikaner publishing houses, such as an important multi-volume study of Nasionale Pers and the imprints that now fall under its umbrella, such as Tafelberg and Human & Rousseau (including titles by Muller, 1990; Muller & Beukes, 1990; Beukes, 1992; Beukes & Steyn, 1992). The first volume of a planned series on the history of Juta, South Africa's oldest continuously operating publishing house, has also appeared, but it is unfortunately more journalistic than scholarly (De Kock, 2007). There are also brief case studies available of a number of small Afrikaans publishers, such as Homeros and Kwela (Cochrane, 2004), and Taurus (Venter, 2007). But important local publishers such as Van Schaik, A.A. Balkema, and Tafelberg have not been studied in depth.

In terms of the key area of oppositional publishing (see the definition of this term in Chapter 1), which could throw new light on the history of the anti-apartheid struggle, very little scholarly attention has yet been paid to the likes of Ravan Press, David Philip Publishers or Skotaville – the 'histories' that do exist are largely anecdotal. There are brief collections of reminiscences on Ravan Press (De Villiers, 1997), and some tributes to the late David Philip as well as some papers he published (Hacksley, 2007; Philip, 1991, 2000); these were not historically focused, but have become of some historical value since. Stadler (1975) reviews some of the books published by SPRO-CAS and by Ravan Press. Perhaps the most comprehensive study to date is that of Isabel Essery (2005), who has examined the impact of politics on indigenous independent publishers in South Africa from 1970 to 2004, looking largely at David Philip. There has as yet not been a single in-depth study of a black publishing house.

Other studies, within a more overt book history paradigm, have focused more on the reception and publishing history of individual texts, usually literary texts. Perhaps the most important of these studies is Hofmeyr's (2004) ground-breaking transnational study of *The Portable Bunyan*. There have also been several good case studies of the publishing history of different works of fiction, including the Heinemann's African Writers Series (Mpe, 1999; Barnett, 2006); Alan Paton (Barnard, 2004; Van der Vlies, 2006); J.M. Coetzee (Barnett, 1999; Zimbler, 2004; Wittenberg, 2008); and Herman Charles Bosman (Lenta, 2003); as well as individual titles such as *Hill of Fools* (Wright, 2004). In Afrikaans, Irma du Plessis (2008) has situated her study of youth series published by J.L. van Schaik in a book history frame of reference, while Maritha Snyman (2004a; 2004b) has constructed an authors' profile for Afrikaans children's fiction. Rudi Venter's study (2006) of the material production of Afrikaans fiction has created production and publisher profiles which could be a fertile source for future studies in this area. Publishing histories of African-language titles are often closely bound up with studies of the mission presses, as they have been very active in this field (see for instance Maake (1993), Satyo (1995), and Makalima (1987), as well as Opland (1990, 2003, 2007)).

What can be summarised from a review of local literary studies, however, is that there is not a great focus on book history; in fact, the focus falls more on the *text* rather than the *book*. Publishing, it emerges from such studies, is something *authors* do – in other words, there has been little consideration of actual *publishing* histories apart from those studies mentioned. Even when considering topics such as censorship, the role of the author is highlighted at the cost of that of the publisher: we thus find discussions of "censorship and the *author*" (Brink, 1980, emphasis added) or "the freedom of the *writer* to publish" (Coetzee, 1990: 64, emphasis added):

> In the activity of disseminating writing, it is not self-evident that the originator of the text, the writer, should be regarded as the primary producer and the printer/publisher as a mere medium. The printer's colophon, after all, antedates the writer's signature on the book. When the authorities take action against books, it is their publishers who suffer the greatest material loss; printers rather than authors were the target of the great repressions of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, printers and publishers have never put themselves forward as rivals to the authority of the state. That, significantly, is a role they have allowed their authors to play. (Coetzee, 1990: 69)

Having noted this trend of privileging the author over publisher as the producer of books, it should be stated that, nonetheless, book history is becoming a more significant area of study in South Africa, and interest in the field is growing. Indeed, this study makes a contribution to the growing literature on South Africa's publishing history.

2.1.2 Intellectual history

Apart from such studies of publishing and its history in South Africa, of relevance to this research is that there have also been a number of studies of intellectual history, and specifically of the history of educational institutions. Thus, "[v]arious university histories have been written in recent years in South Africa as scholars have taken stock of their intellectual heritage and tried to situate higher education in the context of knowledge production and the wider political economy of the country" (Suttie, 2005: 97–98). This section of the literature review will briefly survey such studies, although the greater discussion of the higher education institutions falls in Chapters 3 and 4, where the emphasis is placed on issues relating to academic freedom.

The histories that exist can be classified in various ways, as Chisholm and Morrow (2007: 45) point out:

> Institutional histories can be told in different ways: as a variant of 'great man' history, the history of the institution can be seen as that of its leaders; as a type of organisational history, it can be told as the unfolding creation, division, sub-division and recreation of its organisational structures; as political history, the relationship of its leading figures with and influence by political elites and ideas will predominate; as social and economic history, it will focus on the relationship with the broader society, and the influence and mediation of broader social forces; and as a history of ideas it will focus on the nature of the actual work conducted and concepts promoted and developed.

Even given the histories that exist, as Morrow and Gxabalashe point out, and their comment is applicable to all of the universities, "[c]onsidering the importance of Fort Hare, its historiography is remarkably underdeveloped" (Morrow & Gxabalashe, 2000: 483). Indeed, what is available are often memoirs, chronicles, celebrations of anniversaries (such as centenaries), or official histories, sanctioned by the universities themselves (and published

by their own presses). They have been criticised, like many corporate and institutional histories, as being "pedestrian institutional history" (Morrow & Gxabalashe, 2000: 483). Greyling (2007: 6) argues that such a history tends to offer only anecdotal commentary and limited insight: "The publishing house history is a near-relative [to editors' memoirs] in this regard: often published by the house whose history it chronicles; frequently commissioned from a former house editor or current author; proudly cataloguing now-great names who passed through the firm in their days of literary obscurity; and designed primarily to celebrate the role of the firm as cultural midwife" (Murray, 2007: 8). Even where based on personal or anecdotal accounts, this study is not envisaged along the same lines as these personalised accounts.

An example of such a history is the illustrated overviews of achievements produced to mark certain anniversaries, such as *A Short Pictorial History of the University College of Fort Hare 1916–1959* (Burrows, Kerr & Matthews, 1961), the multi-volume *Ad destinatum: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (University of Pretoria, 1960; 1987; 1996; 2002), *Stellenbosch, 1866–1966: Honderd jaar hoër onderwys* (Thom et al, 1966), and *A Story of Rhodes: Rhodes University 1904–2004* by Richard Buckland and Thelma Neville (2004). It is also common to find memoirs written by important figures, such as former Vice-Chancellors. In this category, early Vice-Chancellors of the University of the Cape of Good Hope (now Unisa), Thomas Walker and William Ritchie (1918), both wrote histories and memoirs. Alexander Kerr (1968) wrote a memoir of his time as principal of the South African Native College at Fort Hare until his retirement in 1948, while Williams (2001) has also examined the University College of Fort Hare, now known as the University of Fort Hare. The other universities in South Africa have also received similar attention, with one example being R.F. Currey (1970) producing a "chronicle" on Rhodes University.

However, this is not to say that all university histories should be seen in the same light: in particular, Murray, Phillips, Brookes and Boucher have produced critical, academic histories of their institutions. Boucher (1973) wrote a dissertation, which was later turned into a book (*Spes in Arduis*), on the history of the University of South Africa, while Bruce Murray's two studies (1982 and 1997) focus on the history of the University of the Witwatersrand, Edgar Brookes (1966) on the University of Natal, and Howard Phillips (1993) on the University of

Cape Town. These are all examples of in-depth and evidence-based historical research. What has created a limitation in the literature, though, is the fact that so many of these studies were written some time ago: Greyling points out that we have little scholarly analysis of the universities in the years of high apartheid: "UCT lacks an updated history since 1948, Wits since 1959, and Natal since 1965" (Greyling, 2007: 15). There are thus few up to date histories of the universities in South Africa.

There is, however, a class of historical studies of universities and of research, which deal with the effects of apartheid on academics, with some dating to the apartheid period, such as Rex (1981) and Russell (1981), and others being retrospective studies from the post-apartheid era, including Dubow (2006). Mervyn Shear (1996) assessed Wits University's role during the apartheid era, in a book that combines memoir and critical analysis. Sean Greyling (2007) has undertaken an incisive assessment of Rhodes University during the apartheid era. There is scope for future research to build upon such studies.

Another category of higher education institutional history studies that may be mentioned is those focusing on the development of particular disciplines over time, such as history (Grundlingh, 1990, 2006; Carruthers, 2010), philosophy (More, 2004), and sociology (Ally, Mooney & Stewart, 2003; Webster, 2004; Ally, 2005; see also Seekings, 2001 for an interdisciplinary overview of the social sciences). These often trace changes in thematic concerns over time, the influence of key figures and thinkers, and rifts between the diverse groups of English-speaking (or liberal), Afrikaans (or conservative), and black academics or associations. Ally et al. (2003) argue that most such disciplinary studies focus on issues of *production*, but it needs to be added that the mediating role of the publisher is elided. Similarly, Suttie (2005) details a number of studies of university libraries and their histories, which also touch only in passing on the publishing and dissemination function of the universities. An example is Buchanan's study (2008) of the history of the University of Natal Library, which includes only a few paragraphs on the university press, but little detail, in spite of the Library having run the press for some years. Similarly, Reuben Musiker's (1982) studies of Wits University's Library hardly mention the press, although it too had been run under the auspices of the library for some time. This indicates that the university press was considered of marginal importance.

Thus, a limitation of previous studies – for the purposes of this research – is that these studies mention only in passing the role of publishing in the research cycle, and pay even less attention to the important role played by the university presses in contributing to knowledge production or in helping to establish a reputation for their parent institutions. To date, only superficial attention has been paid to the development and history of the university presses in the histories of the universities in South Africa.

2.1.3 Local university presses in the literature

We have established that the publishing houses themselves, the presses attached to the South African universities, have not yet been studied in detail. Indeed, what emerges from a survey of the literature available is only a very few references to university press publishing, and no systematic attempt to chart their histories – in contrast to the situation in other parts of the world, where the history of various university presses has been relatively well documented (although concerns abound in the literature that such historiography is underdeveloped). The present study, then, is an attempt to fill this gap in the literature and in our knowledge of the full picture of academic history in this country.

In general, as mentioned in Chapter 1, "[t]he history of publishing in [African] countries makes only brief mention of university publishing" (Darko-Ampem, 2003: 89). In South Africa, there has as yet been no study focused on any of the university presses, while only a few articles and book chapters, and parts of a DPhil dissertation, touch on aspects of this country's university press publishing history (see, for instance Gray, 2000; Darko-Ampem, 2003; Ebewo and other chapters in Ngobeni, 2010). Davis (2011) has begun to sketch the history of Oxford University Press in South Africa, but local scholarly publishing does not fall within the scope of her study. She traces the trajectory of OUP's publishing in South Africa, which she terms "the slow decline of the OUP in South Africa from oppositional academic publishing to mass schoolbook publishing" (2011: 92).

An interesting source that was located during archival research was the unpublished booklet, 'Witwatersrand University Press 1922–1969', an informal history compiled from the minutes and files of WUP by M.A. Hutchings, who retired as Publications Officer in 1969.

This internal source proved invaluable in charting the early years of the Press, but without being published it is not accessible to many scholars in this field. (Davis (2011) relied on a similar internal history of the South African branch of OUP when tracing that history.)

Darko-Ampem (2003)'s comparative study of university presses in Africa is unique in its coverage of university presses, and in terms of South Africa it includes Unisa Press and the University of Cape Town Press. His study is not historical in nature, but does provide some historical information nonetheless. A key limitation in Darko-Ampem's study, however, is that he relies on information provided by the presses themselves, in response to a questionnaire, and it appears that the responses were not verified by other, external information. For instance, he cites Unisa Press as having been founded in 1957 (2003: 162) – a common misperception at the Press itself until my own research indicated a founding date of a year earlier, i.e. 1956. Similarly, the production figures he cites are hugely exaggerated, perhaps through the inclusion of other categories of publications such as readers.

Eve Gray, too, has written widely on South Africa's university presses and on scholarly publishing more broadly, and indeed is a former Director of both Wits University Press and the University of Cape Town Press. Her studies, while incisive and insightful when analysing current problems, seldom delve into the history of the university presses. In one example, Gray (2000: 176) does recognise what she calls the "problematic history" of the university presses, but she provides little historical detail in her chapter on academic publishing that featured in *The Politics of Publishing.* The reason she calls it problematic is related to the commonly held belief that university presses should be critical voices. She argues that:

> … during the darkest years of apartheid, through the 70s and 80s, WUP failed to provide a voice for its radical academics, the vociferous opponents of apartheid. This failure was common, in varying degrees, to other university presses also. … And so the mantle of serious academic publishing fell on small, oppositional trade publishers – David Philips (sic), Ravan and Ad Donker. (Gray, 2000: 176)

Elsewhere, Gray (2000: 176-177) has appeared to support the opposite view, that Wits University Press (WUP) "became a pioneer in the publication of African language literature and in the 1950s had an honourable record in the publication of liberal political and social commentaries". Perhaps the apparent contradiction has to do with shifts in focus over time,

as well as differing perceptions of the presses' output. For a later period, David Philip (1991: 17, emphasis added) contends that:

> Much oppositional publishing has emanated from the various university presses and university institutes, in varying degrees of commitment to opposition. Although their main concerns are the advancement of scholarship and of research in a wide range of academic disciplines, the university presses of Wits University and of Natal have *contributed strongly to oppositional publishing*...

Darko-Ampem (2003: 128, emphasis added), echoing David Philip's words, notes that, "[a]lthough their main concern is the advancement of scholarship and research, the university presses of the Witwatersrand and Natal have *contributed significantly to oppositional publishing*, as have many university institutes such as the South African Institute for Race Relations, which began publishing books in the 1960s". Similarly, Davey (2010: 181, emphasis added) comments that "Skotaville, COSAW [Congress of South African Writers], Ravan Press, David Philip Publishers, *the university presses*, Lovedale Press, Taurus, the African Writers' Association, all had the bravery and smarts to turn secrecy and suppression on its head." And, in paying tribute to David Philip, Malcolm Hacksley (2007) notes that "publishers like DPP [David Philip Publishers] and Ravan Press, and later also Skotaville, Seriti sa Sechaba and the university presses at Wits and Natal succeeded in helping to keep intellectual debate alive and in promoting an awareness of alternative ideas".

In contrast to such views, Hans Zell, one of the authorities on publishing in Africa, wrote an extended essay on scholarly publishing in Africa in the 1980s. He notes the following with regard to South Africa:

> In *South Africa*, finally, scholarly publishing has flourished for several decades. Sadly, however, the country's main university presses – those at the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, and Natal – while publishing many important scholarly works, have not significantly directed any part of their scholarly publishing programs to current issues related to Apartheid. Instead, this aspect of scholarly publishing has been taken up by a small number of independent companies, which thus play their part in the struggle against that system. (Zell, 1987; emphasis in the original)

And a more recent comment, in a Publishers' Association report on South Africa, now echoes this view as well:

> In the apartheid years, a handful of committed small publishers took on the risks of publishing books produced by academics opposing the apartheid regime. 'Oppositional' or 'struggle' publishers such as Ravan Press, David Philip Publishers, Skotaville and Ad Donker from the 1970s to the 1990s effectively became surrogate university publishers in the face of, at least, a partial failure of courage by the universities and their presses. (Andrew, 2010: 78)

The perceptions of university presses and their role thus differ markedly throughout the literature. This may have to do with differing expectations of what a university press *is* and *should do*. These expectations emerge from the models for university presses world-wide, so attention will now turn to the origins and development of university press models.

2.2 The Anglo-American university press model

The theoretical conceptualisation of the university press that follows derives largely from actual practice: from the model of university press publishing that has emerged over the years, particularly in the UK and the US. The following sections will describe this 'model', and discuss its application in certain parts of the world. The focus will fall on Anglophone countries, former British colonies, to which the model was exported, as these provide a ready degree of comparability with the South African situation. Moreover, university presses are most well established in these areas, playing a lesser role in the scholarly publishing industries of other parts of the globe.

2.2.1 University press histories

In general, much of the current writing on scholarly publishing and university presses focuses on contemporary (or what is also termed 'presentist') challenges and issues – the impact of digital publishing on the traditional value chain, the so-called serials crisis, the culture and pressure at many modern universities to 'publish or perish', and changing business models. This is a significant limitation when undertaking historical research in this field.

However, in addition to such studies, the literature on university presses also includes a number of official histories of publishing houses, as well as less formal memoirs. Most of these are either focused on the UK or USA, and they include studies of the history of Oxford University Press in both the UK (Carter, 1975; Sutcliffe, 1978; Waldock Report, 1967) and the colonies (Davis, 2011; Chatterjee, 2005; Nell, forthcoming); Cambridge University Press (McKenzie, 1966; Black, 1984; McKitterick, 2004); Harvard University Press (Hall, 1986); Yale University Press (Basbanes, 2008); and Princeton University Press (Princeton, 2005), to name just a few of the most prominent studies, among others. This is not to mention the huge, multi-volume study of the 500-year history of Oxford University Press currently underway, under the general editorship of Simon Eliot.

Some shorter overviews of US university press history have also been published, notably by Jagodzinski (2008) and Givler (2002), as well as Kerr's now-classic 1949 study of *The American University as Publisher*. In Canada, the University of Toronto Press marked its diamond anniversary in 1961 with the publication of a book titled *The University as Publisher* (Harman, 1961). To give a sense of how diverse these histories are, and what scope they cover, Hall's history of Harvard University Press has been described as "Harvard history, publishing history, printing history, business history, and intellectual history" (Hall, 1986: back cover blurb).

In spite of the existence of such studies, there is still a sense in the literature that "this historical study of this class of institutions [in the USA] remains underdeveloped" (Meisel, 2010: 123–124). In France, similarly, there is a feeling that "la perspective historique est assez rare dans les discours sur l'édition universitaire en dehors des travaux de Valérie Tesnière et de Jean-Yves Mollier" ("the historical perspective is fairly rare in the discourse on university publishing apart from the works of Valérie Tesnière and Jean-Yves Mollier", Assié, 2007: 11, my translation). In the South African context, such studies are not only rare; they are practically non-existent. Further historical research thus needs to be done in this field.

2.2.2 The first university presses

Jagodzinksi (2008: 2), as others have done, traces the development of university presses back as far as the fifteenth century, soon after the introduction of the printing press in Europe:

> In 1470, the rector and librarian of the Sorbonne invited three German printers to set up a press at the University of Paris. In England, the German Dietrich Rode established a press at Oxford and printed seventeen books there between 1478 and 1486. Cambridge University was granted a charter by Henry VIII to print and sell books in 1534, while Oxford University obtained a decree from the Star Chamber confirming its privilege to print books in 1586.

This quote may be somewhat misleading, however, as to the true origins of the university press. Although the first printing press to be established in Paris was at the Sorbonne, this cannot be considered a true university press. Hirsch sets the record straight by noting that,

> The first press in Paris, which was established at the Sorbonne, has often and mistakenly been called the first university press. It would be better to call it the first private press, established by Heynlein von Stein and Guillaume Fichet, who called Gering, Friburger and Crantz to Paris, probably selected the texts, and presumably guaranteed any deficit; the texts produced by these printers were slanted largely towards persons interested in new learning, among them of course teachers and students of the university. (Hirsch, 1967: 51)

Similarly, while some attribute the origins of European academic printing and publishing to Salamanca, in Spain, in 1481, it appears from careful study that the printers of the time were not officially associated with the university. Norton specifies:

> As might be expected of a Salamanca printer, a considerable part, roughly half, of Porras's production is strictly academic, whether in the form of treatises, lectures and orations by teachers of the University, or of texts edited on behalf of its students. There is no sign that he was an officially appointed university printer, and indeed he held no monopoly, for throughout the period his Salamanca rivals are to be found printing similar material. (Norton, 2010: 24)

It was in fact only later, with the establishment of the printing presses at Cambridge and Oxford, that what we now recognise as a university press begins to take shape. The original model of the university press, although not universal and presently in flux, is thus primarily a

British one. Black (1984: 3) agrees, stating that "the institution is for all practical purposes a British invention, since the ancient presses of Cambridge and Oxford are the only two scholarly presses from the early period of printing which have a continuous record of activity under the same ownership and authority to the present day, and which are actually governed by the universities themselves; and it is these two which have essentially provided the pattern on which other university presses have usually modelled themselves". Overtly and explicitly, university presses around the (English-speaking) world have been set up in the image of the successful British university presses. The commonly cited model is that of Oxford University Press, perhaps ironic given the disarray in which that press began and operated for several hundred years, yet somewhat more obvious when one considers the expansion of OUP into various key Commonwealth states. The Oxford model sets up some of the basic principles which are so familiar today: the use of a board of academics to serve as gatekeepers and to maintain quality and scholarly integrity; the focus on scholarly works, grounded in research; and even the non-profit nature of so many university presses. The use of peer review to guarantee quality provides much of the symbolic capital associated with university press publishing.

There has been publishing associated with the University at Oxford since the printing press was first brought to England. But the Press as we know it today first developed the lineaments of the 'Oxford model' only in the late seventeenth century, under Archbishop William Laud and John Fell, who was Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford. Fell developed the Bible business and the scholarly publishing mandate of the Press, as well as various processes, procedures and types (the famous 'Fell types' were used to set many early works). In 1690, all of the equipment and land leased to Fell reverted to the university, and the Press was from then on overseen by the Delegates of the Press. The subsequent history of the Press, and its later expansion around the world, has been well told, not least in the multi-volume *History of the Oxford University Press*, which is still in development.

Cambridge University obtained its royal charter in 1534, which gave it authority over the production and distribution of printed books, although it actually began printing only around the 1580s (McKitterick, 1992). Like Oxford, this printing arrangement only really metamorphosed into a recognisable university press at the end of the seventeenth century,

when the first University Press Syndicate was established in 1696 to oversee the press and its products. While it follows the same elements of the university press model as Oxford, it has not had the same international visibility or influence. CUP's history has also been the subject of several studies.

The United Kingdom now has several university presses, especially at what are considered research-intensive universities. It has been noted, somewhat ironically, that "[i]t is a curious feature of British publishing that, with two notable exceptions [i.e. Oxford and Cambridge], its university presses range from the small to the tiny" (Hill, 1976). Liverpool University Press is the third oldest, founded in 1899 at the University College Liverpool (the university had been founded in 1882). Manchester University Press followed in 1904, initially as the Publications Committee of the Victoria University of Manchester. The Press was founded on the initiative of a History professor at the university. Manchester and Edinburgh are substantial university presses, among the largest, while smaller ones have since been established at Leicester, Sussex, Durham, Hull and a number of other institutions, as well as the combined Scottish Academic Press. Some of these remain 'publishing departments' rather than fully fledged presses.

2.2.3 The United States adaptation of the Oxford model

In the United States, university presses emerged along with a specific model of a research university. As Basbanes (2008: 3–4) notes: "In the New World, as with everything else, the historical record is far more truncated than the European example, with the American form of academic press emerging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a response to the professionalization of scholarship then taking place throughout the United States and Canada, and as a way to document the pioneering work being produced." Altbach (1989: 11) describes the adaptation of the British model in the USA more directly: "British influences, powerful in the American colonies in the 18th century, were combined with other foreign ideas and indigenous patterns to form the American academic model, which itself has been an extraordinarily powerful force, particularly in the post World War II period."

The American adaptation of the British and German research models, focusing on the dissemination and democratisation of knowledge, is clearly depicted in the following extended quote:

> This new research university, as visualized by men like Gilman, William Rainey Harper, and Nicholas Butler (the first presidents of the University of Chicago and Columbia University, respectively), was to be more than an institution for molding the character of society's next generation of leaders and transmitting a knowledge of history and cultural traditions. It was also to be a center for the discovery of new knowledge. This new knowledge would be the product of research carried out in university libraries and laboratories by scholars – and research, if the discovery of knowledge was to progress, had to be shared through some formal system of dissemination. Gilman's injunction that scholarly knowledge should be spread more widely than only among those who could acquire it first-hand by attending university lectures sounds commonplace today, but it was a new idea in its time. University presses began to rise and flourish in the United States because they were an indispensable component of the modern research university itself. (Givler, 2002)

It is an important aspect, as Givler notes above, that the university press is an integral part of the university system – it is part of the academy itself, not a publisher *for* the academy. This has clearly constrained the form and scope of such presses, even as they have attempted to operate more along the lines of a commercial academic publisher as time has passed. In fact, in spite of their noble ideals, "[t]he earliest university presses in the United States were far from the professional operations of today. They often served as no more than job printers for universities, printing catalogues, unvetted faculty publications, or annual reports" (Jagodzinksi, 2008: 4). This service function may be seen featuring quite prominently even in modern university presses around the world.

The growth of university presses in the United States has been phenomenal, with the Association of American University Presses now boasting more than 130 members. The very first scholarly printing on that continent was done at Harvard as early as 1643, but that university did not establish a press in its own name until 1913. Hall (1986: 8), who wrote the official history of the Press, points out that Harvard University Press was founded explicitly with the presses of Oxford and Cambridge as models. Dumas Malone, who became Director of the Press in 1935, coined the phrase "scholarship plus" to describe its mission; this implies that its focus was on both scholarly books and general titles for a wider readership.

The Belknap imprint was later specifically founded, like the Clarendon Press imprint at Oxford University Press, for "books of long-lasting importance, superior in scholarship and physical production, chosen whether or not they might be profitable" (Ibid.).

Cornell established a publishing office in 1869, combining a printing plant with its journalism programme, but this venture shut down in 1884, and only re-opened in 1930. Andrew White is said to have used the term "university press" for the first time in the USA, in connection with the press at Cornell, and again with the Oxford and Cambridge models in mind (Kerr, 1949: 3). A publishing initiative launched at the University of Pennsylvania a few years later also did not survive for long. Johns Hopkins University Press was founded in 1878, two years after the founding of that research-oriented university, and claims the distinction of being the oldest continuously operating university press in the USA. JHU Press began as a journals publisher, and is still well known in that area of scholarly publishing. The University of Chicago Press was founded in 1891 (and brought out the first *Chicago Manual of Style* in 1906), Columbia University Press in 1893, and Princeton in 1905, although the latter began life as a printing press and is now in fact an independent company with a close association to the university. These significant early university publishers were all established at universities that were committed to research and to postgraduate education. An article in the *Authors League Bulletin* in 1919 remarked on the growth of and model for university presses: "A new group of publishing houses is arising in this country following a successful and ancient English precedent" (quoted in Kerr, 1949: 4).

One of the effects of the rise and expansion of US university publishing is that the original model has been adapted and modified to some extent in the new context. The US universities merged their British-oriented model with a German research institute model, creating their own hybrid. Altbach (1987: 38) notes that "[t]he American university press emerged at a time when American higher education was declaring its independence from European models and was beginning to emphasize graduate study and research. In a sense, the university press was part of America's effort to declare intellectual independence in the late nineteenth century." This 'independence' may be seen in deviations from the original model. One of the first such deviations was the fact that not all of the US university presses

were directly controlled by their parent institutions – such as Princeton – although all employed a University Committee to vet and select manuscripts.

A newer feature, which recurs frequently in the literature on US university presses, is the dominance of such presses in humanities and social sciences publishing, almost to the exclusion of other fields of knowledge (cf. for instance, Abbott, 2008; Meisel, 2010). The move towards cross-over publishing lists (combining both traditional scholarly works and more popular 'trade' works, which appeal to a wider, more general and non-specialised audience) and the growing emphasis on self-sustainability may also be traced to these presses. They have also proved to be pioneers in the areas of electronic publishing and in collaborative work in support of large scholarly projects, as exemplified by Project MUSE (managed by the Johns Hopkins University Press) and the Humanities E-Book Project.

2.3 The university press model in the Commonwealth

The model of the university press used across the former British colonies is, as mentioned, remarkably consistent; as Dubow (2006: 74) points out, "the desire to emulate British norms was always present and deference to the metropole was an ingrained reflex". Moodie (1994: 1-2) adds, poetically, that "footprints of the British imperial past are clearly discernible in the universities". This may be clearly seen in the following section, which examines the origins of the university presses in various Commonwealth countries.

2.3.1 Canada

The first university press in Canada could be said to be Oxford University Press itself, not just as a model. OUP Canada was founded in 1904 as the second decentralised office (after New York, in 1896) to be established outside the United Kingdom. However, OUP Canada only published its first local title in 1913 – the *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* – after Toronto University Press had already started publishing.

The first university press in Canada, then, was actually that of Toronto, which published its first book in 1911 (Harman, 1961: 19; Jeanneret, 2002). Discussions around the founding of

a press had begun ten years prior, in 1901, with the search for a suitable university printer. At first the newly established press was concerned with manufacturing calendars, examination papers, and other such service publications. The first book to be produced was a study of Sir James Gowan, a pioneer senator and judge, followed by *A Short Handbook of Latin Accidence and Syntax* (1912) by Professor J. Fletcher, Head of the Department of Classics. This textbook, according to Harman, "appears to have been the first actual publishing venture of the Press" (1961: 22) – the first scholarly work, in other words.

As interest in the idea of a better developed university press grew, advice was sought from some of the pre-eminent American university presses – Chicago, Yale, Princeton, Johns Hopkins and Harvard – and it is these that may be considered the true model for the Canadian university presses. With this American model, it is hardly surprising that the Press has long been a member of the Association of American University Presses. The Director of the Press, Marsh Jeanneret, noted explicitly that the aim was to fulfil "the normal functions of leading creative publishers everywhere, including such leading presses as Oxford, Cambridge, Columbia, and Chicago" (quoted in Harman, 1961: 38).

The next university press to be established in Canada was set up as recently as 1950, at Laval. The Presses de l'Université Laval was the first francophone scholarly publisher based at a university in Canada. It was followed ten years later, in 1960, by McGill University. As Harman notes, "this was the first proof in all that time that the university press tradition was taking hold in Canada" (1961: 57). There are now presses at many of the Canadian universities, including Alberta, Athabasca, British Columbia, Calgary, Ottawa, and Wilfrid Laurier, as well as francophone presses at Québec and Montréal Universities.

2.3.2 Australia and New Zealand

Further south in the English-speaking world, Australia's university presses have followed a similar trajectory, and their history has been studied and discussed by scholars. These studies include Thompson (2006) with both an overview of Australian university presses and a case study of the University of Queensland Press, Munro's (1998) commemorative history and memoir of the University of Queensland Press, and Fitzgerald (2005) on the University

of Western Australia Press. As in other British colonies, Australia at first relied on imports from the UK for its reading and research needs. And, as in other colonies, the first university press to open in Australia was Oxford University Press, which started an office in Melbourne in 1908. At first, this served only as a sales office, but it later began to procure and disseminate local manuscripts as well.

From early on, the need for an indigenous university press was also felt, with articles and letters regularly appearing in the local newspapers on this matter. One such letter argued: "One of the needs of some one or other of the Australian universities is a University Press. By this I mean a printing office established within University precincts, along the lines of that at Oxford, the exemplar for University Presses almost everywhere" (Fryer, 1934: 11). By the time this letter was written, a start had in fact already been made: the first local university press was located in Melbourne, with Melbourne University Press being officially established in 1922, for the benefit of students seeking stationery and second-hand textbooks. A year later, it published its first academic title: *A History of the White Australia Policy until 1920* by Myra Willard, of which 600 copies were published at the author's expense. Under the direction of Stanley S. Addison, book publishing became an increasingly important part of the work of this press, and by the time of his departure in 1931 the press had published some sixty titles and was well established. Thompson (2006: 329) points out the importance of this university press in Australian publishing history:

> Melbourne University Press has had a long and distinguished history and is, in fact, Australia's second oldest publishing house. Under a succession of eminent directors, including respected Australian poet Frank Wilmot and the writer and critic Peter Ryan, it has made a huge contribution to Australian history and biography. Perhaps its best known publication is Manning Clark's seminal history of Australia, the first volume of which was published in 1961 under the directorship of Gwyn James (MUP manager, 1943–62). Indeed, a list of the Australian historians who have published works under the MUP banner is a rollcall of the nation's historical scholarship ...

The main university presses in Australia remain Melbourne University Press (although the latter now functions as "Melbourne University Publishing Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of the University of Melbourne", according to the MUP website), the University of Western Australia Press, originally established in 1935, the University of Queensland Press, founded in 1948, and the University of New South Wales Press, which was founded in 1962. The

University of Western Australia's (UWA) vice-chancellor, Hubert Whitfeld, believed that "Australian universities ought to publish very much more than they do", and established the Text Books Board in 1935 with support from academics Walter Murdoch and Fred Alexander. It continued in this form until 1948, when it took on the name University of Western Australia Press (Fitzgerald, 2005). Scholarly publishing at the UWA Press continually struggled to be commercially viable. The market was small and the press was isolated from other cities and markets – a particular problem in Western Australia. Subsidised journals were published during the 1960s for UWA's academic departments, which were time consuming for Press staff and, despite the subsidies, rarely met their costs. Despite these struggles, the Press is still operational.

In contrast, some of Australia's university presses did not survive into the twenty-first century. These include Sydney University Press, which is now a digital (e-only) initiative. The original Sydney University Press was established by the university in 1962, although there had been discussion of a possible publishing initiative since before World War II. Some of the options investigated included subsidising an existing press, and developing an exclusive arrangement with it, or entering into a licensing agreement with OUP. The Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University, Dr R.S. Wallace, travelled to Oxford in 1939 to investigate the model used for their press, and to obtain their "blessing and practical help" in establishing a counterpart in Sydney (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1939: 16). The mission of the press was fairly standard: "The objects of Sydney University Press shall be to undertake the publication of works of learning and to carry out the business of publication in all its branches" (Sydney University Press, 2010). The Press was effectively dismantled in 1987 to become, for a time, an imprint of Oxford University Press, until the mid-1990s when Oxford University Press relinquished the imprint. During this relatively brief period of time Sydney University Press published several hundred books and many journals. It included series such as the Challis Shakespeare, Australian Literary Reprints, and journals such as *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *Mankind*, *Australian Economic History Review*, *Abacus*, and *Pathology*. The university's website (2010) still lauds "[t]he output of Sydney University Press [which] represented the breadth, and the best, of the University of Sydney."

New Zealand's development of university presses again followed a now familiar pattern, although somewhat later than in Australia. Perhaps this slower introduction of university press publishing may be associated with a certain dependence on the larger publishing market of Australia; OUP, for instance, covers both territories from its 'ANZ' branch based in Australia. Local university press publishing has nonetheless developed in this country. Otago developed a publishing programme in 1959 (in association with a local printer in Dunedin), Auckland University Press was founded in 1966, and Victoria University Press followed in the 1970s. Canterbury has also published under the imprint of a university press. A survey of such presses in New Zealand would not be complete without mention of the press founded in 1962 by D.F. McKenzie in Wellington, Wai-te-Ata Press, which is used for teaching purposes as well as publishing. These university presses tend to focus on local or regional topics for the most part, and play an important part in scholarly publishing in New Zealand.

As in South Africa, there has been minimal scholarly attention paid to the university press in New Zealand. The book history collection, *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand* (Griffith, Hughes & Loney, 2000), for instance, does not feature any of the university presses – although it was published by one of them, Auckland University Press.

2.3.3 India

The British model of the university and the university press also spread to other parts of the British Empire, and to developing countries (the so-called 'Third World'). In India, it is again OUP that played an important role in early scholarly publishing initiatives, and coloured much of what would later be published by local university presses. OUP has a very interesting, chequered history in India, beginning very much as an imperial imposition and adapting over time. Chatterjee (2005) has traced this history in some detail, and notes that "its (OUP's) status as an academic press that had supported several key Indological publishing ventures in the mid-nineteenth century gave it a cachet in the eyes of Indians that other presses could not have, and it was seen as pro-India as a result". What Chatterjee calls its "self-imposed custodianship of Indological study" was important in furthering the

production of local knowledge in India, but more nationalist authors began to question its status as a quasi-Indian press after independence in 1947.

Less scholarly attention has been paid to the local university presses (for example, the collection *Print Areas: Book History in India* does not have a chapter on university press publishing apart from OUP; for the latter, see Chatterjee in Gupta & Chakravorty, 2004). India's oldest indigenous university press, in Calcutta, was founded in 1908, and has developed an impressive backlist of over 1 000 titles, yet it is difficult to find information on this publisher's history. Presses may now be found at universities as diverse as Aligarh, Varanasi, Bombay, and Delhi, but still at just twenty of India's approximately 120 universities, primarily those that emphasise research. The Oxford model is found to some extent, although not all of the university presses are known for the quality of their scholarly books – Altbach (1987: 40) notes dryly that "virtually none has attempted to build for itself a reputation of excellence in scholarly publishing". One common aspect is the use of an academic board to govern the operations of the presses, and to oversee peer review and the selection of manuscripts.

But even Calcutta University Press, which is over 100 years old and has published the works of many distinguished Indian scholars, has been used as much as a printing press for the university, as a scholarly publishing house. Hasan (n.d.) notes that "[a] history of these institutions would read more like the history of printing establishments since the concerned universities were interested only in printing certain materials and not necessarily in spreading the message contained in them and in their wide dissemination". This service-oriented mission is common in the developing world.

2.3.4 The university press in Africa

One of the key differences between scholarly publishing in South Africa and the rest of Africa is that publishing took root in South Africa even during the colonial era. South Africa's print history is thus longer and better developed than that of many other African countries, and comparisons are as a result better achieved between South Africa and comparable British colonies elsewhere, than between South Africa and the rest of the continent.

Nonetheless, a brief overview of the literature on university press publishing in Africa completes the picture of scholarship on university presses.

Africa's publishing history is relatively short, given its colonial history, and it had to wait for decolonisation for an indigenous publishing industry to really take off. University presses were first established on this continent only in the twentieth century. Darko-Ampem (2003: 4) makes it clear that "[t]he university press is a relatively new institution in Africa, as indeed is university education. In the former British colonies, apart from the early beginning at Fourah Bay in 1827, there were no universities till 1948, and no university presses till Ibadan established a nucleus of one in 1952." Yet, while the history of the post-independence period, and the establishment and growth of higher education in Africa has been the subject of numerous studies, the continent's publishing history has not been studied in any depth.

The university presses in Africa were, on the whole, created to solve the problems of access to student textbooks, as well as to provide local knowledge and research that was appropriate for and relevant to students. Barbour (1984: 95–96) points out that, "[w]hen universities began to be established after World War II in what were then colonial territories, the lack of a suitable range of books on the history, geography or political systems of the African continent, of its major regions or of the particular countries was a severe constraint on the development of appropriate disciplines and courses". The answer was to develop locally relevant materials, as the imported books were also too expensive.

Accessibility and affordability have been major issues for African institutions of higher education. Their presses, mostly set up after the introduction of structural adjustment programmes and the impact of World Bank policies that constrained higher education, include those located at the universities of Dar es Salaam (1979), Nairobi (1984), Makerere (1979) and Addis Ababa (1967). Notably, very few university presses have been established in the Francophone or Lusophone countries; their indigenous publishing industries are less developed on the whole. Exceptions include the Presse Universitaire d'Afrique in Yaoundé, Cameroon and of Dakar in Senegal. In Egypt, we find the American University of Cairo hosting a press, plus a few others in the Maghreb countries. These university presses – in

general contrast to the situation of those in South Africa – have struggled ever since their establishment as they have been weak, poorly funded, and understaffed or underskilled. They have also had to deal with the generic problems of publishing in Africa, including very small literate markets and the ever-present pressure to publish in indigenous languages (Smart, 2002). Under such constraints, the university presses have usually acted as service departments for their parent institutions, but also, as Darko-Ampem points out (2003: 13), "[a]n African university press must have an added responsibility towards the society by engaging in all genres of publishing – scholarly, academic, as well as general". Similarly, Barbour (1984: 98), describing the viability of African university presses as doubtful, sees them as having a wider role by necessity: "if they are still in operation, it is often because they have been employed in routine government printing".

Rathgeber (1978) carried out a study of the impact of university press publishing on intellectual life in Nigeria in the 1970s, but while her study acknowledges the influence of the British model she does not focus specifically on the history and development of Nigeria's university presses. Her work supports the contention, found regularly in the literature, that because of wider economic problems (especially in the wake of the failure of structural adjustment programmes), political instability, unemployment, low literacy rates, popular demands for social interventions – various other more pressing problems, in fact – many universities are simply unable to support a publishing programme. Thus, even though the need for relevant and affordable materials remains, the number of university presses remains small. As a result, much of the scholarly work produced by Nigerians is still not published by Nigerian university presses, but by foreign publishers or expatriate firms operating in Nigeria (Altbach, 1987: 41).

Darko-Ampem's research (2003) is unique in the field of publishing studies: a multiple case study of six university presses in Africa – Ghana Universities Press (Accra, Ghana), the Presses of the Universities of Cape Town and South Africa (respectively in Cape Town and Pretoria, South Africa), University of Zimbabwe Press (Harare, Zimbabwe), University of Zambia Press (Lusaka, Zambia), and University Press of Nairobi (Nairobi, Kenya) – with a focus on "structure, policies and practices" (2003: 11). He does focus on the early history with his research questions, "What was the vision behind the establishment of the press at

the time it was founded?" and "What led to the establishment of the presses?", but his interest is mainly in the current operations of the presses. Indeed, as he acknowledges, "[t]he constraints and challenges of tertiary publishing in Africa have been the focus of much research" but little attention has been paid to the past (Darko-Ampem, 2003: 7).

Apart from these studies mentioned, the literature on scholarly publishing in Africa – as is the case for the rest of the world – tends to focus on the present. Issues that are well covered are the constraints faced by scholars and publishers on the African continent, the visibility of African scholarship (especially in terms of bibliometrics such as citation rates), and the applicability of Western models in an African context. Some argue, for instance, that "the idea of the British or American university press making money by selling monographs and research work by academics is not appropriate in Africa" (Currey, 2002: 3), an argument that has more to do with the economics of higher education and of publishing than the need for a dissemination outlet for research. Changing business models have led to a more nuanced view that "the simple product-sales models of the twentieth century, devised when information was scarce and expensive, are clearly inappropriate for the twenty-first-century scholarly ecosystem" (MediaCommonsPress, 2011). Yet such twentieth-century models, assumed to be commonly understood as in the report quoted above, have not yet been examined from a historical perspective.

Further historically based research on university presses and scholarly publishing in Africa is thus needed, to develop a better basis for understanding more presentist concerns, and to create a fuller picture of the development of scholarly publishing on this continent – which, after all, has a rather short history.

2.3.5 Describing the 'Oxford model'

This literature review has now provided an overview of the origins and development of university presses around the world, and in particular in the former British colonies. This reveals the spread and extent of the influence of Oxford University Press and its particular model of scholarly publishing. As can be seen from this discussion of university presses in various parts of the world, "it is astonishing how much similarity there is across the range of

scholarly publishers in the English-speaking world" (Derricourt, 1996: 6) – a transnational influence that seemingly transcends national differences. Earlier research (Le Roux, 2007) has substantiated this statement, revealing the missions of university presses to be remarkably similar, especially in terms of the following four points:

1. The close relationship between university presses and their parent organisations;
2. A commitment to publishing high-quality, academically rigorous work;
3. An attempt to balance the publishing of scholarship and commercial realities, while usually remaining non-profit organisations;
4. A coherent publishing list that focuses on a specific and usually well-defined niche.

The Waldock report (1967), which was commissioned by Oxford University Press to examine its own operations, highlighted the following elements as being central to a university press:

(a) the constitutional position of the Press in relation to its University;
(b) the composition, structure, and powers of its senior management;
(c) any general directives or understandings in regard to the functions of the Press as a University Press and any limitations upon the scope of its publishing activities;
(d) the relations between the Press and the faculties in its University;
(e) the financial relationship of the Press to the University.

Another significant aspect, which is not automatically present as part of the 'Oxford model', is the wider intellectual and social role of the university press. As will be seen in the next section, the university press is often expected to play a role in promoting intellectual and academic freedom.

It seems likely that the use of such a model and the patterns of power and control emerging from this (neo)imperial situation would have profound and lasting implications for the running of such presses, for the values they transfer, for the knowledge they produce and disseminate, and for the relationship between them and the societies in which they operate (a phenomenon that has not been studied in any depth). In other words, not only print itself (in the form of texts), but also *models* for publishing and disseminating print were transmitted from the colonial metropole to other territories during the twentieth century. The use and replication of such models has contributed to "the traffic of symbolic capital

across boundaries of metropole and colony" (Van der Vlies, 2004: 6). This reinforces the theoretical position that, "For well over five hundred years, print has been central to the shaping of Western society, and to the transmission of its values outwards (whether imposed or voluntarily) into colonized and connected societies and territories" (Finkelstein & McCleery, 2002: 4).

But the 'Oxford model' has also been remoulded and shaped by the new contexts in which it finds itself, with scholarly publishing sometimes taking a backseat to service-oriented publishing in the developing countries – as a result of which, "[e]ven the branches of Oxford University Press engage in much nonscholarly publishing in the Third World" (Altbach, 1987: 39). The model is thus a dynamic one, with a tendency to change over time and in different contexts.

Although the emphasis in this literature review has been on the English-speaking world, the university press tradition in other parts of the world, and particularly Europe, also portrays some striking similarities with the model outlined above. In France, university press publishing developed out of a tradition of learned society publishing and the academic publishing of small, independent publishers rather than at the universities themselves. University press publishing grew out of the increasing institutionalisation of research in the early to mid-twentieth century – the first university presses in France were established in Provence in 1907, in Strasbourg in 1920, and in Dijon in 1928, and the cooperative Presses Universitaires de France in 1921 – yet only really grew in stature in the 1960s and 1970s (Assié, 2007: 23, 41). Developing so late, the newly formed university presses tended to look to the Anglo-Saxon model, and especially the US model, for experience and inspiration. The current model thus exhibits many of the same characteristics as the 'Oxford' model, and commentators describe the present situation in the same language of 'crisis', 'crossroads' and 'development' (cf. Assié, 2007).

In other parts of the world, "where the influence of the British academic model and of Oxford University Press has been strong" (Altbach, 1987: 41–42), there has also been more recent growth of university presses, for example in parts of south-east Asia and Latin America. An example is the Philippines, where university presses were established in the

1960s, and have become increasingly Anglophone in language and orientation. Camilo Mendoza Villanueva (2011) has written a brief overview of the history of three Philippine university presses. However, in much of the rest of the world (and especially the non-Anglophone world), most scholarly publishing is undertaken by private commercial firms rather than by university presses.

2.4 The intellectual role of university presses

As can be seen from the literature surveyed, there are remarkable similarities in university presses around the world. If we consider that one of the most significant perceptions of South African scholarly publishing is that the university presses were seen as oppositional publishers, this too can be attributed to a common expectation of university presses, as Greco (2001) notes:

> For well over a century, university presses released titles that challenged traditional thinking in the United States; prodded citizens and political leaders to evaluate economic, social, and ecological issues confronting the nation; influenced legislation in Washington and in numerous state capitals; and sparked intense debates in the marketplace of ideas. Clearly, university presses became a critically important conduit within and outside the academy for ideas, opinions, and, at times, controversies.

Similarly, Harrison (2004) argues that "general interest intermediaries, including universities and scholarly presses, have a responsibility to expose their audience to materials, topics and positions that they would not have chosen in advance". Universities should thus serve as a platform for a wide spectrum of intellectual stances.

In other words, university press publishing has traditionally been closely associated with academic freedom and the role of the public intellectual. For some, this is a key role for university press publishing: to provoke debate, to create platforms for dissenting voices and views, and to represent a critical and even controversial stance. Ebewo (2010: 28), for instance, states that "[a] publishing house within the university community exemplifies autonomy and academic freedom". Unfortunately, this perception and indeed principle has not always been lived out in practice, especially in repressive societies. For instance, in a highly stratified and regulated society, such as apartheid South Africa was, these processes

may be complicated and politicised. In the USA, during the segregation period, Fidler (1965: 417) has described a repressive environment having an effect on research and publication. He goes on to praise "several university presses in the South [which] published works on controversial subjects, even books with passages exploring public views and constitutional issues in relation to racial integration".

At the same time, any university press is likely to reflect the ideological norms of its institution and of the academics who undertake peer review and selection functions. While few university presses openly support a particular political outlook, nonetheless their publishing decisions and lists are coloured by certain ideological or political orientations. For example, a study of Harvard University Press's publishing list shows that it has tended to tilt "heavily left" especially in recent years (Gordon & Nilsson, 2011: 81). A similar study of Yale University Press found a similar outlook: "these books pass along the progressive viewpoint almost exclusively, with only a few that could be considered theme-neutral or classically liberal, and none that can be termed conservative-oriented" (Parrott, quoted in Gordon & Nilsson, 2011: 92). These studies demonstrate that the publishing lists of such university presses are considerably more liberal in orientation than the average in the USA.

In addition to ideological orientation, university presses are also sometimes said to lie "between the cathedral and the market" (Chakava, 2007) or between "God and Mammon" (Jeanneret, 2002) in terms of their orientation because of the balancing act they perform in serving both research needs and profit motivations. But university presses also occupy a specific space in the societies they serve, forming part of an intellectual and higher education environment that is for the most part funded by governments, as well as disseminating values and culture through the publications they produce. They are, too, an important component in the knowledge economy and especially in the processes of knowledge generation and certification. These presses could thus be said to occupy a space balancing the economy, state and academy. These competing pressures have been theorised in various contexts (for instance by Pierre Bourdieu (1975/76), Gisele Sapiro (2003) and others) as the competing forces or narratives of ideological, market and symbolic control.

The literature on censorship in the apartheid and earlier periods provides a good theoretical framework for understanding the constraints on publishing in this period (and will be examined in further detail in Chapter 4). However, this literature focuses mainly on fiction (literature), or on academic access to banned books (Biagioli, 2002; Merrett, 1991, 1994). McDonald (2009: xvi), for instance, recognises that his work omits non-fiction, stating clearly that "this book focuses on the questions raised by the censorship of printed books identified as literature and written, for the most part, by South African-born writers of the apartheid era". Thus, specific information relating to the role of South Africa's university presses in promoting academic freedom could to a large extent not be located in the literature.

2.5 Conclusion

The so-called 'Oxford model' of university press publishing has clearly had a great impact on the development of scholarly publishing world-wide, and particularly in those countries that were formerly British colonies. From the literature surveyed, an 'Oxford model' was distilled and an attempt made to trace its trajectory in various parts of the English-speaking world: the Commonwealth, including Canada, Australia and New Zealand, India and the African countries. This review reveals an imbalance in the depth and extent of studies conducted on university presses in various parts of the world, but the extant literature supports the contention that scholarly publishing has followed a remarkably similar trajectory, and developed according to similar elements, around the globe.

The literature also highlights the fact that university presses, like their parent institutions, have been closely linked to notions of intellectual and academic freedom. As the university press is an essential part of the scholarly communication cycle, it makes an important contribution to the dissemination of research, of ideas, and of values. In the literature, this may be examined from the perspective of a publishing house's philosophy or mission, its history, or indeed its publishing list, and its ideological or political orientation highlighted. This particular focus has relevance for the content analysis of publishing lists that will be conducted in Chapter 5.

Moreover, this literature review reveals specific gaps in the research that has been conducted to date relating to the South African context. To begin with, very little academic work has focused on the history of university press publishing in South Africa, or indeed more widely in Africa. Even studies of university and university library history contain only passing references to the role and functions of the university presses in South Africa.

One of the results of the dearth of study in this area is that a number of perceptions and possible misperceptions have arisen concerning South Africa's university presses. From the literature surveyed, it emerges that one of the most significant perceptions of South African scholarly publishing is that the university presses – and especially Wits and Natal University Presses – were seen as oppositional publishers. This perception will be tested against the concrete evidence of bibliographical and archival research on the history of the university presses. Chapter 3 will thus follow with a discussion of the origins, missions and evolution of the university presses.