JournalismNext
JournalismNow
JournalismNew

The future is already here...

Two of the School of Journalism and Media Studies' most important projects get into high gear in July and August: the Highway Africa conference and the Rhodes Journalism Review. And for a great many years now the two have had an important association as well as being important vehicles for our engagement with the continent of Africa and its journalists, editors, media owners, policy-makers, researchers, theorists, educators and innovators.

In 2015 we bring two new editions of these projects to you: "Journalism and the City" – the 19th edition of Highway Africa and Rhodes Journalism Review number 35 – which for the first time is an online-only publication.

As the geographers will tell you the city is our future as humanity, agencies like the United Nations track such things and they tell us that 3.5-billion people already live in cities and that this number is growing and growing and growing. But the way that cities themselves grow is through slums, informal settlements and encroachments into surrounding available land. The fact that nearly half of the world lives in a city does not mean that that half all share the same standard of living and the same access to a city's resources. In fact, our cities are becoming the sites of the most unequal, most unfair distribution of resources as this inexorable movement of humanity takes place.

This is absolutely a topic for journalism and for this conference as we ask whether our cities (especially in Africa) are enabling or disabling environments for the majority of humankind.

At the IAMCR (International Association for Media Communication Research) conference this year I attended a fascinating session on "the commons" in which political economy theorist Graham Murdoch compared the systematic enclosure of land over the centuries with the systematic enclosure of the internet. These are big issues which we must keep our eyes on, and we can test and assess the way they play out particularly on the local stage, which is the city.

Our contribution in these pages to thinking cities comes in the form of photographs from Jodi Bieber who spent three months travelling 7 000km through Soweto capturing the actual daily lives of the millions who live there on the outskirts of Johannesburg. These are published in a collection called Soweto.

Marikana and the shocking events on that mine have become a new signpost in our post-apartheid life warning us that real change social and political change is still high on the agenda. We carry Jack Shenker's essay and Jason Larkin's photographs from their recently-produced called Platinum. Fourthwall Books has kindly allowed RJR to republish it.

Rhodes Journalism Review has always aimed to keep reporting from the coal face as new technology shifts journalism's homebase and engagements with the internet, the digital and the mobile. As a Menell fellow I attended the latest MMX in Johannesburg in June (Menell Media Exchange, organised by Laurie Bley based at Duke University where the fellowship takes place) and as a result have brought the thinking, ideas and debates from that gathering of hundreds of South African journalists into the pages of Review for wider consumption. Gathered under the section Journalism Next you'll find some very interesting analytical considerations of the condition of journalism as well as some bold experiments in sustainability in an uncertain world.

Some important research finds its way into the pages of Review 35: Jos Kuper updates us on the SA media landscape, Indra de Lanerolle takes stock of the internet internationally, Glenda Daniels reveals the state of the newsroom, Arrie de Beer tells us how journalists feel about their profession in Journalism Now, Julie Posetti reports on protecting sources in the post-Snowden era.

Then in Journalism New we bring you the experimental (and very exciting): GroundUp, The Daily Vox, student projects and mapping.

The Final Word is by Vanessa Malila and focuses on the youth. It's a good place to end as we think about the future.

Anthea Garman
Editor

Cover picture
Jodie Bieber from *Soweto*

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Jodi Bieber's **Soweto**

Bieber spent three months and 7 000km traveling though Soweto and taking photographs. She says of the project: "Once you start spending time in Soweto you realise how diverse and different we are as a nation. Soweto operates in a completely different way to the suburbs of Johannesburg. I found myself feeling envious of how people embrace public living. Children play on the pavements, soccer matches are being refereed in the streets, and adults are chatting or gossiping or flirting with neighbours, friends or lovers" (from Soweto published by Jacana 2010). Bieber is the winner of eight World Press Awards.

How journalism
ought to restore its SUSTA

In 1955, Henry Nxumalo, the famous "Mr Drum" as he was then known, published an article under the headline **I WORKED AT SNYMAN FARM**. To write the report, Nxumalo went undercover as a labourer so that he could reveal conditions of backbreaking work for pitiful wages. His report documented, in searing and pointed detail, the horrors black Africans endured as they were "contracted" (hoodwinked and bullied in many instances) to work on farms across the country under deeply exploitative conditions. As hard-hitting then as it remains today, the report represents in-depth and unflinching writing in the face of arbitrarily exercised power: journalism at its finest.

By Vinayak Bhardwaj

As newsrooms continue to haemorrhage jobs, with advertising revenues vanishing and circulation figures steadily plummeting, the search for a sustainability model for journalism has become urgent. Added to the systemic challenges, the threat of increased private and state interference with editorial policies of newspapers, the promulgation of draft laws that are poorly conceived and frankly draconian – represents an existential threat to media freedom and ultimately its ability to hold private and public power to account.

Confronted with this perfect storm of events, can journalists with the chutzpah of Nxumalo and the Drum generation offer any lessons in guiding our media towards the shores of financial viability and editorial independence?

Three lessons appear salient in offering a tentative, affirmative answer, followed by an exploration of what taking heed of these lessons might look like:

- Remain relevant
- Be bold, experiment!
- Pursue the truth (with a small 't')

Be relevant

While this article explores some of the ways in which newsgathering and content packaging can be improved, a focus on gadgets and gizmos alone will not replace the time-tested role of journalism to attract readership: remaining relevant and indispensable to ordinary citizens' democratic decision-making.

Post-apartheid journalism has recorded tremendous successes and provided proud examples of journalists scrupulously uncovering important and uncomfortable truths that have illuminated corruption, malfeasance, criminality and abuse by the powerful.

From exposing the illicit "profit-shifting" between Lonmin and its offshore investment sites to unraveling the ongoing kickback payments made by Transnet, to its relentless and vital scrutiny of key state institutions, post-apartheid journalism's ability to expose deficiencies in governance has been exemplary. Indeed, it is arguable that, together with the judiciary, the post-1994 media landscape has served as nothing short of a people's commission of inquiry: into the Arms Deal, Nkandla, Travelgate, FIFA, stadium fraud, SADTU's selling of teaching posts – the list is long. Indeed many whistleblowers in public and private sectors often indicate that the press is a more reliable ally in their attempts to expose wrongdoing than many of our appellate bodies or internal complaints' mechanisms.

Yet, as the current revenue model is pulled from underneath our media houses, the search for relevance must be renewed. An exclusive focus on palace politics and factional reporting (often through leaks and dossier-journalism), appears to have diverted focus away from establishing how factional battles and the squabbles among the powerful play themselves out in the policies affecting our daily lives. Beat reporting has all but disappeared and specialist reporting on poverty, rural life, education, science or immigration has been almost completely neglected. The first draft of our history is therefore insufficiently explored and inadequately presented. To the extent that sustaining this faithful first draft

AINABILITY

is a lodestar to aim for, can the immense promise of technology help realise journalism's promise?

Be brave, experiment

New forms of storytelling abound – explanatory journalism, various types of long-form reporting, mobile, crowd-sourced, first-person narratives, journalism focused on providing primary sources to accompany full-length news articles – that challenge old ways of news reporting and reach new audiences through any available platform. Yet South African newsrooms – under-resourced and ill-equipped – appear sluggish in catching up with international trends. Systemic factors most certainly explain much of this: the impermissible cost of data and the poor rollout of broadband internet due to regulatory failures, for one, extenuates the potential impact of online mobile journalism. Advertising revenues accrue at a slow drip for online advertisers. It is indeed difficult to invest in innovation amid the crisis in cash flow facing established newspapers.

Yet the rapid, increasing rate of mobile penetration, the proliferation of platforms for crowd-sourcing funding and the important possibilities these represent for independent reporting, behoove at the very least some bold experimentation. We are yet to see concerted attempts by South African journalists to use mobile platforms to deliver content for which micro-payments can be made (using, for example, vouchers used to pay for airtime). In terms of content too – the vast opportunities presented by digital mobile technology appear underused.

What of creating mobile applications that allow reporting on whether hospitals are experiencing stockouts, for example, or whether municipal officers have reported for duty, or whether particular hospitals have enough beds? Storycorps, the international project that allows individual users to record each other's stories for broadcast on radio platforms, has proven a revolutionary method of newsgathering quite amenable to the South African market – and yet it remains to be experimented with, even by established outlets with revenue to spare.

The pursuit of truth

Journalism remains the business of discovering important facts and reporting them in a way that allows posterity to create as rich and complex a record of lived reality. A famous edict in my old job at AmaBhungane, allegedly borrowed from Orwell, was "truth is that which is suppressed, all the rest is advertising". Yet truth itself is provisional, certainty is temporary, facts and people change. In South Africa, mainstream reporting has sought to remain faithful to its forebears' legacy. Journalism has – for the most part – been a shrill, irrepressible check on the hubris of the (temporarily) powerful. In its renewed form, with a new business model, it may bear few similarities to anything we know. But one hopes that the animating spirit of irreverence – a charming 'tjatjaragness' that one can only speculate Nxumalo himself would have recognised – that infuses our media (with all its faults) will forever remain its distinguishing characteristic.

Vinayak Bhardwaj is a programme manager at the Open Society Foundation and was formerly advocacy co-ordinator at the M&G Centre for Investigative Journalism where he was part of the award-winning team that reported on Nkandla. He writes in his personal capacity. vinayak@osfsa.org.za

JOURNALISM NEXT>>

THE FUTURE IS ALREADY HERE, IT'S JUST NOT VERY EVENLY
DISTRIBUTED...

In July this year, internet researchers from over 20 countries in the World internet Project met together with South African researchers, senior politicians and business leaders from media, mobile and fixed operators, civil society organisations and others in Wits internet Week. The programme offered some important insights on the South African internet, past, present and future. **Indra de Lanerolle**, of the Network Society Project at Wits, the South African partner in the World Internet Project and one of the organisers of the week of seminars, meetings and a conference, reflects on some of the lessons to be drawn from the discussions.

To speak about the 'internet' is, almost always, to speak about the future: the future of the internet itself and the future that it will enable or effect. It is, of course a real technological and social object. But since its beginning, it has also been an idea – an imaginary – of things to come: what is possible and what is probable in human development. In other words, it involves prediction. Scientific theories can offer predictions of course, but then so can Tarot Cards.

As Manuel Castells argues, the internet is a product of society, and social systems are more like weather systems than apples falling from trees. So prediction is perilous, a point highlighted by Professor Jeff Cole from the University of Southern California, one of the keynote speakers during Wits Internet Week. He is a founder of the World Internet Project which has been tracking internet access and use over the last 15 years through a global research network that includes members from China, Russia, Europe and Latin America. Speaking of the early days of the project, he admitted: "We never could have anticipated that user-generated content would grow like it did, we didn't expect people to upload so much content, or that most phones would have cameras, or that a single social network would have 1.5-billion people connected."

The SciFi writer William Gibson once offered a compelling insight that goes some way in addressing these perils of prediction: 'the future is already with us...' he said. "It's just not very evenly distributed." Wits Internet Week offered much useful evidence of the future that is 'already with us', and explored some of the implications of that uneven distribution.

The week began with what, in internet years, is ancient history. Luci Abrahams, Director of the LINK Centre and Adrian Schofield of the Johannesburg Centre for Software Engineering offered a useful timeline of internet developments in South Africa starting in the late 1980s. That history probably begins even earlier. In 1974 Vint Cerf and a group of electrical engineers came to South Africa. Cerf was one of the inventors of TCP/IP – the protocol that still lies at the heart of internet communication. He demonstrated ARPANET, the American precursor to the internet, by establishing a temporary data connection from the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg to UCLA. The work to establish a permanent connection to the internet began more than a decade later when in 1989 staff at the computer centre at Rhodes University created the first permanent international connection from South Africa allowing use of email and bulletin boards.

Mike Lawrie, one of those Rhodes pioneers, demonstrated that his abilities to improvise technology solutions are still proving useful, even in retirement. He described his latest network activities – establishing a distributed network through his

complex allowing residents to share a single ADSL connection to get broadband access at affordable cost. Ant Brooks from the internet Service Providers Association admired Mike Lawrie's ingenuity. He also pointed out that he was probably breaking three laws or regulations and, in theory at least, he could be hunted down by ICASA or the Film and Publications Board. This raised an issue that came up frequently. The shape of the internet and its distribution is, for better or worse, a result of political, economic and social decisions.

Changing the future – increasing affordable access

Political and economic decisions made and to be made, were interrogated throughout the week. No more so than in looking at what steps were needed to get more people online. Research shows that in 2012, 34% of the South African adult population had used the internet. The government's broadband policy – SA Connect – sets a target of 90% of the population on broadband by 2020. The policy was praised but the lack of progress by government, and the regulator, ICASA, since it was adopted in December 2013 was sharply criticised. Mmamoloko Kubayi, MP and Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee Chairperson, Telecommunications and Postal Services in the National Assembly, acknowledged that, as a nation, "we are not doing very well". She questioned why a good policy was not being followed. She also criticised the regulator, ICASA: "We cannot have the regulator taking so long to release spectrum", spectrum which is needed to enable investment in next-generation mobile networks capable of delivering broadband speeds.

Alison Gillwald, in one of the keynotes at the Next Four Billion conference, said that much of the infrastructure – international connectivity and the national fibre network – is in place. Over 80% of the population live within 10 kms of a fibre-optic cable, according to the SA Connect policy document. She and others viewed the biggest challenge as being access or what the telecommunications industry call "the last mile". Comparing South Africa with other countries on the continent, the quality of our access networks and the speeds available are good. The problem is largely one of cost.

Country	Q4 2014 USD 1GB price by cheapest operator
Tunisia	2.7
Rwanda	4.4
Kenya	4.5
Ghana	4.7
Mozambique	5.1
Tanzania	5.9
Benin	9.5
Burkina Faso	9.5
Ethiopia	10.1
South Africa	10.3
Uganda	10.4
Cote d'Ivoire	10.5
Nigeria	10.5
Liberia	12.0
Namibia	13.8
Mali	14.3
Cameroon	15.2
Senegal	19.0
Botswana	20.1
Zimbabwe	30.0
Telecel Zimbabwe	30.0
Sierra Leone	35.0
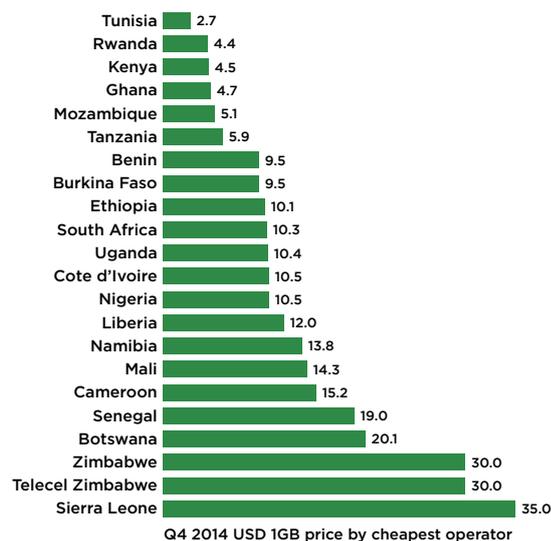
Africa data price transparency index by cheapest operator. South African mobile data costs are around three times higher than Tunisia's, the lowest cost country. Source: Research ICT Africa.

Gillwald argued that "being pro-market is being pro-poor". Echoing the National Development Plan which states that "...affordable internet access is best achieved through effectively regulated competitive markets, complemented by targeted state intervention", she argued that competition is what drives down prices while at the same time maintaining sufficient investment in the infrastructure. However, she emphasised that this didn't mean the state should "get out of the way": strong competition requires strong regulation.

A survey of experts, industry leaders and public officials was presented at a roundtable on broadband.

Mmamoloko Kubayi, Chair of the Portfolio Committee on Telecommunications and Postal Services at the Next Four Billion Conference, WIts internet Week.
Photo: Wits Vuvuzela

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Tshwane residents using free wifi broadband internet. Tshwane has over 600 free public wifi points delivering speeds of up to 9Mbps. Photo: Indra de Lanerolle

Launch of Facebook's first office in Africa, Sandton, July 2015. Photo: Indra de Lanerolle

It showed that, in their view, reducing the cost of mobile data would have the greatest impact on internet penetration and use. But the respondents were not optimistic about this happening soon. There was more optimism about the likelihood of extending public wifi and fibre to the home and workplace.

At provincial and city level, there is progress. The city of Tshwane is about a quarter of the way to their target of 2 800 public wifi hot spots offering free broadband in public spaces like parks to the 3 million residents of the city. Fibre to the home and office, which could not only provide much faster internet services but also increase competition were also discussed. Ideas for increasing competition included introducing "open access" on mobile networks so that ISPs could offer data as they do on fixed lines.

Digital disruption

A powerful theme at the conference was the new scale and visibility of economic disruption that internet-enabled organisation was bringing. Jeff Cole saw disintermediation moving to a new level – taking out whole industries and major businesses. As he was speaking, Uber drivers were facing intimidation from other car-service drivers a few kilometres away from the meetings. If you are a taxi driver in Johannesburg, Uber is a threat. But Uber has also created thousands of new jobs in the city. In a discussion on digital jobs this theme was taken further and some of the complexities explored. Research by Dalberg for the Rockefeller Foundation and work by the World Bank

has suggested that "digital jobs" could be important sources of income in Africa. These include, for example, jobs in international call centres sited here to serve customers in Europe which can make use of high-speed fibre connections, English or French speaking populations, similar time zones and lower rates of pay. Sergio Godoy from Chile pointed out though that digital jobs are likely to be less secure. Uber itself argues that it is not a transport company, it's a software business. An Uber driver recently pointed out to me that being an Uber driver is not being employed by Uber. When the violence broke out, he asked: "Where is Uber? We are on our own." This points to another aspect of the digital economy: its globalising effects. I was speaking to him on my way to the launch of Facebook's first office in Africa – in spite of capturing a significant proportion of Africa's online advertising market, until now they had not felt the need to have even one worker employed on the continent.

The next generation

Some of the most exciting international research concerns children. The research community is now rejecting the concept of "digital natives" – a generation for whom the internet is somehow less problematic or challenging because they have grown up with it. Ellen Helsper from LSE pointed out that children's lives in many countries are profoundly digital but, like the physical environment, the digital environment that they have to negotiate is not designed by them. She presented research conducted

One Laptop per child in Uruguay.

Children's lives in many countries are profoundly digital but, like the physical environment, the digital environment that they have to negotiate is not designed by them.

in over 30 countries over the last decade on children's use of and attitudes towards the internet. Her work offered a challenge to the approach taken by the Film and Publication Board in their attempt to tackle children's exposure to online content but also raised some questions for the FPB's critics. She said that pornography is children's greatest fear. They are also worried about seeing real violence, especially when it involves children. They want to be warned about this – especially visual content. But she also reported that children do not want to be excluded from online environments that give them pleasure and joy. And their own views of what is disturbing or upsetting are not always the same as what adults think it is or should be. Helsper suggested that the best way of managing these issues would be a multi-stakeholder approach including children, parents, online content providers and the state. It was good to see the head of research for the FPB present at the event. She told me she is planning further research.

Matías Dodel from Uruguay looked at a different aspect of the children's internet: its use in education. He reported on the One Laptop Per Child (OLPC) programme, originally started by Nicolas Negroponte, the former director of the MIT Media Lab. Uruguay is the only country in the world where OLPC has been fully implemented on a national scale. In a population of a little more than 3-million people, more than 600 000 laptops have been distributed. As well as a computer, every child is given a free mobile internet connection. All

textbooks are available free on their computers.

The Gauteng education department has recently launched a pilot tablet programme in selected schools. Though Dodel was careful to note that national contexts may vary greatly, his list of success factors in Uruguay – institutional design, addressing teachers mistrust and fears, and building strong public/private partnerships – might be relevant to education authorities designing ICT and internet programmes here.

The next 4-billion
An important focus of the South African research presented was on "mobile-centric" or .mobi internet use. As internet penetration has increased, the number of PCs has not. An important body of research in South Africa over the last five years has focused on how people who are largely dependent on mobile phones and mobile networks use the internet. Mobile-centric use is also a global phenomenon as research from China and the US shows. Cole went as far as to suggest that in the near future less than 10% of the population would use laptop or desktop computers.

But if the future is mobile, the mobile-centric present imposes severe constraints on many of its users. Marion Walton from UCT described the "pavement internet" – the strategies people on low incomes use to share internet content. Low income users pay more for data than middle-class and rich users. One GB of data on Vodacom, the largest

network, costs R149. You can buy the same amount for as little as R7 if you have access to a fixed line which is generally available only to the better-off. Walton described how online sharing doesn't work for these users. They want to download rather than use share buttons so they can share face-to-face with their friends without incurring additional data costs. It reminded me of a story the filmmaker Lionel Ngakane once told me of going to the cinema as a child. He and his friends would save enough pennies to buy a single ticket and send one of the group into the cinema. After the movie finished, the boy would have to re-tell the film, scene by scene, to the others outside the cinema.

Luci Abrahams reported on the LINK Centre's research on low-income and very low-income users. She highlighted the value these users place on being able to communicate and the careful rationing they have to do to use what for them is a very expensive commodity. Koketso Moeti reported on her work at amandla.mobi, a social mobilisation tool aimed at low-income African language speakers, especially women. She described some of the complex means they haveput in place to enable the internet and cash-poor to engage with their campaigns – offering multiple routes for users from USSD, WhatsApp, Mxit and SMS to please call me's and missed calls. She also raised the issue of the language of the internet. All their content is translated into four languages, something few content producers in South Africa seem to consider, let alone implement. Our own analysis at the Network Society Project showed that only 4% of South African adults who said they could not read and write English easily used the internet.

The role of the academy

The role of Rhodes and other universities in founding the South African internet was duly acknowledged during the week. But there were also concerns that the academy was not playing a big enough role in its development today. Nkateko Nyoka, the head of regulatory affairs at Vodacom, suggested that universities had now fallen behind and were no longer producing the research or innovation, or making the same contribution to debates about the internet's future. Adam Habib, Vice Chancellor of Wits, admitted the university had been "lethargic" in developing the internet infrastructure that it required. He committed the university to a massive upgrade of its technology and to working with the city to re-invigorate the ICT infrastructure and innovation in the area around the university.

What comes next?

The uneven distribution of "the future" is both obvious and profound. In Sweden, around 9 out of 10 adults use the internet and connect at fast speeds. The Chinese World internet Project report

showed that by the end of last year there were an extraordinary 649-million internet users, almost 48% of the population. As in Africa, mobile devices and networks are the backbone of internet growth. The Russian researchers reported evidence that suggests the possibility that internet penetration in Russia could have reached a plateau at just two thirds of the adult population.

While the US and China are the homes of most of the largest internet businesses and services, Estonia produced Skype and Israel, Waze and other global apps. There is nothing inevitable about how and when the internet becomes available to all or how it reorganises economic relationships. To create an affordable accessible internet in South Africa requires evidence for policy and planning. To understand how

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

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Indra de Lanerolle:
10 POINTS ON DIGITAL AUDIENCES

SHORT SHARP

1 The future is already here – look around your neighbourhood/workplace for the guys with the shovels putting in cables.

2 New users of the internet are not like you!

3 66% of them earn less than R1500 a month.

4 It's NOT "mobile first", it's "mobile centric"…

5 … or for new users "mobile only".

6 Rich media is still for the rich – and the poor pay more.

7 Social searching and links from friends are killing home pages.

8 News media is not alone online: the Alexa rankings for SA in April were:
- Google.co.za
- Google.com
- Facebook
- Youtube
- Gumtree
- Twitter
- Yahoo
- Wikipedia…

9 The future is not evenly distributed: Tshwane might have public wifi but this is not true of any other city in South Africa.

10 Some good news: there has never been a South African mass media (except radio), digital provides the first opportunity we can imagine truly mass media (90% by 2020!).

the internet can reshape and is reshaping economic, political and social communications requires research. Wits internet Week demonstrated that there is great interest in these questions and a greater need to invest skills, time and resources in answering them.

Wits internet Week was organised by the Network Society Project, the LINK Centre and the Johannesburg Centre for Software Engineering at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The SA Connected Roundtable was organised by the Network Society Project and the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection with the support of Multichoice. The Next Four Billion conference was held with the support of Dark Fibre Africa. You can find presentations from the conference and links to papers at networksocietylab.org.

TOO BIG TO FAIL?

The case of the New York Times

Andrew Phelps, the Senior Product Manager for The New York Times and one of the investigators involved in the leaked Innovation Report, (the paper's investigation on changes needed to cope with the digital world) was the keynote speaker at the Menell Media Exchange (MMX15) in South Africa this year. Here are some highlights from his talk to a crowded room of journalists from across the country and journalism spectrum. **Anthea Garman** reports.

Phelps started off by saying that it was because newspapers had been "more in the business of classified advertising" (than journalism) that it was possible for "50 years of growth to be wiped out in a decade" in the United States. Classified advertising in newspapers, he said, had "dried up and was never coming back".

This massive loss of revenue which sustained journalism and this shaking of the foundations of both financial and journalistic sustainability prompted *The New York Times'* owners to put in motion an investigation, in true journalistic spirit, to understand the roots of this major shift in media. So a handful of insiders were sent out to treat this phenomenon like a story, to sift through "sensitive data" and to evoke "candid opinions". Phelps said in the process they interviewed about 350 people in about 50 companies asking questions like "what is loyalty?" for their customers.

"A report created for just six people as an internal memo has now been downloaded nearly two million times," Phelps said, adding that many media organisations seemed to be surprised that the Times was facing the same kind of problems with revenue and circulation.

Getting into the details of what he thought were the most useful aspects of the Innovation Report he said there were two priorities to focus on: 1. Audience development and 2. A digital first culture. Although the NYT had already started to experiment with digital revenues and audiences (in 2011 they embarked on a metred model where you could get 10 free stories a month), they found themselves in the same bind as every other newspaper, growing digital experimentation without eating away print's integrity and health because even though income was falling, print was still the vehicle for the revenue.

The investigators discovered some startling

things: The home page of the NYT was not getting as many hits as it had previously: from 160 million in 2011 to 80 million in 2013 – that indicated that searching patterns were changing. And that the pre-eminence of the home page in digital philosophy was being challenged.

Mobile page views went up from 150 million in 2011 to 300-million in 2013. This alerted the NYT to the rapidly climbing importance of mobile activity. "Two billion people will have mobile access in 2016; this access is more likely than access to clean water," Phelps said, "the rise of mobile is a faster disruption that the rise of the web." The consequence is that an sms strategy, a We Chat and mobile web strategy is now primary.

The result on point number 2 (a digital first culture) was that mobile access suddenly became very real as the digital vehicle.

Returning to audience development, Phelps says the NYT hired a new chief of AD and started to focus on the long term. The watchword adopted is "informed by data, ruled by editorial judgement", digital tools, tactics and strategies must evoke what audiences will be interested in and want. Some surprising adaptations in attitude come out of this engagement with trying to really know and understand audiences:

The NYT has to think globally about different ages, countries and time zones now.

It has to take "social influencers" into account – the people active and trusted in digital space and work with them so that they refer NYT content.

It has to be comfortable with people moving into and out of the NYT-controlled digital spaces and not try to corral an audience.

It has to think about "engagement" rather than numbers and figure out how to measure that. Early indicators show that "readers love serious stories" and long is no barrier on mobile. (People waiting and travelling are on their mobiles and what better place to read and engage deeply?)

Thinking this way has meant structural changes have had to take place in the newsroom and company. The wall separating editorial from HR, advertising, finances and marketing remains in place but the technology and design and product development is now deeply entwined with the journalism – "everyone talks to each other in building the tools," Phelps said.

Andrew Phelps:
10 THINGS FOR NEWSPAPERS TO TRY

SHORT SHARP

1 Repackage old stories – use your archive, use new packaging and promote the social aspects of stories.

2 Leverage influencers and use them to share your content.

3 Embrace email – it's not dead.

4 Build habits in readers with "briefings" – paragraph length pieces of information on mobile apps which are predictable and useful.

5 Ask for feedback and respect the time and intelligence of your readers.

6 Pay attention to evergreen stories – organise them by relevance and not date so as to optimise them for social searching.

7 Aggregate yourself – ask what would an aggregator do with a story?

8 Promote one story a day – think about your intended audience.

9 Encourage and reward experimentation and then communicate the lessons learned.

10 Kill average ideas and don't get attached to them.

Andrew Phelps is the Senior Product Manager for the New York Times.

JOURNALISM NEXT>>

the things you
need to know about

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA LANDSCAPE

Is our media landscape bleak? Is it being overrun by 'alien' media in the form of digital technology? What are the current realities? We had to find the answers when we were tasked to present a lightning short presentation at the Menell Media Exchange conference and it proved surprising on several fronts.

By Jos Kuper, Kuper Research

The media landscape: some key trends and features
Did you know that the number of daily newspaper titles increased from 18 to 22 over the 10 years from 2004 to 2014 and while it is true that circulation declined (by 16% over the 10 years), the reach actually increased from 21% to 29%? Weeklies had a decline of 21% in circulation and the reach stayed the same, despite a slight increase in the number of weekly titles from 23 to 26. For newspapers in general, the circulation decline over the period has been 20% while the reach has increased to 46% from 39% with the number of titles growing from 41 to 48.

The implication? Newspapers are still important to people but they are sharing copies more than they used to do.

A brief look at digital "migration" shows news websites have considerable traction but are not anywhere near supplanting the traditional newspaper as yet (even if we exclude the Daily and Sunday Suns from consideration). Of those reading newspapers, almost 6 in 10 are still reading only the traditional print version, 36% are reading both the print and the digital, and a small 5% are only reading digital. Interestingly it is access to a PC that particularly enables access to news and publications online, or at least a bigger screen afforded by a tablet.

Radio is the medium least affected by digital and

READERSHIP: NEWS WEBSITES AND TRADITIONAL PRINT NEWSPAPERS

SOURCE: FUTUREFACT 2014

READ ANY PAPER VERSION AND/OR VISIT A NEWS WEBSITE

36%

5%

59%

BOTH A WEBSITE AND A TRADITIONAL NEWSPAPER

A WEBSITE AND NOT A TRADITIONAL PAPER

TRADITIONAL PAPER AND NOT A WEBSITE
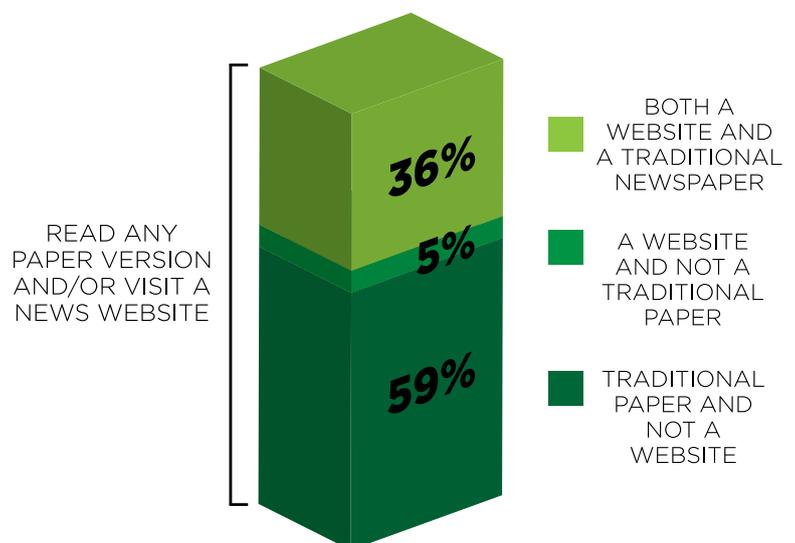
traditional ways of listening to the radio are holding strongly. Devices aren't generally used for streaming radio but rather for listening to music that's been downloaded or live radio. Commercial stations' listeners are far more likely to have internet access than those who listen to the public broadcasting or community radio stations. Podcasts tend to be downloaded by those with tablets.

As far as TV is concerned, an evident trend is the predominance of local over international even among those with satellite TV access. Of the 38% of DStv subscribers who watch any news on TV, the majority are watching the local channels rather than the international news channels. And when asked about their favourite TV programmes, South African soaps, drama series, soccer and sitcoms or comedy series stand out above all the rest. Also among the top 10 favourites are music, reality shows, lifestyle programmes, documentaries and international soccer.

While TV viewing is shifting in many countries overseas with decent broad bandwidth and possibly more affordable rates, TV is still strong here with satellite viewership increasing exponentially as more affordable packages become available. In fact there is a considerable proportion of the DStv viewership that is heavily dependent on it and would rather do without other things if times were tough than give up their subscriptions.

Advertising and audience research

Many years ago there was a substantial study on the value of media 'synergy' to advertisers – the value of using more than one medium to get optimal opportunities to see the ads (the concept of 1+1=3). The latest futurefact findings bear this out. For example, when looking at those in the market for a house, their useful media were newspapers (43%) and the internet (32%) but the two combined increased their usefulness to 63%. Depending on category of purchase, different media combinations prevailed: for example for computer/laptop/cell phone purchases, newspapers garnered 45%, TV 39% but in combination it was 61%.

The audience research landscape has changed significantly over the last year or so with the move prompted by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) leaving the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) fold to go it alone. They commissioned audits of the Television Audience Measurement Survey (TAMS) data, showing that television audience research had been operating on very low efficiency levels and the broadcasters felt they had been funding a great deal of the SAARF audience research without the co-relevant representation on the board. Since then they have re-awarded the tender for TAMS, increased the size of the panel, made it more representative, and practically doubled the efficiencies. The radio

tender has been awarded and soon will go it alone as well. Print and digital are also on the road to finding their way forward and Out of Home, previously the Cinderella medium on the All Media Products Survey (AMPS), are well into a technologically sophisticated measure for static media in association with Spanish company Cuende.

Going forward, there is in all likelihood going to be a central Establishment Survey (ES) consisting of key demographics and broad intermedia that will

TV (THE TV MARKET ACCORDING TO AMPS)

SOURCE: AMPS

FREE-TO-AIR*

2004 ⟶ 2014

NUMBER OF CHANNELS:

4 ⟶ 4

REACH:

80% ⟶ 88%

*regardless of platform

PAY TV**

2004 ⟶ 2014

NUMBER OF CHANNELS:

35 ⟶ **138**

REACH:

14% ⟶ 40%

**excluding free-to-air channels
**DStv and StarSat

SUBS TO DSTV

2004 ⟶ 2014

SUBSCRIBERS:

5% ⟶ 38%

PVR IN HOME***
2009

13% ⟶ 22%

***DStv subscribers' decoders

AUDIENCE RESEARCH: THE STATE OF PLAY

OMC
OOH SURVEY

BRC
RADIO SURVEY
TV PANEL

INTERMEDIA COMPARATIVE DATA
ESTABLISHMENT SURVEY

PDMSA TBC
READERSHIP SURVEY
DIGITAL SURVEY

MARKETERS TBC
PRODUCTS & BRANDS SURVEY

serve as the core of all the industry surveys which can be fused with the ES to provide the central linking mechanism for all the surveys. All this was part of a model proposed when a task team led by Kuper Research was commissioned to conduct what was called the Future Proofing Project. It involved a great deal of research into international media audience measurement trends and practices as well as a survey of local media planners, strategists and owners.

A beleaguered media landscape?
Credibility and politics

futurefact has been monitoring the views of the population on elements related to the media for several years now and what is palpable is that the role of the media as a corruption fighter is absolutely acknowledged. But there are caveats: there is undoubtedly a perception that journalists sometimes harm people's reputations because there is insufficient checking of facts and there is a perception that the media are too negative in the way they reflect what is going on in the country and don't show the good things that are happening. It needs to be remembered by journalists and editors that while people are pessimistic about corruption ever being contained in our current milieu, they still are optimistic that business and government can work together to help to solve the country's problems and even that their children's lives can be better than theirs in the future. Under these circumstances they don't only want a daily diet of gloom and doom from the media, but also a reality check in terms of the balance of what is reflected.

Fascinatingly the louder the noise has been from government against the media, the more people are expressing trust and confidence in journalists and the media. In the most recent futurefact survey the trust and confidence score for journalists was a great deal higher than for the ANC, SAPS and far higher than the President whose ratings have been plummeting. Even comedians and cartoonists score higher than the ruling party and SAPS, among others. The scores of journalists and satirists were lower though than those for the Public Protector and the Constitutional Court.

Over half of the South African population now has internet access fuelled by the growth of smartphones. And social media is certainly the name of the game with a great deal of time being devoted to social media, particularly by the under 35s but substantial even beyond that. Those who are connected are far more likely to express trust and confidence in social media than those who aren't familiar with it.

But with the municipal elections looming in 2016, social media are going to be critical to the political arena for all political parties. Our political affiliations are in a considerable degree of fluidity compared to past times despite the strength of the ANC, and the fact that many are still ruled by their hearts rather

There is undoubtedly a perception that journalists sometimes harm people's reputations because there is insufficient checking of facts and there is a perception that the media are too negative in the way they reflect what is going on in the country.

PERCEIVED DUTY OF THE MEDIA

SOURCE: FUTUREFACT 2014

not sure
disagree
agree

2%
17%
81%

IT IS THE DUTY OF THE MEDIA TO EXPOSE CORRUPTION AMONG POLITICIANS AND BUSINESS PEOPLE

3%
18%
35%
44%

I THINK THE MEDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE MUCH TOO NEGATIVE ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA– THEY DON'T SHOW THE GOOD THINGS THAT ARE HAPPENING

don't know
disagree
agree a little
agree a lot

3%
17%
35%
45%

JOURNALISTS OFTEN HARM PEOPLE'S REPUTATIONS BECAUSE THEY DON'T CHECK THEIR INFORMATION SUFFICIENTLY

CONFIDENCE SCORES: MEDIA

SOURCE: FUTUREFACT 2014

200

100

214 JOURNALISTS

144 POLITICAL COMMENTATORS

171 COMEDIANS AND CARTOONISTS
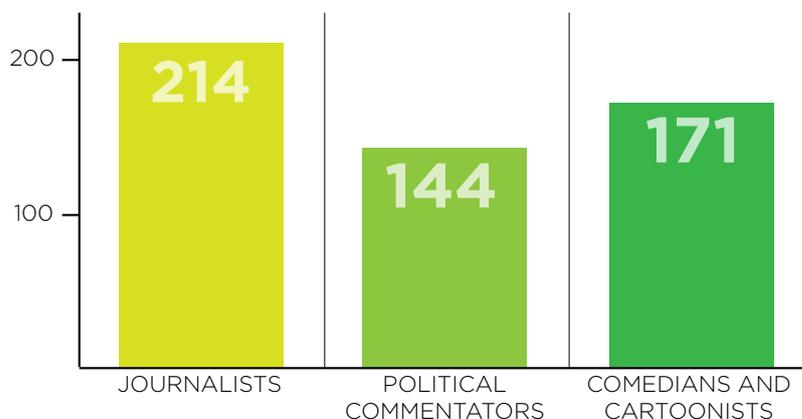
TO PUT THIS IN PERSPECTIVE:

ANC = **120**
THULI MADONSELA = **262**
CONSTITUTIONAL COURT = **288**
SAPS = **152**
JACOB ZUMA = **-6**

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

INTERNET ACCESS AND POLITICS

6%
8%
31%
2%
17%
36%

- Don't know
- Support none
- Swing voters
- EFF camp
- DA camp
- ANC camp

REGULARLY USE SOCIAL MEDIA:

EFF camp ⟶ **43%**

DA camp ⟶ **42%**

ANC camp ⟶ **37%**
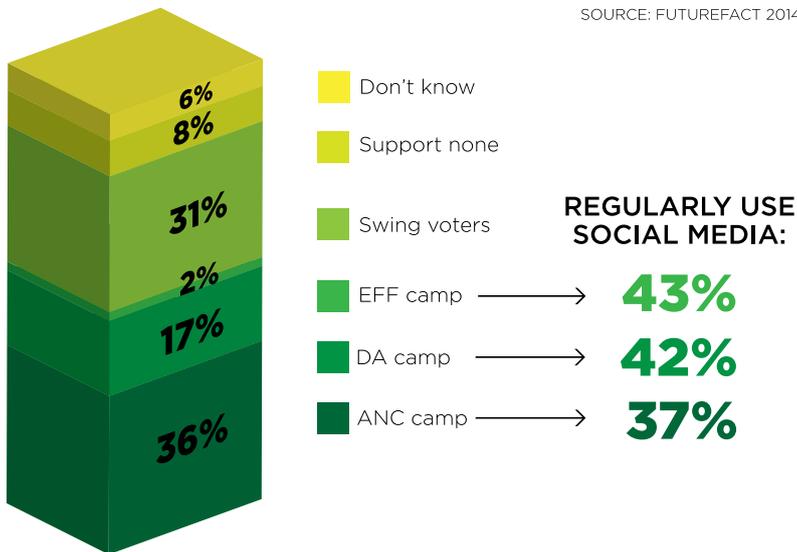
than their heads in their political affiliations. There is a great deal of concern reflected about the ANC and its leadership and there is a wish for the opposition to be stronger so that the democratic process is more robust. Nonetheless there are many indications that a large number of people will stick to the party of their hearts, the ANC, particularly as many believe there is no point voting for a party that is unlikely to win.

Despite all this, many are wavering in their support for various parties and the proportion of swing voters is high. It will be key to secure party supporters and bring more on board using social media as the municipal elections get underway.

Young people, the media and social identity

The youth of today don't have to depend on one newspaper title, one radio station or one magazine for their views anymore. They are using multiple platforms to build up their view of issues in our complex society and global world and when they have reassured themselves on the credibility of their sources and the opinions being reflected, only then will they express their own in a social context. In this way they are building their sense of belonging to a social group, their value in the group, and finding their social identity. It is an interesting phenomenon that is worth exploring further in times to come and has immense relevance for how the media in this country adapt and grow to meet the needs of future audiences.

In the meantime we can watch and/or participate in the rollercoaster ride as the media landscape evolves in our rapidly changing world.

Jos Kuper is a research professional and founded Kuper Research, a consultancy specialising in media, marketing and socio-political analysis. She is one of the independent researchers responsible for the futurefact survey that has been monitoring the significant social, political and economic attitudinal changes in our country since 1998. joskuper@futurefact.co.za

Jos Kuper:
10 THINGS ABOUT THE SA MEDIA LANDSCAPE

SHORT SHARP

1 Newspaper numbers are up; newspaper circulations are down; readership is up; radio listenership is stable; while the number of community stations is up. TV viewing is up, PVRs are up in number, free to air also up.

2 News websites have thankfully not supplanted newspapers.

3 Digital information has had little effect on radio.

4 Local TV is prevailing over international TV.

5 18 to 24 year olds spend at least two hours a day watching TV.

6 If you want exposure think both newspapers and internet.

7 This is the end of single- source audience research.

8 It's the duty of the media to fight corruption and politics and business (according to audience surveys) but journalists do harm to their reputations when there is too much negativity.

9 For the upcoming municipal elections social media will be crucial; about 31% of the electorate is undecided, but hearts and minds are not necessarily aligned.

10 The volume of attacks on the media has a relationship with the trust in the media.

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

"They are resistant'

SHIFTING NEWSROOM CULTURES IN A SEA OF UNCERTAINTY

Six years ago David Ryfe took on an ethnographic study of *The Daily Times*, "a mid-sized American corporately-owned newsroom", in order to track the response of its existing staff to the arrival of a new editor who self-identified as a "change agent". The ailing newspaper needed rescuing and the editor, seizing the challenge, set about the changes he saw as necessary for the newspaper's revival, and, ultimately, its survival. The staff though, was less than accommodating. Of the journalists who remained after a flurry of resignations within a two-year period, most simply ignored the changes brought about by the "change agent" leading to his premature departure. Observing the newspaper during this difficult time, Ryfe concluded of its journalists: "They are resistant".

By Dinesh Balliah

As many others have written or said, journalism by its very nature is change resistant. As a craft journalism relies on tried and tested practices and rituals which ultimately, and collectively, coalesce to provide a set of characteristics to which its practitioners cling for their self-identity. To bring change to a newsroom, especially that of the disruptive, technological type is to upset the apple cart, so to speak. Ryfe's study is an exemplar of how change can be sabotaged by individuals set in their ways, so a more careful approach would seem more prudent. In the newsroom, I would argue, it is a cultural shift, rather than a structural one which is likely to have more of an impact in reshaping how journalists do journalism.

Change is the one constant that characterises the last 10 years or more in journalism. Declining print sales, loss of advertising revenues, new ways of newsgathering, the introduction of social media, new workflows, disruptive technologies, and a new role for the audience as participants in the making of news, has shaken the foundations of journalism.

These changes, taken together, have fundamentally challenged the roles, practices and rituals of the journalist. But while newsrooms grapple with these changes, there is a slow dismantling of the idea of what the journalist is and

more importantly, what it is that they do. But debates on this issue are clear, the practice of the journalism of old is now a luxury, replaced instead by a fast-moving, quick-reacting journalism that has little time for sentimentality.

But shifts in journalism practice have moved above and beyond changing or reshaping how established practices are carried out; digital media has fundamentally altered what it is that journalists are expected to do. From simply writing a story in the past, a journalist is now expected to produce images or videos for their piece, think about and execute ways to "push" that piece on social media, they're expected to respond to comments that sometimes come in thick and fast; they're expected to think through issues of layout, engagement and multi-platform publishing for one story.

Mobile journalism now is less about the technology and more about the people who can do it at any time and in whatever form necessary.

Basically, the journalist of today is expected to perform some part of the roles of so many others in the production process of old, all with little training and certainly no increase in salaries.

The money issue, of course, is the white elephant in any discussion about change in newsrooms. Many argue against this multi-skilling of the new journalist which demands much more with no real material benefit to the organisation or the individual. What's the point of producing a video if production takes longer with more effort than a short written piece if the organisation cannot make any money from it. The point of doing it, and more importantly, encouraging journalists to do it, is that the mere exercise of producing a video offering self-training opportunities along with the space to explore an individual's creativity. These opportunities and spaces don't come about by themselves though. It seems imperative to me that a change agent at the highest levels of the newsroom is necessary, one that focuses on their people rather than on the technologies at hand.

The Wits Vuvuzela newsroom at Wits Journalism is something of a microcosm of a community newsroom. For the past five years, the organisation has focused on shifting its thinking and practices away from the print newspaper exclusively and towards multi-platform publishing. It remains a curiosity though, that despite the high levels of engagement, the extensive reach of online articles and the better the circulation on digital than in print, student journalists still value getting published in

As many others have written or said, journalism by its very nature is change resistant. As a craft journalism relies on tried and tested practices and rituals which ultimately, and collectively, coalesce to provide a set of characteristics to which its practitioners cling for their self-identity.

print the highest. And these are the students who confess to never having paid money for a newspaper themselves.

The challenge in a space such as this is to shift the mindsets of young journalists such that they not only embrace new ways of storytelling but also that they realise that journalism is not a skill learned over a fixed period of time. These students need to walk away from this newsroom understanding that their skill sets will continue to change through their course of their careers. They need to accept that what they will be expected to do will change from year to year if not within months. The young journalist of today needs to embrace the idea that it is change that will ultimately come to characterise their profession.

One of the fundamental roles an editor has to fulfil in the newsroom today is to be a seed of change. Editors have the space to encourage a culture of change by encouraging innovation, creativity and new ways of storytelling through the work produced by their staff. This approach does not force change but makes change less contrived and more organic. This cultural shift in the ways of thinking about how journalism is done plays its part is shaping attitudes about change and produces journalists adept at dealing with upheaval and uncertainty so typical of the journalism space today.

Dinesh Balliah is a lecturer in new and social media at Wits Journalism. Balliah is reading for a PhD in Journalism and is the editor of journalism.co.za, a site for the journalists of Southern Africa. dinesh.balliah@wits.ac.za

JOURNALISM NEXT>>

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

When editorial meets IT

Journalists are all too aware that news waits for no one. In the news environment, the pace is set with urgency and driven with the necessity to be ahead at all times. Decisions must be made and results turned around in a blink of an eye. However, when editorial meets IT, this frenetic momentum is often times jarred.

by Tegan Bedser

If a big story breaks, such as a natural disaster, after the first wave of reports the newsroom cannot afford to wait to publish a special online treatment if there isn't an appropriate layout template or feature available. A solution must be found quickly and the workflow cannot come to a stop because IT will have to develop it first.

Editorial and IT need to work together for many reasons that range from technical requests regarding newsroom systems to large projects which require new solutions and workflows and yet, there is a disconnect between them. This is not only experienced within the traditional media of print and broadcast. It carries over into the online media space too.

This disconnect can be attributed to a lack of understanding of how the two worlds work as well as lack of vocabulary (and even misinterpretation of vocabulary) on both sides.

Disconnect between IT and editorial is commonplace and sees frustration on both sides. Editorial doesn't understand why it should take so long to do anything, while IT can get frustrated with trying to explain the rationale behind their work and the time it takes to do it as well as answer the same questions posed by editorial on a regular basis. These

JOURNALISM
NEXT>>

include the basic (and very popular), "Are you sure you switched it on?" to answers of more complex requests such as, "That would make for a really cool feature on the new website, but it's not in the current business rules spec document. We'll have to include it in phase two... which may take a bit longer." The lack of understanding is self-evident.

Editorial works on tight deadlines and if they want a new feature (small or large) or projects to be implemented, it must happen immediately. There is a fear, that by the time IT's part is deployed and delivered, that the newsroom will be left behind by its competitors... who are already onto the next new thing. On the other hand, IT has to follow certain processes with any work that they do, and have their own constraints and resource issues.

Although some journalists are nervous of anything technical, others find solutions by upskilling themselves or find workarounds to be independent and less-reliant on IT. To ensure career longevity in journalism, it is essential to be equipped with digital production and online skills. It will stand one in excellent stead to have even a basic understanding – which goes a long way when dealing with one's IT counterparts. You will understand them and they will in turn understand you.

We are living in an era where tasks that were typically handled by IT can now be done by editorial. For instance, if a database had to be built, the IT specialist would have been the go-to person. Now, editorial can create it themselves by using something like Google fusion tables. There are readily available tools now that make complex tasks easier to achieve. This is the type of thing that digital media specialists in a newsroom must be able to do.

Bridging the gap

At the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), I am one of two digital media specialists in the SABC Digital Newsroom. My colleague Siya Africa and I form the core of an innovation team and depending on the projects that we are working on, we involve others in our digital, TV and radio newsrooms too. In this way, skills are broadened and not locked into one place.

Our role is quite broad in scope and we work across, and with, editorial, production and IT environments. The main purposes of the role are content development, content optimisation and production for the SABC News website, other online services and broadcast platforms, and guiding development of new online services and features.

We act as web development liaisons between editorial and IT, which has proven to be advantageous.

We have to know how to do all online newsroom tasks and understand broadcast and online production processes, equipment, products, services and tools. We are also involved in research and development where we not only contribute to strategies, but also follow through on their implementation. Coaching and mentoring plays a large role in our work too. We're also involved in content, platform and product design and development for the web and mobile. In addition, we track and compile web traffic stats and do online reputation management.

In short, the really fun stuff.

Our work in the digital newsroom and with radio and TV news teams helps SABC News to work towards a collaborative and converged environment.

With news convergence, it is crucial to look at ways to help journalists work across platforms, to make digital options part of radio and TV outputs and introduce digital production and online tools for journalists to work smarter across platforms. For example, getting online content on-air and getting journalists to do more social media so that audiences can follow stories from social media to the web to radio and to TV. Moving traditional radio and TV news material into the digital space also gives audiences a second chance to view and engage with content.

Some of the cross-platform work has resulted in providing radio and TV news desks the ability to manage and distribute content online, whether or not it was aired. Examples of this include a provincial news service initiative where our Eastern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal regional bureaus publish local content on dedicated social media pages and accounts; as well as an African language pilot project called SABC iindaba. SABC iindaba (@SABCiindaba and http://www.facebook.com/SABCiindaba) is a collaboration between the SABC1 TV News and Umhlobo Wenene FM news teams. They publish news in isiXhosa on the SABC iindaba Facebook page and Twitter account, ensuring that audiences get reports from both platforms in a shared space.

Another recent example is of a collaboration with SAfm Current Affairs where broadcast technology met digital production in order to livestream a Forum@8 interview with Khaya Dlanga on the SABC News YouTube channel (www.youtube.com/sabcnews). The response from listeners was positive, with many requests for it to reoccur on a regular basis.

Impact

The SABC News website, www.sabc.co.za/news, has been growing steadily. Its digital presence has seen rapid growth and development since its re-launch in 2011, when the old new media unit was transformed into SABC Digital News with an expanded mandate

If one is serious about making progress in the digital space, digital innovation programmes and specialists must be embedded and become part of the newsroom operations in order to exploit and realise digital opportunities fully

to establish a strong online news presence alongside SABC radio and TV news services.

The news website has since then grown into the SABC's flagship website, providing a selection of SABC online, radio and TV, multimedia, special reports, exclusive event coverage and breaking news. Together with the SABC News social media platforms, YouTube channel and podcasting service, the SABC News online portfolio of services compare favourably with competitors in the SA news industry.

In a converged media organisation, online works hand-in-hand with television and radio coverage. SABC Digital News content is used daily on multiple platforms at the SABC – through publishing and featuring tweets on a TV bulletin, multimedia packages produced by the online team offered to Radio and TV or through involvement in cross-platform social media projects, experimentation with online tools as well as mobile news coverage.

The SABC News online presence and footprint extends beyond the website by using innovative ways of keeping users informed through social media, YouTube and podcasting services. In this way, SABC Digital News integrates its various online accounts and platforms.

With digital innovation, we are trying to make our content eco-system work – from web, multimedia and livestreaming to radio and TV. The goal is to make our news content at SABC omnipresent.

Other newsrooms have implemented similar initiatives or interventions to drive digital innovation in different ways, such as stationing developers in the editorial space. It depends on the needs of the newsroom. Sometimes there are formal units that are created. Other times, whether staff know it or not, it is done informally where there are individuals who

are identified as champions of new technologies or those who are quick to experiment and inspire others to do the same. There is great online work happening in our newsrooms and it doesn't always come from the large newsrooms. There are smaller newsrooms, with fewer resources, that are highly innovative and can show the bigger ones a thing or two.

However, while it is great to have digital enthusiasts in our newsrooms, if one is serious about making progress in the digital space, digital innovation programmes and specialists must be embedded and become part of the newsroom operations in order to exploit and realise digital opportunities fully.

One such example is the launch of our Mandela Diaries widget (www.sabc.co.za/mandela) in support of the international Make Every Day a Mandela Day campaign. It is essentially a "today in history" display of the life and times of Mandela each day, utilising SABC archive material published on a special SABC News YouTube playlist. It wouldn't have been possible without the collaboration of IT and Digital News.

Going forward, the SABC digital newsroom will continue experimenting with digital storytelling techniques, media products, online tools and more. If it works, we employ them. If it doesn't, we learn from the lesson and do something else the next time.

First try and use digital tools and online services, and if that does not work, involve IT in newsroom projects. If they gain a better understanding of editorial needs, it will assist them in coming up with more agile solutions.

Journalists are naturally curious and lifelong learners. Learn IT's language. You will not be disappointed.

Tegan Bedser is a Digital Media Specialist at SABC Digital News. She has previously worked at the Times Media Group for websites such as Times LIVE, Sowetan LIVE and DispatchOnline where she was part of the team that won CNN African Journalist Awards for digital journalism. bedsertm@sabc.co.za

the **POWER** is literally in our **POCKETS**

By Mich Atagana

In just a few years, the way we find information, communicate with the people we love, and how we get things done, has been transformed. This has all been down to the power of mobile technology. Having the world's information in our pockets is now second nature.

As Google we have already begun to see an increase in mobile searches, proving that users are favouring their mobile devices over desktop computers. And by some estimates, there are more mobile devices than there are people on the planet. According to data from digital analysts GSMA Intelligence, at the time of writing there are 7.5-billion active mobile devices, 500-million more than the 7-billion humans.

If you still need evidence to prove that we are living in a mobile-centric world, look no further than the growth of Android. In 2014 alone more than 1-billion Android devices were shipped across the world, taking Android's global market share to about 80%.

The mobile phone has evolved from being a communications tool to being a device which is increasingly relevant to developing economies. For instance, mobile innovations in Africa have opened up the financial system to countless people who'd previously been locked out of it. MPesa is an innovative mobile solution that has transformed the lives of millions, by enabling people without bank accounts to transfer funds as quickly and easily as sending an sms.

Many innovations have helped to work around the continent's infrastructure challenges. Those challenges are improving, in some regions, more Africans have a mobile phone than have access to electricity. From banking, agriculture, to telecoms, this has opened up never-before thought of opportunities and has changed the way business is done in many sectors on the continent.

In South Africa specifically, the internet economy contributed some 2% to gross domestic product in 2012. This was the key finding in our "Internet Matters – The Quiet Engine of the South African Economy" report. The report also found that the internet's contribution to South Africa's GDP was rising by 0.1% a year, and as a result, the internet economy should account for 2.5% of GDP by 2016.

With so many innovations based on our adoption of mobile technology, the impact the internet economy has and continues to have, shows us what can be achieved when we look at our world through a mobile-centric eye.

Mobile isn't the panacea to all the continent's problems. Despite the mobile phone, increasing access to fixed-line, high-speed broadband networks is still a key component to unlocking the full economic power of the internet. However, as much as we look at increasing access to those networks, we must focus on what we can do right now with what we have.

Beyond economics, the widespread adoption of smartphones is also having effects on society. It has helped to increase transparency in politics as activists use mobile applications to monitor political violence and to fight against state control of free speech. For the non-profit sector, strategic uses of mobile technology can open the floodgates for millions, if not billions, of people contributing to rapidly scale campaigns and to engage the world in crisis moments.

For example, thanks to Twitter and the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls, the case of 276 girls abducted in Chibok by Boko Haram gained worldwide attention and forced the Nigerian government to publicly address what had happened. While debate still rages as to whether this action was clicktivism or activism, neither are invalid campaigning techniques.

One of the most famous use of mobile technology in social issues is, without doubt, Ushahidi. Ushahidi originally was a crowdsourcing app which mapped reports of upheavals submitted from all over Kenya during post-election violence in 2007-2008. Subsequently, Ushahidi has been deployed the world over – from crowdsourcing information on road closures following snowstorms in Washington DC in 2010, to assisting with relief efforts after New Zealand's earthquake in 2011.

With its impact on industry, to how we have deployed it when it comes social issues, looking at our world and considering our problems through a mobile-centric eye, the mobile phone has helped to put the continent's development back into Africans' own hands.

More proof of the centrality of mobile technology in the world today, can be seen in the most recent additions to our web-giants. Many, from Uber, Instagram, and Rovio, are mobile-only, or at least, mobile-first.

At Google, a mobile-centric world has forced us to change our operations. Earlier this year, we rolled out our mobile-friendly update. This update boosted the ranking of mobile-friendly pages on mobile search results. It allows searchers to more easily find high-quality and relevant results that are clearly viewable on mobile devices.

Mobile is where we believe the future lies when it comes to computing, and it spreads the democratising power of the internet. The entire PC industry reached about 1.7-billion people, but with mobile, we are truly dealing with the first computing platform that has the capacity to get into the hands of almost all people on earth.

Sundar Pichai, Senior Vice President at Google (soon to become CEO), has been quoted as saying he can see a clear path to getting over 5-billion internet users one day. While true, the unstated and almost obvious fact that follows that statement is that the key to that 5-billion is mobile.

Looking at our world and considering our problems through a mobile-centric eye, the mobile phone has helped to put the continent's development back into Africans' own hands.

In the past the internet managed to change just about every aspect of our lives. That was done mainly with the 1.7-billion people accessing the web via desktop. In tomorrow's world, thanks to the mobile revolution, we're looking to 5-billion people having access to the web.

When it was 1.7-billion, we irrevocably changed the world. Now imagine what we can achieve when 5-billion people are working together, sharing their local knowledge to come up with solutions to the world's problems?

And that's the other aspect of this new era of computing: more so than ever, it's an era where developing countries will be front and centre. With the power of mobile, the internet no longer need be an overwhelmingly Western, Eurocentric space. This gives us the opportunity to extend the democratising powers of the internet. This has always been core to Google's mission, and is central to our work in emerging markets like Africa.

Google was founded in California, but as our "10 Things we know to be true" philosophy suggests, our mission is to facilitate access to information for the entire world, and in every language. This is why we have offices in more than 60 countries, offer Google's search interface in more than 130 languages, and offer translation tools that allow people to discover content written on the other side of the world in languages they don't speak.

Too often when we discuss how we should think and operate in this mobile-centric world, we focus on what apps we should be developing, or how we need to have the mobile experience top-of-mind. That is true. But we must also consider that this mobile-centric world is more than just another iteration of the digital age, it requires us to reimagine what is possible with the internet. More than ever, the mobile revolution has made the possibilities limitless, and the power to harness these possibilities is literally in our pockets.

Mich Atagana is Head of Communications at Google South Africa. michatagana@gmail.com

JOURNALISM
NEXT>>

How to immigrate and leave your **ego** at the door

At the beginning of this year I finally crossed the line, putting more than two decades in the world of print behind me and became, if not a digital native, a digital immigrant.

There was no Statue of Liberty waiting for me on 2 January on the 5th floor at 11 Adderley Street in Cape Town as I started my job as Editor-in-Chief of News24, a network which speaks to some 2-million users a day. But the words of poet Emma Lazarus which adorn New York City's famous monument seemed oddly appropriate nevertheless.

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

My recent years in print – which have included editing two mainstream daily newspapers and running a national investigative reporting team – had, if I am honest, left me feeling "tired" and "huddled" and most certainly "yearning to breathe free".

My experience had been typical of every print editor working in the world today: gnawing frustration at trying to turn a curve of declining circulation faced with the headwinds of a massive shift in news consumption from print to digital, relentless cost-cutting and retrenchments, while trying to do something meaningful with the few courageous souls left standing.

It's enough to erode the will of even people like me, a starry-eyed eternal optimist in the thrilling craft of journalism.

But today I feel the headwinds are at my back and I am here to tell you a story of hope. All you ever believed journalism should be is still possible – and with bucket loads of potential to be more exciting than ever before.

My transition from print to digital journalism has been an interesting journey, a learning curve akin to climbing Mount Everest – and as exhilarating.

My arrival in Adderley Street in Cape Town also coincided with a watershed chapter in the News24 story. Not only would

Online stories tend to build communities around them as people rally and rapidly become participants and activists as they offer support, help and advice in real time.

I be editor of the site but would also have to build, in short order, a national newsroom which would provide original journalism for the News24 audience and also for the News24Wire, established to fill the vacuum of the defunct South African Press Association.

This grand scheme saw a significant pivot in the News24 offering. Once known as a news machine sustained by Sapa and other wires and clever – and controversial – aggregation, it is rapidly morphing into a news platform built on original journalism by a nearly 20-strong newsroom spread across South Africa and with stringers across southern and the rest of Africa.

The news team sits at the heart of an editorial team of some 100-odd who manage and produce content for the network of sites which falls within the News24 umbrella in South Africa, in Nigeria, Kenya and elsewhere.

The experience has been fascinating as we meld more traditional reporting techniques and styles with what I like to call the "magic" that once, and often still does, conjure up content for the News24 platform.

News24 is arguably unique in the South African media space as a market-leading news website with no print legacy or asset to protect. It is not a child of a newspaper nor beholden to one and thus it is free to produce and publish at will without having to do the complex decision-making tap dance that many other publishers have to endure.

The pace in this environment is, to put it mildly, insane. I thought my time in the daily print news cycle had prepared me well but it really does not compare. The News24 network publishes on average around 10 000 stories each month, manages 9 000 user comments and takes in hundreds of pieces of user-generated content a day. It runs 24/7 and domestically generates over 10 million daily page impressions across all its platforms and applications.

So what have I learned in my new digital home? A listicle seems appropriate!

Five things I learned moving from print to digital

1. The digital audience loves news – and has an insatiable appetite for it. No matter how much you publish they always want more.

Some critics argue this tendency leads news organisations down the rabbit hole of churning low-brow, low-value content to the detriment of quality reporting and there is no denying that this happens. But my time in digital has also shown that consumers have a predilection for solid, professional journalism. They will flock to a well-told story as readily – often more so – as they will to a lightweight listicle.

2. Leave your ego at the door. Story usage and news coverage decisions in non-digital newsrooms are often based on the "gut feeling" of experienced editors and journalists.

While experience and such judgment calls have an important place in digital journalism, they cannot replace the metrics which give digital platforms a killer edge over other operations.

Using tools like Chartbeat, Effective Measure and Google Analytics we have real time and deep insights into how audiences are engaging with content.

It can be depressing when you see a story which ticks all the boxes of "significance" go down like a lead sinker with your readers. In no other environment does the reader rule so supreme.

At News24, Chartbeat in particular plays a crucial role in our minute-by-minute news decision-making.

The good news is that digital readers love a human interest story, they love a political drama, they love a sensation and a scandal.

We can see as it happens how readers are flocking to a story. As an item rises up the ranks of published material we will make a call on our coverage, deploying journalists to work extra follow-up angles within the news cycle of interest in the story. I often have this mental image of a school of piranhas swarming over a story and then moving on for more to nourish them.

3. The good news is that digital readers love the stuff that has always been part of good journalism. They love a human interest story, they love a political drama, they love a sensation and a scandal. Columnists like Max du Preez or Khaya Dlanga will often knock hard news off its "Most Read" perch, so they love opinion too.

But, quite amazingly, they will respond with passion to a heart-warming good news story too.

The latter observation has been among the most powerful for me in my new role. I think there is something about a digital platform which empowers readers' responses to these kinds of stories.

Online stories tend to build communities around them as people rally and rapidly become participants and activists as they offer support, help and advice in real time.

A wonderful example of this was a story that we ran about an unemployed guy called Vusimuzi Mbatha who built a replica helicopter out of scrap metal and spare parts in his backyard in Rustenburg. His dream was to one day fly it.

Within a day the story had attracted hundreds of thousands of views – and a veritable movement aimed at making his dreams come true.

A trainee pilot from Cape Town started a Facebook page to raise money to get him the opportunity to fly. A security company stepped in and flew to his village home to pick him up for his first helicopter ride. There were offers to assist with his education and with finding him employment.

"My heart is content," said Mbatha. That's the kind of thing that has gotten me out of bed to be a journalist every morning for the last 25 years. It is great to know we can do this in digital too.

Journalists in print, radio or television can certainly point to any number of examples of how they have helped to do similar things, but I have never witnessed readers becoming so rapidly and passionately a part of the story. They took it from us and owned it!

This phenomenon, I believe, is an untapped goldmine for digital journalism.

4. Be prepared to embrace many story forms. As the editor of the *Witness* I once wrote a scathing column about the rise of the listicle and how I would rather die than preside over such an abomination of journalism. Well, I don't have more lives than a cat, so I clearly must have reconciled myself to the listicle's place in our quiver of story options.

One of the hardest shifts for me has been to wrap my head around what story form might be right at any point.

When is a gallery better than 600 words? When is a 1 500-word narrative better than a video? When is a video all you should do? A timeline? An infographic? A live report with embedded tweets and other social media mixed in with on-scene reporting? And yes, there is even place for a listicle (like this one).

There is also a place – and, indeed, a demand – for deep, investigative journalism. The challenge is the same as it is in print or anywhere else: stop making excuses and make time for it.

5. As an editor you cannot edit as you might in print. Decisions have to be delegated or your operation will fall on its face.

This was hard for me to wrap my head around in the beginning. I arrived, sat at my desk for a couple of weeks and tried to keep on top of everything that was going on like a good, old-fashioned print editor before I realised I was raging against the storm.

Digital newsrooms simply don't and can't work like that. It all became easier when I let go and trusted my colleagues to make to make instant decisions in all corners of the empire.

Now we have a daily content meeting when we agree on the important sign posts along the way of the day's new cycle and then I leave them to it. Not everything is perfect, or at least as perfect as I would like it, but I've learned to live with it.

Andrew Trench is Editor-in-Chief of News24. He is also a previous editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London and of The Witness in Pietermaritzburg. He ran Media24's national investigative reporting team between 2010 and 2013. andrew.trench@24.com

The Conversation AFRICA

By Caroline Southey

The Conversation is a website that publishes material written by academics and edited by journalists. It exists for the purpose of putting knowledge and information circulating in a relatively small academic pool into the public domain.

The site was first launched in Australia four years ago followed by the UK and the US. The three have achieved some remarkable milestones publishing over 30 000 articles from 25 000 academics with 2.6-million unique users a month and over 23-million readers through republication on more than 20 000 media outlets.

The Conversation Africa was launched in May this year thanks to a number of donors, including the National Research Foundation which helped us get out of the starting blocks. Some important milestones were: being endorsed by 21 universities across the continent; reaching over 125 000 unique visits to the site; and over 1.7-million views through republication.

Once established in Johannesburg, we will also launch hubs in Nairobi and Lagos. We are already commissioning on subjects, and from academics, from across the continent. In addition, we work closely with the Australian, UK and US sites, sharing content and ideas.

The beauty of the model is its simplicity because we're combining basic journalistic skills – editing skills
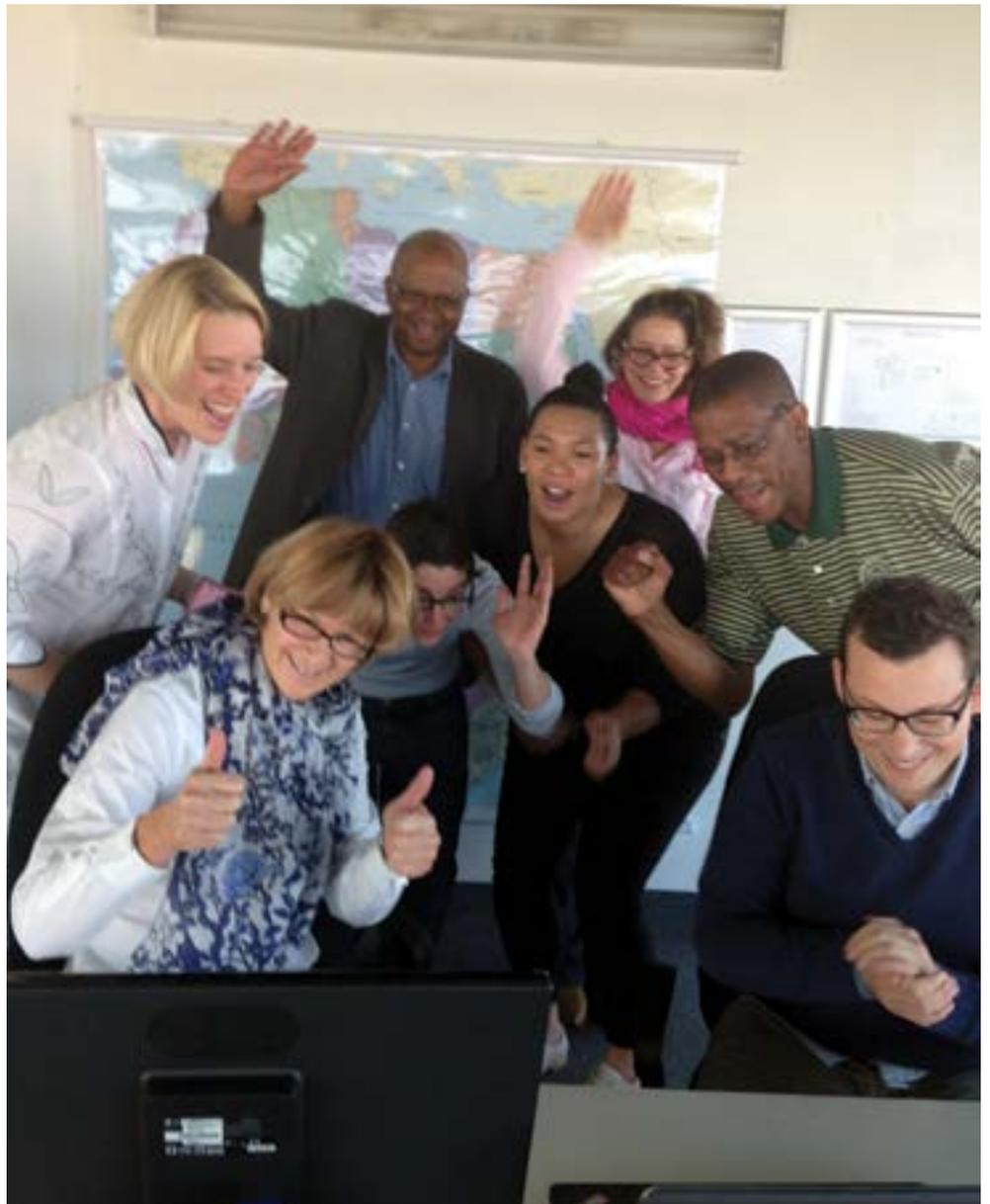
JOURNALISM **NEXT>>**

The Conversation hits two sweet spots – the need of academics to share their knowledge and the hunger for explanatory journalism that gives meaning to the world around us.

and having a nose for stories – with the deep pool of knowledge currently locked in the academy.

The Conversation Africa team consists of 9 editors, a general manager and strategic partnerships and social media guru. We are working out of offices in Braamfontein provided by the University of the Witwatersrand. The University of the Western Cape has given us an office for our Cape-based editor.

Like the other sites, our goal is to produce trusted content that draws on the expertise of academics and researchers across Africa to inform public debate, explain complex problems and, hopefully, to collaborate on developing solutions.

The site has a fresh feel to it because our newsroom behaves like all newsrooms. As a team we discuss what's happening in the news and what's coming up, think of story angles and then find academics to write. Our planning differs in one key respect – our stories need to be timeless as they have a much longer shelf life on the site than normal news sites.

The stories we commission come from two sources: academics who pitch ideas based on their work, and ideas generated by us based on breaking news stories.

I believe The Conversation has been so successful because it hits two sweet spots – the need of academics to share their knowledge and the hunger for explanatory journalism that gives meaning to the world around us.

But to make this happen you need a strong editorial team. The editors who have joined The Conversation Africa bring with them the skills set and passion needed to identify angles to stories as well as the ability to wrestle complicated copy to make it readable and accessible.

There is another important reason: we have replicated The Conversation's structures elsewhere and put in place a strong management team. A fifth of our staff looks after the day-to-day

management of our operation as well as cementing strategic partnerships to ensure our long term sustainability.

The founder of The Conversation Andrew Jaspan says the launch of the African site is part of a long-term goal to create a global network of newsrooms to join the existing four. In September this year the first non-English speaking site will be launched in Paris. The idea is to expand into other language zones such as Latin America.

What's different about The Conversation
Four features distinguish it:

It is a not-for-profit journalistic endeavour. The Australia and the UK sites are funded entirely by universities and some government money. In the US and South Africa donor funding has been secured to pay staff costs. Some revenue is generated from a jobs column in Australia but this makes up very little of the total pie.

Only academics can write for the site. This is probably the most unique aspect of the site. To qualify as a contributor you have to be attached to an academic institution, you need to have a PhD or you need to be teaching in a subject that you have developed a degree of specialisation in.

Everything is published under creative commons. This means that it can be republished by any other media outlet as long as two conditions are met: the story isn't changed and there is attribution.

From a journalistic perspective there is one characteristic that make it different from a conventional news operation. The academic gets the final sign off on any article. What this means is that the editorial team edits the material and then sends it back to the academic. The article can only be published once the academic is happy with the outcome. The effect of this is that there is a subtle shift in power between an editor and an author. In practice we have found that in the vast majority of cases academics are happy with the changes that

we make – they can sometimes be quite substantial – and merely correct us when we have misrepresented something or there has been a mis-interpretation of a complex issue.

What we have achieved so far
Since we launched on 7 May the site has drawn tremendous attention and the articles we have published have been republished extensively. Every major South African media house has reused our stories, including Business Day, most if not all of the titles belonging to the Independent group and the Mail & Guardian. Our articles are also being republished regularly by Times Live, the SABC, and eNCA websites. We have achieved global reach too through republication by sites like Allafrica.com as well as global sites such as IFLScience, CNN, Quartz and Scroll.

What's really gratifying is that there has been interest in articles on a wide-range of subjects. For example in the last week of July our most read stories of the week were about drones delivering tangible benefits to ordinary people in Africa, the KZN caves that are under threat, lessons from Cuba on mother to child HIV transmission and lessons Buhari can learn from Obama on managing an economic crisis.

The academics
We are still in the early stages of developing a deep and wide pan-African network of academics writing for the site. So far we have had nearly 240 academics write for us. Over 450 have registered as potential authors.

The response from academics has been overwhelmingly positive. The site is designed in a way that makes it easy for academics to write into it. Once an academic has registered we send them a commissioning note summarising what we've agreed they will write about. Once they've written the article they can see us working on their material, and vice versa.

Once we've done an initial edit we let them know and they can check what we've done, adjust the copy and answer any questions we might have. Once both sides are happy the academic approves the article and we publish.

These are some of the responses we've had from academics.

"Often, we as scientists are sceptical of journalists, as we fear that our work may be wholly misinterpreted and the wrong message purveyed: not in this case – The Conversation Africa's editor took my work and expertly crafted it into an article. I guess that's why we are scientists and journos are journos! Such an easy process from suggestion of the article to completion – only a matter of days with excellent editing. Also the platform for submitting, editing and accepting the final draft before publication is easy to use and gives the author a lot of control over the final product. Look forward to writing my next article!" **Dr Janet Viljoen, Chair, Departmental Ethical Standards Committee, Department of Human Kinetics and Ergonomics, Rhodes University**

"I'm astonished! I've now seen the stats on my author's page; 400 views in less than a day is remarkable, to me, being used, as I am, to the kind of hits that scholarly journals receive." **Dr John Butler-Adam Vice Principal for Research and Graduate Education, University of Pretoria**

"Thank you very much for doing a really great job. I am impressed. Have you ever driven or walked past a major engineering work, at the start of the project and wondered what must be going on? That is how I felt along the way. But now I see the neat work you have done. You are indeed an architect that builds with words. I particularly appreciate and enjoyed how you were able to simplify my complex language by translating it to a simple language." **Professor of Education, University of Pretoria**

"I really appreciate your patience with me while writing this essay and apologise for coming across as rude and temperamental. Hopefully your other authors don't give you as hard a time as I did!" **Biologist, University of Free State**

Given the initial reaction to the site we are confident that it will grow from strength to strength. We have support for what we're doing through our governance structures, which includes a group of powerful and well-connected advisors who give us guidance and will be helping us raise additional funds for the years ahead.

I think the incredible uptake of our stories through re-publication shows that there is tremendous hunger for the explanatory journalism that we are producing. It shows that journalism can be both relevant and appealing to a very wide audience when the content is produced by experts and experienced editors apply their skills to the copy.

Key statistics

(data from launch on 7 May – 27 July)

- **Total number of views:**
  1 792 002 (Views of our content since launch, including republication)

- **Total users to site since launch: 127 630** (Unique users to the site)

- **Number of authors published: 239**

- **Number of articles published: 239**

- **Number of institutions: 76** (Institutions to which academics that have written for the site are affiliated)

- **Number of authors registered: 457** (Academics that have registered with the site as potential authors)

- **Number of African countries authors have registered from: 12**

- **Number of endorsing universities: 21**

Caroline Southey:
WHAT I LEARNT FROM STARTING A START-UP

SHORT SHARP

1 There are gaps! (The Conversation had no Africa presence).

2 Finding money and funders: be clear about your model.

3 Know what the funder wants. It's about them, not you.

4 It's all in the team: find people not like you who do things you can't do.

5 Leave your comfort zone.

6 Don't deviate: stick to your knitting.

7 Find and follow your readers.

8 The readers are the only reason we do what we do (we have 24-million a month globally).

9 Starting a start-up is harder than anything I imagined.

10 Starting a start-up is exciting: we got 307 000 followers in five weeks.

Previously Caroline was editor of the Financial Mail in South Africa. Prior to that she worked for the Financial Times in London and Brussels in various roles over 17 years including as World Desk Editor and as a foreign correspondent covering European Union agriculture and social policy. caroline.southey@ theconversation.com

HANDS UP ALL THOSE WHO THINK
ADNAN DID IT?

By Jonathan Ancer

I f you don't know what I'm talking about here's a quick recap: Adnan Syed, a happy-go-lucky Maryland high school pupil, was sentenced in 2000 to life in jail for killing his ex-girlfriend Hae Min Lee, despite the fact the prosecution's case relied heavily on the testimony of one dodgy witness – Jay. For 15 years, Syed has maintained his innocence. Last year, the podcast Serial, a true-crime whodunit, re-examined the murder investigation. In each weekly episode journalist Sarah Koenig became an amateur detective – she spoke to Adnan in prison, revisited the crime scene, tracked down jury members and witnesses and pored over cellphone records and police records. Did Adnan do it? She didn't know, but she was determined to find out.

Serial was to podcasting what the Beatles was to music – revolutionary. It's a podcast renaissance; it's the Golden Age of Podcasting, print media headlines screamed. It sure was. Within a month Serial had a cult-following, including a #FreeAdnan hashtag, Adnan-did-it websites, memes, and more than 5-million subscribers, checking their smart phones every 30 seconds for a notification that the next episode was ready to download. One of the biggest winners was MailChimp (or is it Mailkimp?) the email marketing service which sponsored the series. MailChimp's catchy advert earwormed its way into brand fame.

I'm not an early adopter – but when it came to listening to podcasts I was a pioneer, thanks mainly to my hate-hate relationship with South African radio. Podcasts changed my life because I no longer hated being in a car. I remember one evening making my way home from the CBD in peak hour traffic. The red-faced man in the car next to me slammed his fist into his hooter. The woman in the car behind threw up her hands. We were all captive to the gridlock but I couldn't have been happier. It's not like I was on my way to an appointment with the dentist that I was happy to be stuck in traffic. Like everyone else in the city I had places to go and hands to shake but, unlike them, I had a feast of podcasts waiting for me: This American Life; The Gist; The Moth; BBC Radio 4's Friday Night Comedy and RadioLab and Death, Sex + Money – the podcast Death, Sex + Money – not the real life death, sex and money.

It was while I was in a traffic jam that I listened to a This American Life episode about superheroes. Which superpower would you choose, asked Ira Glass: flight or invisibility? Flight. Definitely flight, I thought. Although imagine the stories I could get with invisibility?

Since becoming a podcast junkie I arrive home calm. Before podcasts I jumped from radio station to radio station, a slave to Sandy from Sandton, Barry from Belville and Eddie from Ficksburg's inane opinions. But Steve Jobs saved me from radio hell when he launched the iPod in 2001. His super cool device not only revolutionised music storage, it also introduced a new platform for journalism. Podcasts – audio shows – about politics, sports, satire, science, literature, money and music were only a download away.

My podcast of choice is This American Life, an hour-long weekly show split into theme-based stories. It's quirky, powerful, poignant and painstakingly researched; it's story-telling at its gripping best.

Technology has made podcasts accessible – thanks to smartphones, millions of people walk around with the internet in their pockets. Cars are being made with built-in internet capacity and free wifi will soon be the new Coca Cola – it will be available wherever you go (but unlike Coke it won't give you diabetes).

The Serial effect has seen media houses around the world dive into the medium. A recent research survey showed that the numbers of listeners has multiplied and the number of podcasts produced has doubled. This is yet another example of how cellphones have become the consumer device of our age. Podcasts offer high engagement levels – it's radio on demand, which you can listen to while commuting, cooking, walking and when you wake up at 3am from a nightmare about the imminent death of print media.

In the beginning podcasts were geek territory – made in garages and mostly about tech. But they have shot into the mainstream and have become well-produced, well-researched, slick productions. Another podcasts positive is that once you have subscribed you don't have to go looking for the content, it finds you. Podcasts are easy to download, they are free (great for listeners; for podcasters, not so much), and they are of a high quality – so it's not difficult to see why podcasts have become so popular.

Last year I realised that while the podcast industry is flourishing elsewhere I couldn't find many local podcasts – local, it seems, is slekker. So, while listening to StartUp, a podcast about a podcaster starting a podcast startup, I decided to launch a podcast startup called Sound Media Productions with Dan Dewes, a fellow podcast junkie who happens to be a sound engineer. However, we found that local media houses are not so quick to dive into podcasting, and editors don't yet get podcasting's potential for storytelling. Radio stations slap a segment of their show on their website and call it a podcast. Video may not have killed the radio star, but podcasting will.

We're yet to crack the podcast business model but I believe excellent content will attract listeners who will bring advertisers to the party.

Who needs invisibility or flight? Helping to save South Africans from Sandy in Sandton, Barry in Belville and Eddie in Ficksburg, and reducing road rage on South African roads, is my superpower.

Here is the link to our website which features our podcasts:
http://soundmp.wix.com/sound-media

JOURNALISM
NEXT>>

Jonathan Ancer is a journalist, podcast junkie and word nerd. He has been a features writer, copy sub, news reporter, narrative journalist, crossword columnist and the youngest editor of the country's oldest newspaper, Grocott's Mail. From 2010 to 2014 he ran Independent Newspapers' Cadet School.
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Selfie journalism

when the smartphone meets storytelling + sharing

By Yusuf Omar

#FutureFit

I'm writing this on my iPhone, meandering along the Garden Route from Durban to Cape Town. The goat that just bounced off our fender is a vivid reminder that life is short. Long drives lend themselves to quiet contemplation.

I pass Rhodes University for the first time since graduating from the journalism school five years ago. A lot has happened since those early bylines in Grocott's Mail: I flirted with minefields in Congo, reported from Syria (wearing a bulletproof vest), followed the illegal rhino horn trade through Vietnam, ran a couple of Comrades Marathons and got caught up in the Arab Spring. I've also produced a dozen documentaries and features for eNews Channel Africa (eNCA).

Most recently, in an hour-long doccie called #FutureFit, I arm-wrestle a robot in the intro sequence. It's not just a TV gimmick, the contest symbolises the modern workplace and the immense technological changes redefining employment. Robots are now

not just imitating our minds, but also our muscles, and if you think creatives are safe, think again. News stories no longer need a human filter – thanks to complex algorithms and crowd-sourcing writing. Top that with everyone shooting everything on their smartphones, and Darwin was right: adaptability is survival. If you're in the media, it's best you listen up.

Selfie journalism

The first stop on our road trip is the geological formation known as Hole-in-the-wall in Coffee Bay. I'm showing Dad how to shoot time-lapses on his phone, wedging a selfie stick between the rocks on the beach to form a monopod. It's an overcast day, but using a few nifty apps we toy with the phone's shutter-speed and exposure like a real camera. It hits me like the goat's horns to the bonnet; the quirkiness of MOJO (mobile journalism) is rapidly being replaced by a dangerous reality. There's almost no barrier of entry to this craft.

I'm increasingly leaving my DSLR, and bigger cameras, and honing my skills on smartphones to produce multimedia reports. In the age of YouTube, audiences have never been more forgiving of handheld, poorly-lit content. Mobile journalism too, is as much

about using a phone to capture the footage, as producing made-for-mobile content. Engagement is now key. Counting how many Facebook likes our stories get or tallying YouTube views for a video is yesterday's social media strategy.

Today we want to know how people are commenting, starting conversations, and more importantly, how they're sharing our content. The news stories people post on their timelines represent their identities, and what issues they care about. We must pitch story ideas considering editorial content in equal measure to how viewers will engage with our stories.

Now, being able to shoot, edit and send on one device, like a smartphone, means I'm packaging news stories faster, and creating content with mobile viewers in mind (ie mobile-first), as opposed to simply making TV content resized to fit on a cellphone screen. They say we're living in a world of small screens and short attention spans.

But beyond the three basic Ss; stability, sound and sending, anyone with a smartphone can and will tell these stories. Facebook, Twitter and other social media giants have convinced us that online sharing is a natural facet of the human condition. The millions of hours of footage being posted online is testament to that.

Journalism is after all just two things: storytelling and sharing. We are now exploring the space where the smartphone meets these two disciplines.

With the explosion in consumption on mobile devices, our content has never had a bigger potential reach.

Yet news organisations struggle to go viral like the 18-year-old YouTube sensation doing a video-blog in his underpants at home. The equipment we use is no longer significantly better than that of a layman's pocket or within his budget. So media professionals need to differentiate themselves with something else. Something that makes us stand out. Let's call it a plus one factor. That something that makes you different.

For some it's a beat specialty, an intricate knowledge of a major court case, or inside contacts within government's inner circles. If you don't possess these noble journalistic traits, you might be like me, in which case there's no orthodox pathway to make it in this business.

Do something crazy

Our road trip momentarily pulls over at Bloukrans River. Along the bridge lies the world's biggest bungee jump. It reminds me of a video blogger who jumped off London Bridge in July to increase traffic to his YouTube channel. He did get more followers, but he also almost drowned. You may need to do something a little crazy to get the attention of this industry, but make it a journalistic conversation starter; your latest assignment adventure. Something other reporters can't or aren't willing to do.

"I hitchhiked solo from Durban to Damascus, working in newsrooms along the way." That was my go-to line in 2010. With a backpack full of old T-shirts and a head full of young dreams, the East African adventure was the establishment of my journalistic brand, aspiring to uncover the 'dark continent' for myself. I planned almost nothing in terms of routing, using just an A4 map of Africa and a thumb to the wind to head north. However, the blog, business cards and Durban to Damascus branded T-shirt were in place. I'd make no money from the adventure, but create a portfolio of zany stories, pictures and videos along the way. Travel, and stories will find you. Better yet, I inadvertently practised the basics of photography, writing, and most importantly, shooting video journalism alone. My newfound Selfie Journalism would be vital for the revolution.

The uncanny journalistic luck of being in the wrong places at hideous times landed me in Egypt amid their (first) Arab Spring at the end of the hitchhiking adventure. Stranded with thousands of foreigners on the marble floors of Cairo International Airport for almost a week, we watched as modern-day pharaohs fell, and I got the exclusive angle of holidaymakers trapped in the turmoil.

Returning to South Africa, I joined the Independent Newspapers cadet school, and at the first opportunity, went off on my own adventure. Driving a 1979 VW beach buggy, I drove to Namibia's Henties Bay to document the annual clubbing of thousands of seals.

Several days, one engine fire and too many desert kilometers later, I arrived at a beach of happy seals and a local community that largely supported the annual culling. Many said there were too many seals, eating too much fish. I didn't get the story of the blood-soaked sands I went to capture, and I almost became the story when dagger-wielding bandits robbed me near the Zimbabwean side of Beit Bridge. What was supposed to be a graphic expose became a wacky travel tale named "Tarmac Sailors", but again, a journalistic brand was forming, in whichever newsroom I emerged.

Everything is a story

Our road trip to Cape Town detours to Jeffrey's Bay. An Aussie surfer recently came face-to-fin with a shark during a live-televised competition. The video has gone viral online, so my parents kindly face the roaring winds and rain as I scour the beach for follow-up stories. Family holidays aren't safe from the hunger. Back in the car, I'm editing the videos on my cellphone faster than I used to on a laptop.

Even my own marriage proposal became a story, running the 89-kilometre Comrades Marathon with a Go Pro video camera strapped on, I proposed at the finish line. "You're dehydrated and hallucinating," was Dad's advice at the halfway mark when I told him of my plan. I was already going to be on my knees at the finish line anyway.

When I arrived at The Star newspaper in Johannesburg in 2011, I received perhaps my toughest opposition to the do-it-all-strap-a-camera-to-your-head approach to journalism, from the seasoned photo desk. Newsrooms were already tight, staff being shed, and this young buck wanted to take his own pictures and videos to complement his writing. The more noise they made, the more it became known; I could work alone, and deliver content across platforms. While I wasn't as experienced as senior reporters, a technological repertoire was increasingly becoming valued in the modern newsroom, and a natural fit for foreign assignments.

One Friday evening, covering the Joburg Fashion Week, I could barely hear a phone call from the assignments desk over the loudspeakers. The Gift of the Givers was sending a military plane full of medical relief to the Congo. An ammunitions depot had exploded in a densely populated community of Brazzaville and thousands were maimed. Twelve hours later I was in a military hospital, having been transported from a scene of models with long legs, to the devastation of women without any. The gruesome visuals made for compelling video journalism, and in some sick way, it's true, their misery was my gain.

Be a self-promoter

"The Otter Trail is the best thing I've ever done in South Africa," I explain to Mum and Dad as we pass the Tsitsikamma National Park. "Have you watched the travel feature I did? It's on YouTube!" They haven't. Few people are tracking your career progress, so you must do it for them.

As a journalist, you have just two things: integrity, and your stories. We're perpetually one newsroom downsize away from unemployment, so package yourself, all the time.

There's a really simple model for getting into the media industry. Give them the images (read: story, videos etc), and they give you the money. Remember when Julius Malema got expelled from the ANC Youth League, and he did what any self-pitying person would do; found shelter in his Gogo's house? I happened to be one of the only people in that township of Seshego in Limpopo at around midnight after the announcement. Some factions of the local community started pelting Malema's crew with rocks, guns were drawn, shots fired and police cars stoned. I shot it all on my cellphone, posted it to YouTube, and sold it to eNCA the next day. And, more importantly, the 24-hour news station offered me a job.

Finding your #mojo

We're driving past Qunu as a cold front lashes the Eastern Cape. Wet, grey and uneventful today, the ancestral home of Nelson Mandela was anything but quiet in December 2013. Satellite trucks paved across lush hills, broadcasting perhaps history's most-watched funeral. No place for a newbie reporter like myself, having recently joined eNCA. Unless you ambush the story.

Being able to broadcast using a 3G signal and my iPhone changed everything. I did live crossings during all those colourful moments, with the crowds heading to the Mandela Memorial at FNB Soccer City. Senior reporters had waited entire careers to cover those 10 days of mourning, and I scooped them because cellphone technology got me closer to the action.

Oscar Pistorius' trial was the same. Using Skype to live stream the drama outside court, I could take viewers closer, and faster than the traditional satellite trucks could deploy.

Mobile journalism was increasingly defining my career. When the latest xenophobia violence sparked the South African police and military to launch Operation Fiela, I livestreamed with the Periscope app, walking viewers deep into Joburg's hostels as police broke down doors.

But almost immediately after the broadcasts, negative feedback flooded social media. We'd taken live reporting too far. Police were dragging seemingly innocent half-nude men out of their beds, and we were broadcasting the unadulterated visuals live. I tried to avoid identifying faces, but some made it on air. Mobile technology allows us to do live crossings in more places than ever before, bringing new ethical conundrums. Greater awareness for privacy is required. Though the greatest ethical challenge would be my own. Recording my religion.

#Mecca_Live

Our road trip ends in Cape Town, and being a Friday, we head to the nearest mosque for Jummah (Friday prayers). All Muslims pray towards Mecca, and earlier this year I journeyed there.

The Umrah Pilgrimage is like a mini-Hajj. Seeing the Kaa'ba for the first time, the holy mosque we prostrate toward, is an indelible memory of submission, humbled in its presence. Yet, my first memories of Mecca will forever include a cellphone and selfie stick. I lived it through my lens before my heart. I filmed people praying, edited videos in between rituals, and uploaded videos at every opportunity.

On the spiritual 27th night of Ramadan this year, popular social media app Snapchat hosted #Mecca_Live. For the first time ever, Islam's most sacred sites became social media broadcasters, as thousands of pilgrims shared video snippets of their spiritual journeys with the world.

At a time when Muslims are expected to distance themselves from terror groups like ISIS, and excuse themselves for acts allegedly committed in their religion's name, selfies and mosque-glam-shots offered a new perspective to many online.

That's why I shot my first pilgrimage. To share it. I couldn't turn my storytelling identity off, or divorce myself from its ways. I'm a journalist, and a person, in a modern, connected world. Mobile journalism is my movement, however abstract or ill-defined. Telling stories gives me a kind of spiritual home.

Follow me: @YusufOmarSA

With social media, it has never been easier to present yourself to potential employers. It won't be your prose that differentiates you, but your ability to push your content. Personal homepages are outdated, I prefer YouTube channels for show reels and video archives. It's free to setup, and lasts forever. Like good writing, show (the work you've done) don't tell. Hell, this entire article is one big self-promotion.

Now check out mine:
www.YouTube.com/Journalisminaction

Yusuf Omar is a filmmaker and broadcast journalist at eNews Channel Africa (eNCA). Twitter and Instagram: @YusufOmarSA

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HIT THEM WHERE IT HURTS

tackling Facebook's *misogyny* problem

By Kayla Roux

TRIGGER WARNING: MENTIONS OF RAPE, GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Whether you believe in the power of social networking for political participation or are cynical of the 'clicktivists' and their 'slacktivism', there's no denying it: social media politics have become an inescapable part of our digital lives. From online petitions and NGO fan pages to heated Twitter wars and politically-motivated hacking, the internet has opened up countless new avenues in which people can express their support for causes, lobby powerful interest groups, and register their dissent with a well-orchestrated hashtag or viral campaign. But what if one social network becomes the site of the struggle? What about when our digital lives become the subject of our politics?

It makes sense when you consider the amount of time and energy many of us pour into our social media accounts: they are the digital equivalent of the ancient Greek agora or your favourite neighbourhood pub, and provide countless opportunities for self-expression and networking. It has become a place of work, play, communication and relaxation for millions of internet users. Importantly, it has also become one of the biggest and richest corporations in the world, their revenues based on auctioning personal information to advertisers for the highest price.

For this reason, many activists are not only using social media to network, increase exposure and exert influence – they are petitioning the way social media sites themselves are structured.

In 2013, a coalition of over 100 women's rights and social justice groups orchestrated a campaign aimed at forcing social media giant Facebook to review its content classification policy – and it worked. For years, Facebook maintained a stony silence regarding requests from users to remove and condemn graphic content glorifying and trivialising domestic abuse, rape, and gender-based violence.

Making use of Facebook's bewildering and convoluted reporting system, users can provide feedback about what they would like to see and what they would rather not. Reported content is reviewed against Facebook's community policy, and, if found wanting, removed with a warning for the originator of the content.

This mechanism helps to keep Facebook free from graphic violence, pornography, hate speech, trade in controlled substances and the like – supposedly. Instead, what most users reporting drastically unfunny rape jokes and images of bloodied and bruised women found was that Facebook's community standards were inconsistently applied at best, and deeply misogynistic at worst.

In the maintenance of their community standards, Facebook made it clear whose side it was on (spoiler alert: it's not women). Countless reports about graphic depictions of gender-based violence and rape and joke pages glorifying the abuse of women were returned with a glib message: 'Thanks for your report. We reviewed the content you reported, but found it doesn't violate Facebook's Community Standard on hate speech'. I'm not talking about the odd offensive joke or sexist comment; most of the content on the Facebook pages in question was so graphic that they could not be reproduced or linked by mainstream news websites: graphic images of gore, beaten children, naked children, women bound and gagged, or thrown down stairs.

Meanwhile, individual users and advertisers found their pictures and artistic representations of breastfeeding mothers and breast cancer survivors (you know, any situation in which the female form is not held up for sexual consumption) reported and removed faster than they could say "the patriarchy did it!". Inflamed articles were written. Angry status updates abounded. Nothing changed.

When it became clear that Facebook and its management would not become the champion feminists around the world were hoping for, social justice organisations around the world turned to a tried-and-tested method of exerting social pressure for social change in capitalist societies: a good old-fashioned boycott.

It started with an open letter (or a stroke of genius) penned by three of the cleverest, social media-savvy feminists of our times: writer and activist Soraya Chemaly, founder of the Everyday Sexism Project Laura Bates, and Jaclyn Friedman from Women, Action and the Media. These three joined forces to launch the hashtag Twitter campaign #FBRape in May 2013. Their letter was not aimed at Facebook and its management: it had become abundantly clear that this road would not lead to redress.

Instead, they wrote to all Facebook users, urging them to think about the kind of digital world in which they wanted to live – and to tell Facebook's advertisers that gender-based violence and misogyny had no place in it. They called on Facebook users to tweet and email the organisations who advertised on Facebook, showing them what their ads look like next to the graphically violent pages in question and created easy ways for users to contact advertisers in the form of a tweet, an email, or a Facebook message.

A few days into the campaign, 15 major companies including Nissan UK, Nationwide, Finnair and American Express had pulled their ads from Facebook. Those who failed to do so were subjected to some clever 'brandalism' in the form of fake adverts showing how these companies really feel about women. For example, the beauty industry giant Dove was subjected to a humiliating Photoshop campaign with fake ads that read "Dove: because advertising dollars are more important than the treatment of women." Although some organisations held onto their valuable advertising spots and asked users to report individual pages instead, there was enough pressure for Facebook to react.

Facebook needs the support and trust of its users to survive. This is what gives users the power to shape and inform the nature of the public spaces social media sites have become.

Facebook could feel the heat. It was directed straight at their pockets.

It only took one week, 5 000 emails and 60 000 tweets for Facebook to respond with an explicit commitment to refining their approach to hate speech. They promised to review and update their definitions of hate speech, update the training received by content reviewers, and hold creators of offensive content accountable. All of this happened, and it happened in consultation with legal experts as well as representatives from the women's coalition and other interest groups.

As a microcosm of our society, social media sites offer up the best and worst that humanity has to offer, all in one place. They reflect the systemic violence and oppression of the society in which we live in the form of racism, sexism, and many more forms of discrimination. But they are also a conduit for change. When Facebook let women down, users took to Twitter as an alternative platform to protest #FBRape. From a critical perspective, Facebook also presents an interesting case study for political participation and democracy in the 21st century. On the one hand, it is a profit-driven, multinational

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corporation that packages user information and networks and sells this information to advertisers and developers, effectively exploiting users for hours of unpaid, immaterial digital labour. On the other hand, its profits rely on providing an open platform for the public to share their interests and beliefs.

As their mission statement reads, Facebook is committed to making the world "more open and connected". They seek to provide "a platform where people can share and surface content, messages and ideas freely, while still respecting the rights of others". This should not be read as a commitment to creating and sustaining communities or to improving information rights across the world. It is a business statement. But it does provide an interesting insight into the way Facebook necessarily functions: it needs the support and trust of its users to survive. This is what gives users the power to shape and inform the nature of the public spaces social media sites have become.

The #FBRape campaign is a great example of the power of global networked feminist participation in the 21st century, illustrating the emergence of subversive cultural and political movements and the creative reconstruction of ICT for social change. When the initial era of utopian cyber-optimism about digital democratisation that accompanied the late 90s and early 2000s explosion of new information-communication technologies had passed unfulfilled, critics started to investigate the other side of the coin.

Rather than democratise communication and foster robust public debate and free self-expression, internet spaces seem to have become enclaves for some of the worst aspects of society; here, racists and sexists find expression, governments and corporations can surveil and control their citizens, and cyber-bullies have taken over the playground.

Debates are polarised and fruitless as keyboard warriors fight it out from opposite sides of the screen. Critics also argue that the internet has had a depoliticising effect on citizens, fragmenting communities and fuelling rampant narcissism, flattening the intellectual landscape to a landfill of personalised news feeds and pictures of cats. While

Rather than democratise communication and foster robust public debate and free self-expression, internet spaces seem to have become enclaves for some of the worst aspects of society.

we have more access to information and networking power than ever before, the overflow of information threatens to engulf our political sensibilities until all we are able to do is click Like and Share.

However, the feminist victory against Facebook misogyny that is the #FBRape campaign carries an important message for anyone working, playing, and living on the internet. The internet is a complex series of locations that dynamically embodies new models of citizenship and political activism. #FBRape is a great example of how people are interacting with new technologiesas citizen-activists. By subverting the logic of capital and putting it to work towards social justice ends, thousands of citizens spoke back to corporate power and systemic misogyny, getting one step closer to creating the kind of internet we all want to live in.

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Soweto by Jodi Bieber

THE V WORD –
and the value of breaking news on social media

Every minute, according to recent figures, 300 hours of footage is uploaded to YouTube, 350 000 tweets are shared and 150 000 images uploaded to Instagram. Ninety-nine percent of this content is ephemeral: pictures of people's coffee, updates from holidays and honeymoons, and videos of giggling babies. **But within all of this noise, there is valuable news content.**

By Claire Wardle

Ten years ago, London was rocked by four suicide bombs detonated during the morning commute. Some of those who scrambled to escape captured photos and videos using the cameras built into their mobile phones and sent these on to news organisations, or uploaded them to message boards. It's worth remembering that in July 2005, Twitter had not yet been created, YouTube was only a couple of months old and Facebook was for students only.

That evening, the BBC ran some of these images in their bulletin. It was the first time non-professional content had been integrated into a main BBC television news programme.

Now, whenever a news event happens, whether that's a relatively minor bus crash on a UK street or a terrorist incident on a Tunisian beach, there is an expectation that footage will emerge from the scene. Eyewitnesses document what they see in the same way as they document most aspects of their lives. They are not consciously reporting, they are instinctively capturing a moment that they have experienced.

For newsrooms, this phenonemon has changed the way newsgathering happens. Stories are now more likely to break first on social media rather than the wires, and the first pictures will almost always come from a bystander not a professional journalist. But it is relatively rare for the person who captures this content to even understand the value of what they have on their phones. They don't go seeking out the telephone number of a news organisation, they upload their images to Instagram or Twitter, mostly as a way of showing their friends and family what they've just witnessed.

That means journalists have to go looking for this content. It means setting up keyword searches in one Tweetdeck column, and setting up lat-long searches for geo-located content in another, it means doing the same on another monitor on Gramfeed.com to find the most valuable images on Instagram.

But in the chaos of a breaking news event, when many people start tweeting on the same hashtag regardless of whether or not they are caught up in events, or re-tweeting content they're seeing, knowing who and what to trust can be extremely difficult. Verifying any content that has been discovered on the social web can be terrifying for newsrooms. How do you know that what you're seeing is true? Has the photo been manipulated? Is it from a previous event? Are you being hoaxed?

In 2013, I led a team that carried out a large piece of research, funded by the Tow Centre for Digital Journalism on the ways that

television newsrooms around the world include user-generated content in their output. One journalists admitted that verification was often referred to as the "v-word". They shamefully explained how people in the newsroom groaned when they were asked by their editors if they had verified a piece of content. This viewpoint was supported by many of our 64 interviewees who explained that knowledge of even basic verification processes and techniques was relatively low in their newsrooms.

Many newsrooms outsource verification to the agencies, whether that's AP, Reuters or AFP, or newer social media agencies like Storyful. Many newsrooms explained that they didn't have the resources to verify content, and in many cases admitted that they liked to use the agencies as an insurance policy.

Browne's tips for verifying a video of a rocket attack in Syria are all excellent examples. By reading some of these, you can learn a great deal about what is possible.

But for most journalists, reading the Verification Handbook, and pinning this checklist to their computer, would prevent manipulated, hoaxed or fake content being shared.

Recently, a group of journalists, practitioners, trainers and academics who have in-depth experience of verification techniques came together to create First Draft, a coalition dedicated to supporting journalists who work with content sourced from the social web. Representatives from Bellingcat, Emergent, Eyewitness Media Hub, Google News Lab, Meedan, Reported.ly, Storyful and Verification Junkie contributed advice, case studies and training guides to a central resource site, currently hosted on Medium. If you are a journalist who works with eyewitness media, I recommend you bookmark the site, follow the Twitter account, and keep up to date with the work of First Draft. A new dedicated website is in development and will be launched later in the year.

Eyewitnesses document what they see in the same way as they document most aspects of their lives. They are not consciously reporting, they are instinctively capturing a moment that they have experienced.

Some people even argued that it just wasn't possible to verify content sourced from the social web. This simply isn't true. With some very rare exceptions, it is possible to verify content sourced from the social web. By following tried and tested processes, such as searching the digital footprint of the person who uploaded the content, or cross-referencing landmarks in a photo or video with Google Earth, along with some more technical processes such as checking the EXIF data from a photograph, it is possible to have a much clearer understanding of who captured the footage, where they captured it and when they captured it.

These basic verification checks don't have to be time consuming. If you are covering a storm, and you find an image online of a very large cloud hovering over the skyline, upload the photo to Google reverse image search or tineye.com. They will immediately show you whether that photo, or a version of that photo, has appeared on the web previously. If you see the photo come up, you know that this is clearly an old picture which is doing the rounds again, and you can stop right there.

Some journalists have become experts in forensic verification techniques and often write detailed blog posts about their work. Andrew Haggard's explanation of how he geo-located the Walter Scott shooting, Eoghan Sweeney's explanation of checking images that purported to show looting in Baltimore, and Malachy

Claire Wardle is the Research Director at Columbia University's Tow Centre for Digital Journalism. Prior to joining Columbia, she designed the social media training programme for the BBC in 2009 and went on to train journalists around the world on social newsgathering and verification. Wardle has also worked with Storyful and UNHCR. She has a PhD in Communication from the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. claire.wardle@gmail.com

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It used to be possible to promise confidentiality to sources – guaranteeing protection of their identities, even on pain of jail – in countries where legal source protection frameworks were robust. But, internationally, ethical commitments to, and **legal protections** for, journalistic sources are being **undercut** by surveillance (both mass surveillance and targeted surveillance), and mandatory data retention policies; **trumped** by national security and anti-terrorism legislation; **undermined** by the role of third party intermediaries (like social media and search engine companies, telcos and ISPs), and **restricted** by overly narrow interpretation of laws designed for an analogue world. So, the attention of investigative journalists and their editors is necessarily turning to **risk assessment, self-protection** and **source education.**

PROTECTING SOURCES
IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Investigative journalists struggling to uphold their ethical commitment to protect their sources in the digital era are changing their practices significantly as the Snowden effect takes hold in our newsrooms. For many journalists, "going back to analogue basics" is the new normal when dealing with confidential sources. **Julie Posetti** examines the evolving issues as they emerged during recent interviews with over two dozen leading editors, investigative journalists and media lawyers.

How much confidence do investigative journalists have in the ability to protect sources in 2015?

At the time of our interview in his London office in late January 2015, outgoing Editor-in-Chief of The Guardian Alan Rusbridger was despondent about the threat to investigative journalism posed by the erosion of source protection. "Well, I'm very gloomy," he said. The limitations on existing legal frameworks supporting source protection in the UK are coming thick and fast. It's like fighting a "Zombie War," he said, waving his hands in exasperation.

Rusbridger has previously suggested that investigative journalism may not be possible in the post-Snowden era. That's a concern shared by Committee to Protect Journalists' Global Advocacy Director Courtney Radsch: "I think that we are really potentially looking at an environment where it becomes virtually impossible for journalists to protect their sources – where journalists are no longer even needed in that equation, given governments' broad surveillance powers."

Bolivian investigative journalist Ricardo Aguilar is seriously concerned about the reliability of legal source protection. He was charged with espionage and threatened with 30 years jail after refusing to reveal his source on a 2014 La Razon story. "Mass surveillance, data retention and the appeal of (the) National Security category leaves the protection of secret sources in latent vulnerability," he said.

Director of the US-based International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) Gerard Ryle is similarly direct. "I'm not confident that there is any protection at all, to be frank... I would say as a general rule these days, much more than in the past, it's very difficult to protect sources because of the fact that electronic communications can be back-tracked and people can be found much easier than they may have been found in the past," he said. Ryle, who oversaw the global investigative journalism

projects known as Offshore Leaks, Luxembourg Leaks, and Swiss Leaks, once faced the threat of jail in Australia while reporting on police corruption for The Age, after refusing to give up a source to an ombudsman's inquiry.

In Sweden, where source protection legislation is so strong that journalists can be jailed for revealing their confidential sources, top investigative journalists are taking extraordinary measures to protect them from the impacts of mass surveillance, and other risks of the digital era. One of the threats identified by the director of the investigative unit at Sweden's national public radio (Sveriges Radio), Fredrik Laurin, is the risk of police seizing digital content due to gaps in source protection legislation in his country: "It's not an exception – this is definitely the modus operandi. The police, they don't go into newsrooms very often here, but when they do they have no problem in grabbing digitally stored information."

The chilling effect

Co-founder of Pakistan's Centre for Investigative Reporting, Umar Cheema, believes his status guarantees that he is under surveillance and his sources know it. "I am a prominent journalist, a distinction with its own advantages and disadvantages. Some [sources] tend to approach me out of respect and belief that I am the right person to be taken into confidence. Others hesitate, fearing any contact with me will put them on [the] radar screen since I am under surveillance, right from phone to emails, and [my] social media accounts are monitored."

Cheema was kidnapped and tortured in 2010. In the course of his captivity, his sources were compromised. "The captors, who I strongly suspect belonged to our premier intelligence agency, took away my mobile phone, apparently for investigating

in detail about my professional contacts through my phone contacts," he said. "Some of my sources, who had shared information about national security, were coerced into silence. They never contacted me after- wards, other than telling in brief... about the harassment they had to face." Cheema said that threats to his safety sent via phone and email are now routine.

International Editor of Algeria's El Watan newspaper, Zine Cherfaoui, said sources now increasingly require face-to-face meetings. "Since Snowden and mass surveillance, sources speak with difficulty and people don't have as much confidence. To really discuss with people we prefer to avoid electronic means or social networks. The Snowden Affair turned upside down the work of journalists... It's harder to speak to people. We really have to go out and meet them. It's face to face," Cherfaoui said.

However, it should be noted that the risk of exposure travels with journalists heading to face-to-face meetings with sources if the route they take is subject to security camera surveillance, or they travel with traceable mobile devices that deliver geolocation data.

At the time of my interview with Rusbridger, The Guardian was in the midst of a major tax investigation, and the paper was being challenged by approximately 20 companies of solicitors over it. "They're all wanting the return of documents, they're all citing data protection laws, privacy, everything... so the bills on these things just mount and mount and mount and mount, so you can easily be spending tens or hundreds of thousands of pounds trying to get a story into the paper."

"Of course, once you get onto secure reporting there is a significant cost... in trying to create a safe environment where we feel we can offer our sources the kind of protection that they deserve", Rusbridger says. The cost of digital security technology, training

and legal fees connected to source protection in the post- Snowden era also represents a significant chilling effect on investigative journalism. The Guardian spends about a million pounds more a year on legal fees than they did five years ago, according to Rusbridger: "It's definitely having a bad effect on the overall ability to report," he says, pointing to the devastating impact of the changed landscape on regional newspapers, in particular. "(They) can't afford to get tied up in defending their staff, or equipment, or the IT," he said.

But isn't this a golden age for investigative journalism?

"Technology is allowing information to be leaked on a vast scale... For me as a journalist we're in boom times, because you're able to get information that's incredibly detailed and you're able to get stories that you couldn't possibly [get before]," ICIJ's Gerard Ryle said, declaring the digital era a "golden age for journalism," despite the risks.

Prominent Jordanian investigative journalist and founder of the Arabic Media internet Network, Daoud Kuttab, echoed Ryle's view of the digital era: "On the one hand I think it has accelerated and widened the amount of data available to everyone and made it very easy to transfer information and documents. Now you can put thousands of documents on a USB so you don't have the problem of having to carry things out of offices – you can email, send as an attachment. But at the same time governments are able to invade your privacy much easier and get information."

Editor-in-Chief of Argentina's La Nacion, Carlos Guyot, also acknowledged the significant benefits of digital era investigative reporting involving confidential sources, including access to leaked documents that would have been impossible to get even five or ten years ago. "New technologies

A plan for protecting journalism sources in the digital age

A major output of the study is an 11-point assessment tool for measuring the effectiveness of legal source protection frameworks in the digital era. It was concluded that a model framework should:

1. Recognise the value to the public interest of source protection, with its legal foundation in the right to freedom of expression (including press freedom), and to privacy. These protections should also be embedded within a country's constitution and/or national law

2. Recognise that source protection should extend to all acts of journalism and across all platforms, services and mediums (of data storage and publication), and that it includes digital data and meta-data

3. Recognise that source protection does not entail registration or licensing of practitioners of journalism

4. Recognise the potential detrimental impact on public interest journalism, and on society, of source-related information being caught up in bulk data recording, tracking, storage and collection

5. Affirm that State and corporate actors (including third party intermediaries), who capture journalistic digital data must treat it confidentially (acknowledging also the desirability of the storage and use of such data being consistent with the general right to privacy)

6. Shield acts of journalism from targeted surveillance, data retention and handover of material connected to confidential sources

7. Define exceptions to all the above very narrowly, so as to preserve the principle of source protection as the effective norm and standard,

8. Define exceptions as needing to conform to a provision of "necessity" and "proportionality" — in other words, when no alternative to disclosure is possible, when there is greater public interest in disclosure than in protection, and when the terms and extent of disclosure still preserve confidentiality as much as possible

9. Define a transparent and independent judicial process with appeal potential for authorised exceptions, and ensure that law-enforcement agents and judicial actors are educated about the principles involved,

10. Criminalise arbitrary, unauthorised and wilful violations of confidentiality of sources by third party actors

11. Recognise that source protection laws can be strengthened by complementary whistleblower legislation.

The study responds in part to acknowledgement in both the UN General Assembly and the UN Human Rights Council of "the particular vulnerability of journalists to becoming targets of unlawful or arbitrary surveillance or interception of communications in violation of their rights to privacy and to freedom of expression." It also contributed to a global UNESCO study of internet-related issues.

The preliminary findings were launched during a Pew Research Centre-sponsored breakfast at the World News Media Congress today, during which Pew Journalism's Research Director Amy Mitchell joined the Director of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists Gerard Ryle, UNESCO's Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Guy Berger, senior DC media lawyer Charles Tobin and Julie Posetti. Other researchers who contributed to the study are Dr Marcus O'Donnell (University of Wollongong), Professor Carlos Affonso Pereira de Souza (Brazil), Professor Ying Chan (China, Hong Kong), Doreen Weisenhaus (China, Hong Kong). Lead Research Assistants were: Federica Cherubini, Angelique Lu and Alice Matthews.
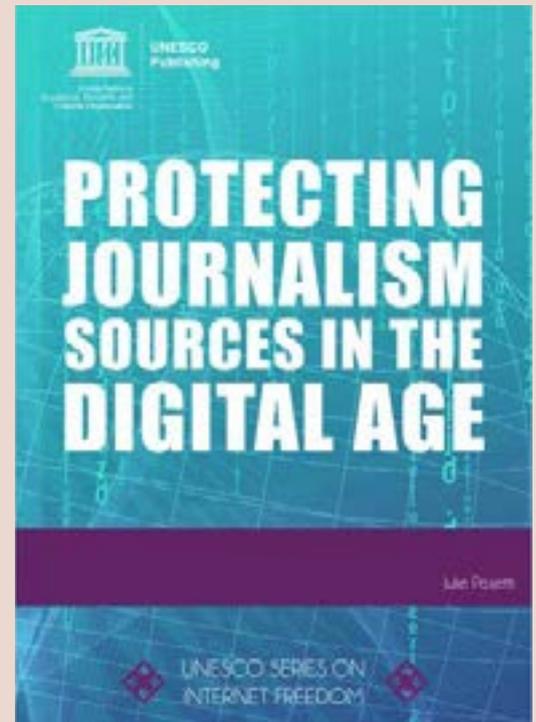
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bring new challenges with them, but also new opportunities, like encrypted conversations via new software, although this must be combined with old fashioned practices... there is nothing like a face-to-face meeting with a source," he said.

However, one of the risks of this data-boon is the rush to legislate against the impacts of leaks, according to Gerard Ryle. "The leaks are getting bigger, therefore the law is scrambling to catch up... and that's the danger for authorities, and for people who want secrecy, and I think that there is a push generally across the world to try and cope with this," Ryle said. "[It's] a problem for governments, agencies, any organisation that wants to keep secrets. It's becoming more and more difficult to keep those secrets."

Just assume you're being watched

How do reporters protect their confidential communications with sources in the age of surveillance? "I'm more careful with any digital platform that I'm involved in – whether it's email, phone or any other digital format. I assume that [I am] probably being watched, listened to, or read. That's my starting point and I take it from there," Daoud Kuttab said.

ICIJ's Gerard Ryle adopts the same mode. "I just assume that it's possible to collect that kind of information, and you work in that environment, and you just assume that all your emails, any form of communication, is potentially found out and so I just be sensible about it. Don't put things in writing, don't do certain things if you don't want them to come out afterwards. You have to assume that everything you do is being recorded or traced."

A change of practice in managing digital communications is required in response – at both the personal and professional levels – according to Deputy Director of the Tow Centre for Digital Journalism, Susan McGregor. "It means that we have to be thoughtful about our devices and our communications in the way that most of us aren't accustomed to doing yet... Some of the habits we've developed as private individuals, taking our phone everywhere, always having wifi on, emailing everything, we're just going to have to think differently about those things when it comes to working with sources," she said.

Going back to basics

Alan Rusbridger has despaired that investigative journalism based on confidential sources may not be possible in the digital age, unless journalists go 'back to basics': "I know investigative journalism happened before the invention of the phone, so I think maybe literally we're going back to that age, when the only

safe thing is face-to-face contact, brown envelopes, meetings in parks or whatever," he said.

UK QC Gavin Millar, who has advised The Guardian, tells his clients to revert to traditional methods of investigative journalism. "They actually have a contract phone and throw it into the Thames at the end of each week, they will meet sources in pubs, write notes, hide the notes. In notebooks, in distant places where people can't get them if their houses are searched by police and some of them are very, very good at it."

Bolivia's Ricardo Aguilar avoids using digital communication in order to protect his sources. "Extreme distrust is the only defence against the possibility of a raking of secret sources in email accounts or social networks," he said. And La Nacion's Carlos Guyot says his investigative journalists are spending a lot more time on the road now. "...Our main investigative reporter drove

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New technologies bring new challenges with them, but also new opportunities, like encrypted conversations via new software, although this must be combined with old fashioned practices... there is nothing like a face-to-face meeting with a source.

for three hours to a different city for a 15-minute conversation with a source, and drove back to our newsroom. If we are willing to endure the challenges, we can still do good journalism."

El Watan's Zine Cherfaoui said journalists in the Middle East and North Africa have also reverted to face-to-face meetings with confidential sources, being particularly concerned about email communication. "We've become very cautious with social networks and everything that is electronic. Generally, we prefer to meet the source in person when it is very important. Because of mass surveillance and new anti-terrorism laws we like to avoid social networks."

Swedish Lawyer and Press Ombudsman, Par Trehorning agreed: "I've talked to a lot of editors and the best thing to do today is to write an ordinary letter. Email I think is most dangerous because it passes so many hands, (if) it is not encrypted. It's like a post card." Three journalists interviewed for this chapter mentioned the trend of relying on chat-apps as a more secure form of source interaction than email, but Mexican journalism safety expert Javier Garza Ramos warned against such an approach. "If we're sloppy and we say everything we know about our sources on our Gmail and on our WhatsApp, then of course the government is going to find out who our sources are, or whoever is spying on us," he said.

Simple approaches like stretching the timeline between contact with a source and publication of their leaks can also be used to disguise connections and minimise the chance a source will be "caught", Gerard Ryle said. "I mean the more layers you can put between you and the source sometimes is better, and a lot of that is time... if someone gives you some really hot information, the temptation is to publish that right away, but that's also when your source is potentially at most risk."

Taking responsibility for digital security

In 2015, it's not just lead investigative journalists and war correspondents who need to deal with digital era threats to source protection, according to Alan Rusbridger: "It's become increasingly hard to report on the national health service because you know they all have confidentiality agreements, so if you're a health reporter you probably want to make sure that you begin to understand this stuff."

The other factor to consider is that seemingly innocuous local stories built on anonymous sources can turn into large-scale investigative journalism projects. From little stories, big stories grow. But careless initial contact with a source makes such a person increasingly vulnerable as the story develops.

Swedish public radio's Fredrik Laurin said journalists are underdeveloped when it comes to protecting sources in the "digital hemisphere." "Very few journalists use encryption and very few journalists even know how to use it – it's not in their toolbox and that is a major problem," he said. "And when you do come into contact with sources... you often get confronted with very important questions – how do you, in reality, protect this source? Are you going to store the information on the company server? How are we going to communicate? I cannot use my corporate phone, for example. What level of encryption do you use? Serious questions." According to Laurin, his team's digital security expertise gives them an edge in journalism based on confidential sources. "(W)e are some of the few people in the journalistic community who actually employ encryption and who are trying to get wise on these issues and keep up with that."

Laurin's hardcore dedication to digital security in the interests of protecting his sources may seem extreme, but it needs to be understood in the context of the Swedish legal source protection framework that actually criminalises unauthorised source revelation. "It's me, Fredrik who goes to prison if you are my source and I lose my notebook, my note pad at the bar and your name comes out because of that. That's my fault and I go to prison. That's why I don't use Gmail for example. Or Facebook," he said. And Laurin also bans his staff from using Apple products because of concerns about security weaknesses connected to Apple devices revealed by Edward Snowden. "I need to survey – which I do, very thoroughly – who my suppliers are. I know

exactly where my server is standing, I know exactly what the contract says, the hard discs in that server are named in my name, with my phone number. There's a tag on the material that says this material is protected according to the Swedish constitution."

However, ICIJ's Ryle, who remains utterly optimistic about the future of investigative journalism in the digital age, despite the threats to source protection that he acknowledges, said that too many journalists are growing unnecessarily paranoid. "There are some reporters I know (who are) completely paranoid about their computers – they're fantastic at encryption, everything is offline. But so what? Most of what they're working on isn't relevant."

Another issue to consider: digital security measures designed to protect sources can be unwieldy and time-consuming, and these factors remain a deterrent to many investigative journalists. "When we were doing the Offshore Leaks project we started off by trying to encrypt a whole email communication with everyone we were working with, it became a complete nightmare, because, first of all not all of us are very technological, including myself, and it became a hindrance to communication," Ryle admitted.

Journalists need training in digital security, but so do their sources

There is a new trend emerging in reference to source protection: journalists are beginning to train their sources in digital security to help them ensure their anonymity. La Nacion's Carlos Guyot said: "If we want journalism to survive and flourish in the 21st century, there is no other option than give our reporters, and sources, the tools necessary to do their jobs."

Alan Rusbridger acknowledged this challenge. "But because often sources are of interest to people with access to surveillance equipment, corporate or government, it feels like an unequal battle really."

However, as Executive Director of Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism Rana Sabbagh pointed out, even the best training cannot keep up with global intelligence services: "We train our journalists in encryption and how to protect their data, and tell them to always assume that everything you're doing online, on your computers, is accessible, because even if you give them the best software and training, the intelligence agencies are always a step ahead.

How do you, in reality, protect a source? Are you going to store the information on the company server? How are we going to communicate? What level of encryption do you use?

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

They are using the latest technologies to decrypt the content, they are using technologies coming from countries that are supposed to protect free speech like the US and Switzerland."

Nevertheless, encryption may buy time in the course of an investigation, and it may at least keep other potentially hostile actors at bay – even if not the intelligence agencies.

Outsourcing source protection

In its global investigations that involve myriad international publishing partners, ICIJ essentially becomes the source: "By taking all the responsibility of source protection and also putting the responsibility on each organisation to do whatever it is according to their own laws. So we don't take responsibility for the publication of our projects in each country, each organisation has to do that, but in terms of giving them the information, we become the source… in other words we give them the documents… ICIJ is the source of the material," Gerard Ryle said.

Meanwhile, international news organisations have begun collaborating on platforms designed to securely receive digital information from confidential sources.

AfriLeaks, for example, is a Pan-African project that uses a highly secure mailbox designed to receive leaked documents, which connects investigative media houses to whistleblowers. It's operated by the African Network of Centres for Investigative Reporting. And, in Mexico, Mexicoleaks launched recently.

Sourcesure and Balkanleaks are similar Francophone and Bulgarian websites that allow whistleblowers to upload secret documents anonymously. Sourcesure, which is based in Belgium, to take advantage of strong source protection laws there, was jointly established in February 2015 by France's Le Monde, Belgian publications La Libre Belgique, Le Soir de Bruxelles and RTBF (Radio Télévision Belge Francophone). Yves Eudes, Sourcesùre's co-founder and a journalist at Le Monde, believes that the cross-border, multi-platform collaboration between leading Francophone news organisations is a spring of immunity for journalists and their sources against coercion. "Unity is strength. This initiative could not have been launched by Le Monde or RTBF alone. Sourcesùre is

Seven tips to help make your sources more secure

- Don't grow unnecessarily paranoid – instead act smarter, get properly equipped and go back to basics where necessary.
- Be aware that even face-to-face meetings can be compromised by the presence of geolocatable mobile devices and security cameras.
- Assume you're being watched.
- Encrypt your data.
- Be aware that using Tor, PGP and other forms of data encryption can 'red flag' digital communications with sources (such practices can make you and your sources a bigger target).
- Recognise your ethical responsibility to protect your sources and consider training your confidential sources in digital safety and security.
- Recognise that it may no longer be possible to guarantee protection for your confidential sources and consider the ethical implications of that realisation.

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underpinned by a whole spectrum of collaborators, from liberal to conservative media outlets, united by common journalistic values," he said. Sources using the system are encouraged to download TOR software at their end before connecting with the system.

Ultimately, is it sustainable to promise confidentiality to sources in an era when it is so easy to identify a source without the involvement of the journalist, especially considering it can be a life or death matter? ARIJ's Rana Sabbagh is clear in her response: "Even in the best and most democratic of countries, one can't promise that anymore. There is no 100% guarantee."

This case study appears in the World Editors Forum's Trends in Newsrooms 2015*, which is free for members to download.* Protecting Journalism Sources in the Digital Age *is published by UNESCO. Also see* Building digital safety for journalism*.*

FLUX AND FLUIDITY
BLURRY AND BORDERLESS
THAT'S THE SA NEWSROOM NOW

By Glenda Daniels

JOURNALISM
NOW

Journalists' work lives are changing almost as rapidly as news gets disseminated. Merge this with newsrooms becoming depleted of staff and we find the state of the newsroom in South Africa a tumultuous place today.

Caught in the middle of new demands brought about by technology and social media, coupled with decreased revenues resulting in retrenchments, journalists are working twice as hard in newsrooms, according to Wits Journalism's State of the Newsroom (SoN) South Africa: Disruptions and Transitions (2013) and Disruptions Accelerated (2014) reports. Journalists are also juggling more devices with which to disseminate news, in a longer working day, to keep up with "platform-agnostic" audiences. This means that consumers of news today show little loyalty to traditional brands, while demanding news anytime, all the time and on different platforms and devices.

This article aims to give a broad overview of some of the changes which range from depleting staff numbers resulting in understaffed newsrooms to social media taking centre stage thereby changing work routines. In addition, macro changes are on the horizon with a new regulatory environment poised to incorporate online offerings. In the meanwhile, while digital first is the trend, revenue continues to flow mainly from the traditional news products, such as newspapers.

These are conundrums that are messy and blurry and from which we cannot see the future of journalism, as it once was, too clearly.

These changes are outlined here but the main focus is on retrenchments, and changes to work life from the introduction of digital first and social media trends in the newsroom.

The data was drawn from the SoN research, which combined a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods.

The research used survey material in collaboration with the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef) to discern social media trends. It also performed tweet extractions, and 1 800 tweets were analysed for statistical trends. Topical issues were selected which were pertinent to the seismic changes taking place in the newsroom.

A total of 147 journalists/editors and online staff were interviewed (70 were interviewed for the 2013 report and 77 for the 2014 report). News organisations that participated included: eNCA, SABC, CNBC Africa, Eyewitness News, Mail & Guardian, Business Day, The Star, Beeld, Sunday Times, City Press, The Witness, The Citizen, and Sowetan. For practical reasons, most of those interviewed were Johannesburg based. For information on retrenchments, SoN relied on a combination of company contacts in human resources departments, journalist sources in the newsrooms as well as the union, the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

Retrenchments

Over 600 media workers lost their jobs between 2013 and 2015. This includes for example, the second largest media company in the country (after the SABC), Media24 retrenching 446 people (the company closed a number of magazines) between 2013 and 2014, Times Media Group (TMG) shed over 100 employees last year, while 50 of Independent Media's production staff were also retrenched last year.

In January this year, the South African Press Association (Sapa), South Africa's oldest news agency, closed down resulting in 48 more staffers losing jobs. In tandem with this The Media magazine reported earlier this year that the South African Freelancers' Association (Safrea) expanded its member base by 27% in 2014. The latest retrenchments were announced by the Mail & Guardian in July 2015, when 25 jobs were expected to be shed by August 2015.

Some of the reasons given to journalists who were retrenched over the last two years include: restructuring, structural changes in the media industry, cost cutting (salary bills) because of tough trading conditions (declining revenue and sales) other skills were needed, for example, more tech- and social-media savvy people for the online sections of the news organisation. In some instances, journalists were told that their jobs were not necessary, and that they needed to re-apply for them,

while others were called in for disciplinary hearings for spurious reasons and were then fired.

Retrenchments appear to have affected the more senior and experienced journalists (those with over 10 years' experience), who were earning better salaries than juniors (those with under five years' experience).

Independent Media last year created a stir over 12 senior members of staff who left their positions seemingly due to ownership interference in their day to day editorial affairs. Mwasa named them as Alide Dasnois (Cape Times editor); Janet Heard (Cape Times assistant editor: news); Martine Barker (managing editor); Dave Chambers (Independent production editor); Makhudu Sefara (The Star editor); Moshoeshoe Monare (Sunday Independent editor); Philani Mgwaba (The Mercury editor); Donwald Pressly (Business Report Cape bureau chief); Terry Bell (labour columnist); Chris Whitfield (editor in chief); Ann Crotty (Business Report journalist); and Sybrand Mostert (Cape Times news editor). Cape Times chief sub and content editor Glenn Bownes was dismissed and the newspaper's opinions and analysis editor Tony Weaver left after a disciplinary inquiry, according to The Media online. Some of these journalists went freelance, a few went into other media companies and some went into public relations.

In 2015, TMG reduced by half the number of subbing jobs at Business Day, opting instead to form a subs hub.

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

This amalgamated the subs desks of Business Day and The Times newspaper. Last year the company announced salary freezes for the top earners in the newsroom.

In the meanwhile, diversity of content has suffered due to the trend of syndicated copy across newspapers within the same owner group. The media revenue downturn has meant that there has been no re-hiring in the past year. This scenario does not look set to change over the next few years. Adding to the changes and pressures in the newsroom of today is the digital-first trend.

Changed work routines
due to digital first and social media
Many newsrooms announced or proclaimed digital first (in other words the digital product (for instance news on mobile phone) must take precedence over legacy media, such as, newspapers) as far back as 2012. SoN found that the state of flux, fluidity and blurriness characterising this transition showed no signs of stabilising by 2015. This appears to be a phase of experimentation, with no obvious endpoint, as newsrooms deal with platform agonistic audiences and readers, loss of traditional (old media) journalists and revenue.

One of the key findings of the research showed that the seven news organisations' surveyed in the Digital First Developments chapter in 2014 – Daily Maverick, News

Editors were keen for journalists to engage on the different social media platforms (the survey showed that 100% of the Sanef survey participants said they encouraged social media use) but were finding it difficult in many cases to get all of their journalists on board the social media ship

24, M&G online, Times Live, Independent Online, SABC and Eyewitness News – all made significant progress with mobile news offerings. There was a dramatic percentage increase, 40%, of total online traffic being mobile year on year. However, the growth in mobile did not show a substantial shift from the type of content produced from any other platform, even print. In other words, content for mobile was not substantively changed from the traditional news item.

The use of social media in the newsroom was also increasing according to the vast majority of editors, 80% of those surveyed.

However, in the same breath, regulation issues posed a challenge withnew regulatory frameworks to take effect from next year.

At the Sanef AGM in June 2014, there was agreement by editors that a "cross-platform, self-regulatory mechanism" was needed and should include all of the digital publishing spaces. By July 2015, a new media code was drafted (by Sanef, Press Council, IAB) which included online media. It was noted by the parties that this would create some guidelines given growing convergence. This new code would apply to news organisations, their social media and digital sites, as well as user-generated content appearing on the sites. Newsrooms would now have to deal with this unchartered terrain and learn how this new regulatory regime would work in practice.

Reverting to the SoN 2013 and 2014 research, all the newsrooms surveyed had policies in place for the editorial use of social media, but a smaller portion (75%) had a strategy for the marketing of their titles via social media; newsrooms also disclosed that they were often updating policies in tandem with changing conditions.

The biggest problem with social media use was the blurring of professional and personal lines, according to editors. They emphasised consistently that journalists were still members of their news organisations' when they tweet or use Facebook. They were therefore bound by the ethos, culture and value system of their radio station or newspaper. Editors were aware that audiences and readers could confuse the news organisation's view with the journalist's view: if you tweet in your personal capacity and you offend your news organisation's broad ethos, for instance on abortion or gay rights, then you are probably going to be given a warning or brought before a disciplinary hearing.

Editors were keen for journalists to engage on the different social media platforms (the survey showed that 100% of the Sanef survey participants said they encouraged social media use) but were finding it difficult in many cases to get all of their journalists on board the social media ship. However, this was particularly true of 2013, but from the 2014 comments by editors, there was a shift, evidenced in an increased appetite for social media all round.

Many editors seemed to want some management or control over how social media was used in the newsroom, but none specified what and how. A few editors found it "a difficult space to have any control over and journalists had to just stick with the codes of conduct that were now in place".

There were a few problems: a lack of certainty about how to navigate the new media space, for instance editor's opinions were almost evenly split on whether journalists should declare in their profiles whether they are using an account for personal or professional purposes.

Editors cited "time wasted" on social media when journalists used it for personal reasons, a lack of understanding by journalists of how to use these platforms to maximum benefit for their news organisations' and personal professional brands.

The court reporting on the Oscar Pistorius murder trial via Twitter was salutary: journalists had to be

> The biggest problem with social media is was the blurring of professional and personal lines ... journalists are still members of news organisations when they tweet or use Facebook. They are therefore bound by the ethos, culture and value system of their radio station or newspaper

mindful of the usual restrictions on court reporting, even if it was social media reporting.

SoN found that the most used social media in the newsroom was Twitter. The results of the research were gleaned from an API twitter extraction method using twitter accounts of highly engaged social media editors/journalists. A total of 1 800 tweets over a month were analysed from nine Twitter accounts – in different newsrooms – both print and broadcast, all in Johannesburg.

Twitter and journalism key trends

While Twitter had become ubiquitous in newsrooms and was widely regarded as an indispensable professional tool, there was no homogeneity of views about its use. The main research focus was to establish what journalists were tweeting about: banal passing on of information or promoting their stories? Sharing opinion, debating issues and engaging with the public? Indeed, what took precedence? The journalists' accounts under analysis showed the main reasons for Twitter use was work-related in more than 80% of cases or tweets. The

largest percentage proceeded in this order: broadcasting news (sending their stories out), sharing opinion, and interacting with audiences. The latter, interacting with audiences/public was small, a mere 5%.

Journalists spent, on average, at least 15 to 20 minutes per hour on Twitter – much more if they were live tweeting from events. In the newsrooms surveyed, some editors proclaimed that 100% of their journalists used Twitter and another said 90% did. There was evidence of some division among journalists with the tweeters being quite dismissive of non-tweeters in the newsroom.

Most journalists and editors interviewed said Twitter was now part of their everyday lives and while the majority were phlegmatic about it, and one or two said they were having "fun", some expressed difficulty with the new changes in the newsrooms.

Most journalists agreed that Twitter had fundamentally changed the way workflow happened, with some stating that "having to keep track of what was going on in the Twitter sphere" had increased their workload "substantially". A few expressed frustration that it was "difficult to multitask and use many gadgets at the same time". For example, one journalist said that in the past she was used to just carrying a notebook and pen around on the field or to an interview. However, now she lugged a range of equipment – for instance, video camera, recorder, cell phone and iPad too – some or all at the same time. Her work day had become longer and she had to check twitter feeds at night, and update stories first thing in the morning before beginning a new diary. There were new skills involved in having to "storify", "write captions", "live tweet", "live blog", finding new ways to tell the same story, write story updates at virtually the same time. The reporter disclosed: "I prefer to do one piece of work and then move on to the next."

The research found that most journalists were careful about what they broadcast on Twitter, often self-censoring or re-checking their tweets before sending them out. Journalists did not appear to indulge in huge amounts of time on self-promotion, but were involved in promoting their work, although it was difficult to separate the two categories completely.

Editors often claimed that journalists used Twitter for "interaction", "engagement" and "crowd sourcing" but one must exercise some caution as this could be overstated, given the SoN quantitative research found that this engagement with public was the smallest percentage of the tweets disseminated in this analysis, coming last after spreading of news, then promoting news brand, and

sharing opinions. This is a topic to investigate in the future.

Concluding reflections

The state of the newsroom and journalists lives today has blurry, undefined structural boundaries and borders. Newsrooms are still negotiating the new changes brought about by decreased circulations, low revenues from traditional products, no revenue from online, new technologies and demands of audiences who have become platform agonistics. Journalists are caught in the middle of these changes, and those who have survived the retrenchments of the past three years, are working a lot harder and for longer hours, with more devices to manage than ever before. The environment is highly pressured and stressful.

Amid this new terrain, journalists are also expected to engage with the public via social media. This is an enormous demand, given all the other changes they encounter in today's changed newsroom and media environment.

These seismic changes in the South African newsroom today are placing untold pressures on the working lives of those journalists still surviving in the profession.

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Glenda Daniels on
THE STATE OF THE NEWSROOM

SHORT SHARP

1 South African newsrooms are hugely-pressured environments.

2 South African newsrooms are confusing and messy.

3 The political landscape is threatening.

4 Technologically the shifts are seismic.

5 The traditional models of making journalism are outdated.

6 The new issues to grapple with are: innovation, sustainability and brand.

7 Mobile and social media are centre stage.

8 Change is the new stable signifier.

9 The identity of journalism has changed.

10 This is the beginning of the end of how it was.

How would the proverbial typical journalist in South Africa describe his or her professional role, and even more so, how would such a journalist view the different issues, such as ethical news decision making, that confront journalists on a daily basis?

These are important questions as pressure from government and other quarters mount and journalists find it more and more difficult to fulfil their role unhindered in spite of a constitutional guarantee freedom of speech.

The difficulty in answering the questions posed above lies in the mere fact that up to now scant research has been undertaken on the journalistic profession in South Africa, except for a limited number of rather small studies dealing with restricted groups of journalists, usually in a qualitative fashion. The first and last countrywide study was the research project undertaken in 2002[1] for the South African National Editors' Forum. This project only covered journalism skills and was not aimed at getting a fuller picture of the way journalists view their work.

What was also missing until now was an effort to enlarge the sample to include most, if not all, journalists in the country. However, unlike the situation in certain authoritarian countries where journalists are required to be licensed or registered with a board overseeing their work, there are no formal and complete registers listing all journalists in South Africa.

There is perhaps a very good reason why this is so. The implementation of such a register, as was first suggested in South Africa in the apartheid era during the Steyn Media Commission's sittings, was again taken up more recently by government spokespeople who were making veiled threats that journalists in the country should be registered on a professional roll in order to secure 'responsible' reporting. Such a list (as is the case in a number of African countries) would be very helpful for the purpose of research, but could be highly problematic for journalists and the free flow of information.

However, this situation was about to change with the introduction of the World of Journalism Study www.worldsofjournalism.org (WJS) in South Africa in 2014 aimed at obtaining the views of as many possible journalists in the country on a wide range of issues.[2]

To regularly assess the state of journalism throughout the world, the academically-driven WJS project was founded to cover as many countries as possible worldwide, including countries from Africa. The study's primary objective is to help journalism researchers and journalists better understand worldviews and changes that are taking place in the professional orientations of journalists, the conditions and limitations under which they operate, as well as the social functions of journalism in a changing world.[3]

As stated in the WJS' mission, the project is a joint effort of researchers from more than 70 countries, and aspires to the highest standards of scientific collaboration, democratic participation, and collective publishing. In so doing, the hope is that the WJS will become a vehicle for the global comparative study of journalism, and an institutional home for those who engage in it. (The basic principles of co-operation are formulated in the Study's Statute).

Originally planned as a pilot project and fielded in 2007-2011, the Study's initiators undertook interviews with 2 100 journalists from more than 400 news organisations in 21 countries. As was the case with the first project in which South Africa did not participate, the present project also focuses on journalism cultures (the role perceptions, epistemological orientations and ethical views of journalists), as well as on perceived influences on the news and journalists' trust in public institutions.

With countries from around the globe participating, Africa outside Greater Maghreb and Egypt is represented by Botswana, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone, South Africa[4], Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

In order to have participated in the project the South African researchers had to come up with a credible number for journalists working in South Africa. Broadly speaking a journalist was defined as someone working in the South African news media sector receiving more than 50% of his/her income from a news medium.

Pinpointing the total number of journalists in the country became an envious task – no one seemed to know the answer as SA (as mentioned earlier) does not have a register of journalists (as is the case for instance for professions such as medical doctors or attorneys).

South African media houses, notorious for not being forthcoming and supportive of academic journalism research,

HERE WE ARE

a rather ethical group of news messengers

First survey results of the Worlds of Journalism Study on the way South African journalists see their professional roles

By Arnold S de Beer

did not comply positively to requests made (with the support of Sanef) to co-operate in allowing the researchers to contact all the journalists in their employment.

The researchers consequently had to develop the first comprehensive countrywide database of employed journalists working in all news media in South Africa from a large variety of sources, including Google, the Media List, and webpages of newspapers, name lists available on Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, governmental and commercial lists, and others.

On completing the database, the research team approached senior media managers to give their best ball-park figures based on their knowledge of the media scene, the number of media and the average number of journalists one could have expected to work in these media. The same was also done on social media. To the surprise of the research team, these figures broadly stayed in the range between 2 000 and 2 500 journalists, with a few running to 3 000 and more and less to numbers below 2 000.

Based on its own research and database, the research team decided that its list of 2 203 names of journalists with email contact addresses might not have been the final answer, but a solid enough number to be used in the WJS project.

All of the 2 203 journalists were invited by email to complete an online version of the WJS questionnaire (see www.imasa.org). A total of 531 journalists (24. 1%) started the questionnaire, but only 371 (16. 9%) completed it. Although this is a rather low response rate, it should be seen within the context of obtaining for the first time a census-like version of all South African journalists, and then deriving a sample from that.

In the following sections some results from the South African leg[5] of the present WJS project are briefly discussed:

Positions held by journalists
The South African WJS sample captured a broad spectrum of positions that journalists occupy in the news media, with just more than 40% percent of the respondents being reporters or news writers, and a little more than a third being in senior positions. Of these, 90% were full-time and 10% part-time.

Academic qualifications
A total of 62.1% of the sample were female and 37.9% were male and 63% said that they earned a BA degree, 20% a master's degree, and 2% had a doctorate. Only 16% did not earn a tertiary degree: 7% only had a high school diploma and 9% had at least some tertiary education. Running against a general perception that very few journalists have journalism education or training, 49% indicated that they obtained a journalism degree; a 9 % communication degree and 16% a degree in both journalism and communication, whereas only 26% did not study either of these subjects.

Political stance
In line with, for instance, the US and UK, South African journalists seem to be left of centre rather than right on the political spectrum. Only 10% considered themselves right of spectrum. While 35% identified themselves as belonging to the centre, just more than half (55%) stated that they are left of centre.

Deciding what is left or right in a political context is of course problematic, however it says something about the political discourse that a leftist government, such as the ANC, consider the print media to be too overtly critical, whilst only 10% of the journalists consider themselves to be right of
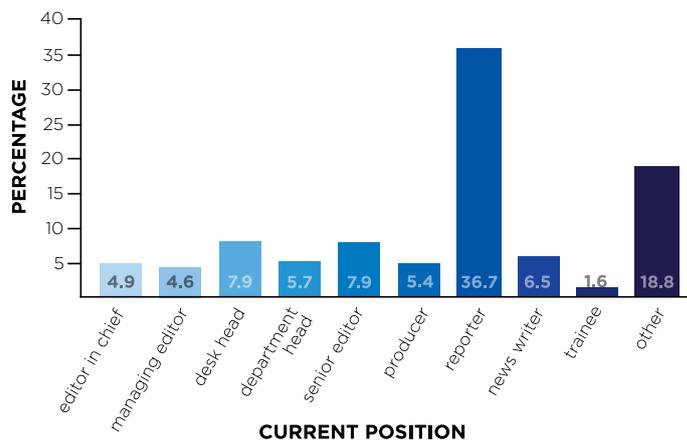

Fig 1: Positions held by journalists
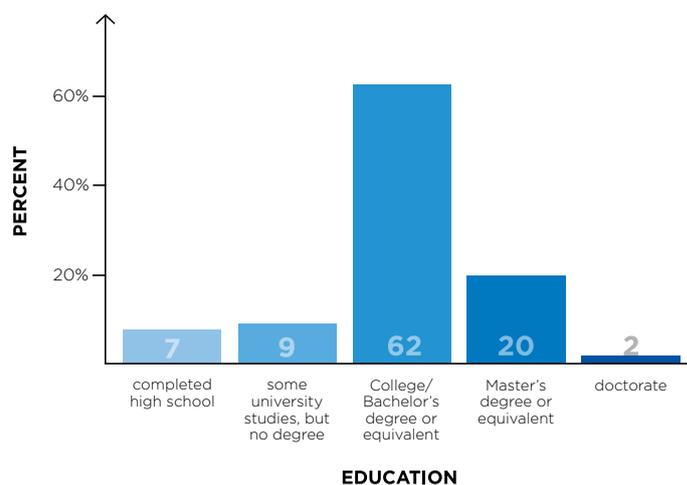

Fig 2: Academic qualifications
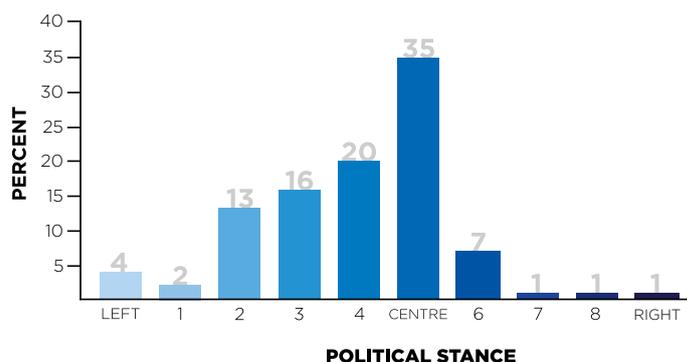
Figure 3: Politcal stance
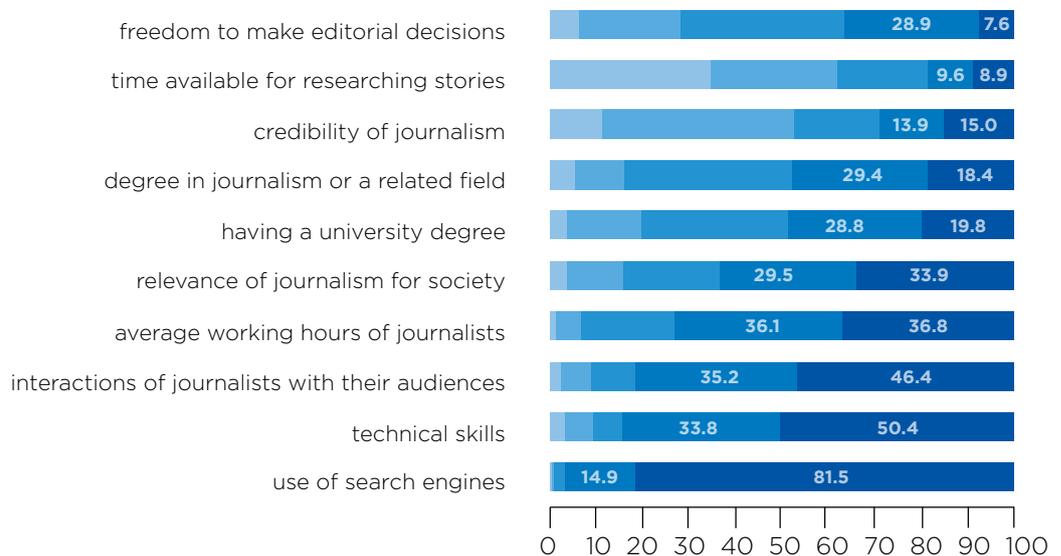
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Fig 4: Changes over the last ten years

extremely important very important somewhat important little important unimportant
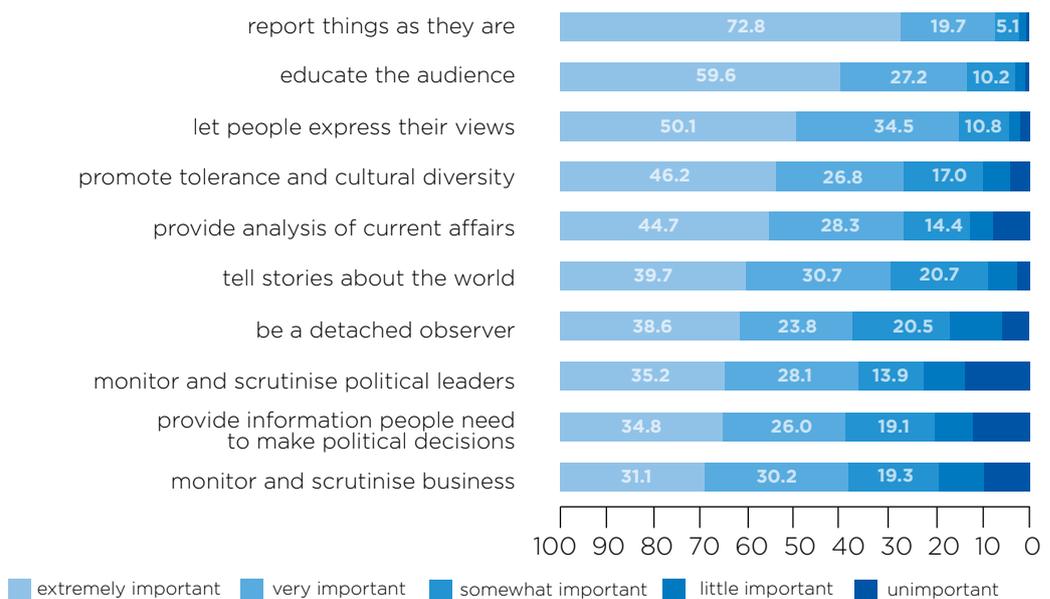
Fig 5: Ten most important roles of journalists

centre, with 7% to be just right to the centre and only 3% being more to the right.

Changes over the last 10 years

As one might have expected, the major change journalists experienced over the last 10 years was the use of search engines – 80% said that this was the biggest change, while only 4.6% did not experience it as such. The latter figure might be attributed in part to the few newsrooms where internet is not yet fully available to all the journalists. The need to improve their technical skills was noted by 84.2% of all the journalists in the sample.

Just more than 80% (81.6%) said that their interaction with their audiences had changed as well. Some of the other changes, experienced more than others, were an increase in working hours (72.9%); although perhaps more journalists than ever now have

university degrees, only less than half (48.6%) said the need to have a university degree changed over the last decade.

On the other hand, less than 30% of the journalists felt that the credibility of journalism had improved, though 63.4% believed the relevance of journalism to society had improved. Over the last decade, only 18.5% believed the time available to research news stories improved and just more than a third (36.5) believed their freedom to make editorial decisions had increased.

Most important role journalists play

South African journalists feel strongly about the essential role they play, namely to report about news events as they are, with 92.5% saying that they consider it their role to report things as they are. On the other hand, about 60% believe it is important to monitor and scrutinise business (61.3%) as well as political leaders (63.3%).
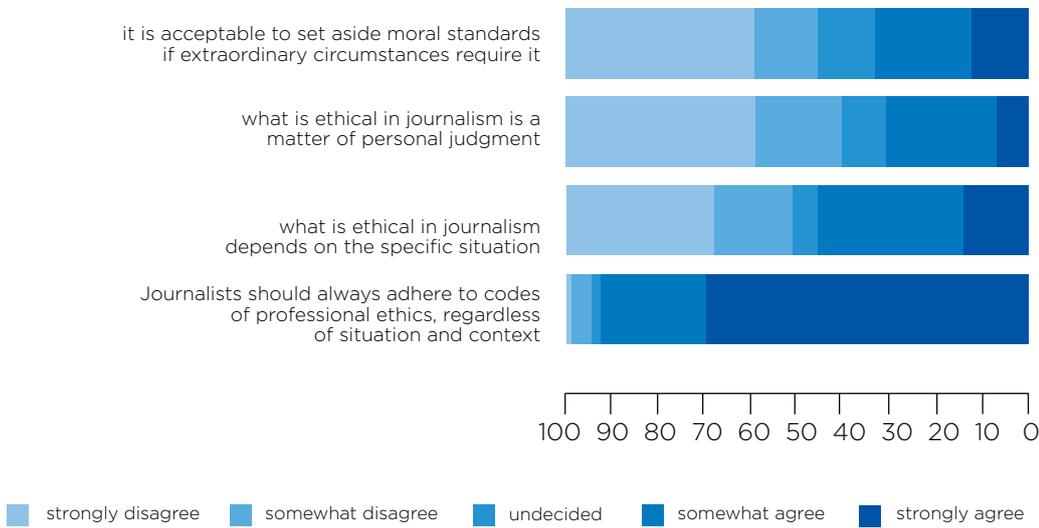
Figure 6: Ethical approaches

Legend: strongly disagree — somewhat disagree — undecided — somewhat agree — strongly agree

Bars (from top):
- it is acceptable to set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require it
- what is ethical in journalism is a matter of personal judgment
- what is ethical in journalism depends on the specific situation
- Journalists should always adhere to codes of professional ethics, regardless of situation and context

Axis: 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0

Figure 7: Ethical choices

Item	Value
paying people for confidential information	78.7
using confidential business or government documents	24.7
claiming to be somebody else	60.3
making use of personal documents such as letters	53.1
getting employed in a firm or organisation to gain information	52.2
using hidden microphones or cameras	22.5
using re-creations or dramatisations of news by actors	46.8
publishing stories with unverified content	89.1
accepting money from sources	98.9
altering or fabricating quotes from sources	96.9
altering photographs	85.3

Axis: 100 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0

Legend: always justified — justified on occasion — not approve under any circumstances

In line with earlier findings in the South African WJS project, there seems to be a movement away from an emphasis on the watchdog role of the media to one that is more in line with nation building as 73.0% of the journalists believe their role is to promote tolerance and cultural diversity; to let people express their views (84.6%), and (86.8%) to educate their audience.

Ethical approaches to journalism

Journalists were almost equally divided on whether it would be acceptable for them to set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require it. On the other hand more than 70% felt very strongly that they should always adhere to codes of professional ethics, regardless of the situation and context. On the problematic issue whether decisions about journalism ethics should depend on the specific news situation, less than 15%

agree with the statement. Whilst 40% felt that ethical choices in journalism is not a matter of personal choice.

Ethical choices

Based on the WJS questionnaire, South African journalists seemed to have a very strong ethical approach to their profession.

On a number of indicators they have overwhelmingly indicated that they would not succumb to unethical behaviour. Journalists said they would not do any of the following under any circumstances:

- Accept money from sources (98.9%).
- Alter or fabricate quotes from sources (96.9%).
- Publish stories with unverified content (89.1).
- Alter photos (85.3%).
- Pay people for confidential information (78.7%).

On the downside, 22.5% said that they would not under any circumstance use hidden cameras or microphones and 63% that they would not claim to be somebody else while writing a story.

Ethical choices combined

In an analysis that takes journalists' views across a number of ethical choices in consideration, it seemed that South African journalists have strong views that they should always adhere to codes of professional ethics, regardless of situation and context (4.5). On the other hand, in this scenario (where 5 is extremely important and 1 is the least important) journalists would be more ambivalent to either reject or accept fully the proposition that what is ethical in journalism is a matter of personal judgement (2.4%); or that ethical choices in journalism will depend on specific situations (2.8%), and likewise whether they should set aside moral standards if extraordinary circumstances require it (2.5).

Conclusion

The WJS project offered for the first time the opportunity for South African journalism researchers and journalists to participate in what is generally considered to be the largest international research project ever on the role that journalists play throughout the world and how they perceive that role.

This project might thus lead to a better understanding of the role journalists see themselves playing in a changing South Africa.
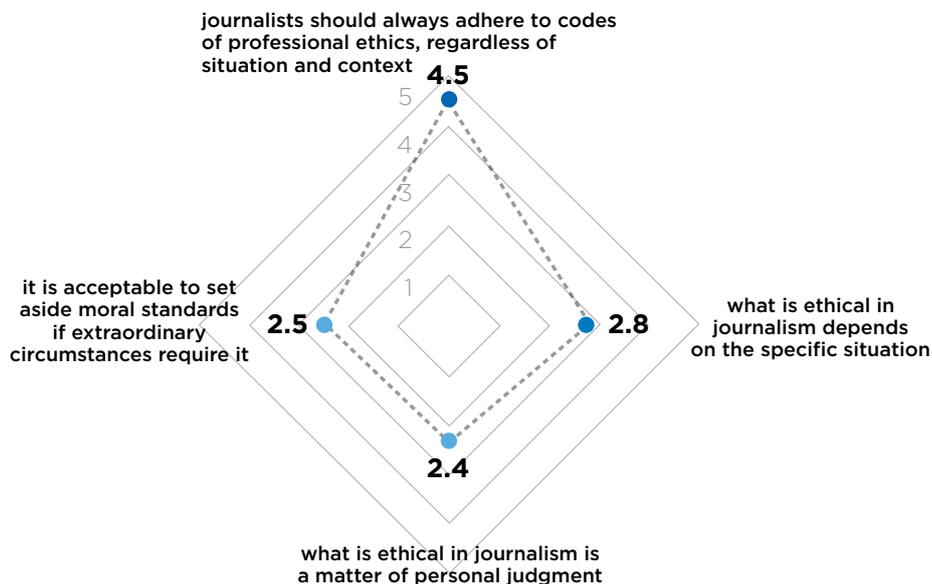
Fig. 8: Ethical choices combined

Notes

1   **De Beer, AS**. and Steyn, E. Sanef's '2002 South African national journalism skills audit' Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies 23 (1), 11-86.

2   **The international project leader is Thomas Hanitzsch from the University of Munich**. The South African team consists of Arrie de Beer (project leader), Stellenbosch University; Herman Wasserman, Cape Town University; Vanessa Malila, Rhodes University; Sean Beckett, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

3   **See the WJS Preamble and Mission Statement at www.**worldsofjournalism.org

4   **The WJS' present phase was concluded on 30 June 2015**. The results will be discussed in early September 2015 in Munich, Germany. A number of conference papers and journal articles will follow, as well as a book, provisionally titled Worlds of Journalism: Comparing Journalistic Cultures in Fifty Countries, edited by Thomas Hanitzsch, Arnold S de Beer, Folker Hanusch and Jyotika Ramaprasad. A paper on the role of journalists in post-authoritarian states (the Czech Republic and South Africa) will be read at the 2015 annual conference of the South African Communication Association in September in Cape Town.

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Soweto by Jodi Bieber

20 YEARS
OF CHANGES
in media ownership

By Reg Rumney

In reviewing the transformation of the news media in South Africa over the last 20 years, you might be tempted to think that nothing has changed.

Public perceptions have clearly not kept up with the changes in the media landscape. Recently the deputy director general of the SA Communist Party Jeremy Cronin discerned the influence of mining industry ownership on the ideological approach of the Times Media Group, unaware that the mining industry no longer has a major stake in any print group.

Superficially, four big print media groups still dominate the media business, and the SABC still dominates the broadcast landscape. However, the differences between media ownership when democracy dawned in 1994 and now are greater than the similarities.

For a start, the SABC no longer has a state-guaranteed monopoly over television and radio broadcasting. The most visible change is the presence on our screens not only of a free-to-air channel, e.tv, but also several non-commercial, community TV channels, such as Soweto TV.

Another visible sign of the change is the mushrooming of satellite dishes throughout South Africa in rich and poor suburbs alike. Naspers-owned DSTV has provided real competition to the free-to-air TV services, and enlarged the choice of channels massively, while proving to be a virtual monopoly in pay-TV.

The most audible proof of change is the rich choice urbanites have when they turn the dial on their radio stations. Whereas in 1994 Radio 702 was the only alternative source of South African radio news, views, current affairs and entertainment, listeners now have a range of commercial stations, some privatised from the SABC post-1994, some newly created.

Again, it could be argued that change has not gone far enough. While a listener in Johannesburg has an embarrassment of riches in radio, a listener choice in the rural Eastern Cape is by comparison lean, mainly SABC stations, with most news supplied by a centralised pool of journalists, one commercial radio station, and community radio stations of variable quality.

While local stations have flourished, the national stations remain the preserve of the SABC. The SABC still operates the only big, national indigenous-language radio stations.

In the print media, the continued presence of four big groups, Independent News and Media SA, the Times Media Group, Caxton-CTP and Naspers' Media 24, belies the monumental shift from 1994, caused by the concurrence of a change in reading habits and a shift in advertising revenue.

In 1994, the Big Four were Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Times Media Ltd, and the Independent Group (formerly the Argus). All were listed on the JSE. The JSE media sector now has three companies, AME with a market capitalisation of less than R1-billion, Caxton with a market capitalisation of around R8-billion, and Naspers, which at the time of writing had a market cap of almost R0.752 - trillion.

The biggest print media company by market size is now undoubtedly Media24, which is a subsidiary of Naspers, which itself has transformed from an apartheid-supporting newspaper group to a South African-based multinational active across the globe and having profited massively from internet-based services, notably its investment in Chinese company Tencent.

While the combined circulation of its newspapers and magazines alone makes it the leading news publisher, judging the business size of Media24 is made difficult by the fact that it is not independently listed on the JSE. Because it is a subsidiary of a public company, its owner does provide some information about Media24. The same may be true for Times Media Group, recently acquired and delisted by the Tiso Blackstar Group.

Independent News and Media SA has not been publicly listed for some time, having been acquired in 1994 by Irish newspaper group Independent Media. It was then bought by the Sekunjalo Independent Media consortium, headed by black economic empowerment pioneer Iqbal Surve in 2013.

Ownership changes at big media companies, as I have argued in Rhodes Journalism Review (Edition 33), are a matter of concern for the general public, and the absence from the stock exchange, which requires companies to keep investors regularly informed about results and anything that might affect the share price, makes it harder for ownership changes to be scrutinised.

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The ownership structure of INMSA was publicly disclosed at the time, showing the involvement of the Public Investment Corporation, which invests mainly government pension fund money. The price paid, around R2-billion, was disclosed too.

As a private company, INMSA is under no obligation to share further information. It joins Primedia, which grew out of Radio 702, and TMG in being relatively non-transparent, though some information about ownership can be ascertained with effort, through the company dedicated to tracking company ownership, Who Owns Whom.

In any case, the link between ownership and the ideology of the news seems to be more complex than is commonly assumed, and deprecates the power of news consumers. Can a news outlet build or retain a mass audience if it routinely overlooks what is news to many, or does not supply some need or desire of the audience?

Two of the print media groups, Media24 and TMG, and Primedia and e.tv, appear to remain, by default perhaps, in the old paradigm of the liberal watchdog media. As such they stand accused of being insufficiently critical of the private sector and overly critical of government.

One of the big print media groups, INMSA, has yet to show clearly what ownership by a group headed by an ANC-aligned businessperson actually means in changing content across the titles of the group, though of the group's titles, The Cape Times, has been severely criticised by DA Western Cape leader Helen Zille, herself a former anti-apartheid journalist, for bias and unprofessionalism.

The paper, under the leadership of former ANC activist Aneez Salie and executive editor Karima Brown, was purged of a layer of white, liberal and left-leaning journalists, including former editor Alide Dasnois.

Surve, who spearheaded the takeover of INMSA, is said to see himself in the mould of media tycoons like Rupert Murdoch. This would be a departure from the most recent ownership style of the South African media, where owners have been kept out of the papers' headlines. Terry Moolman, who owns the biggest individual stake in Caxton-CTP, keeps a low profile.

Though it could be argued that the subtle transmission of the ideology of the owners to journalists is inevitable, the Murdoch-style of management itself is something of an anachronism in an age of corporate media, though in the West the decline of media corporations may see mini-tycoons once more rule much diminished media empires.

Overt ownership-driven partisanship in the media resurfaced, symbolised by the launch of The New Age, which promised to provide balance to what the ANC government saw as unfair media coverage, to show the "glass half-full" instead of "half-empty".

The impact of The New Age is hard to discern. Along with the ANN-7 channel on DSTV, also owned by the Gupta family, who are close to President Jacob Zuma, The New Age has done little to contribute to the national debate, with a newspaper that has declined to be audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

In general, no single group or individual in modern South African companies in the global environment has a big enough stake to exercise control. In the 1980s conglomeration was the order of the day and ultimate ownership of many listed JSE companies could be traced to a few groups, such as Anglo American, Old Mutual or Sanlam.

Now, investment funds tend to own small percentages and ownership changes constantly. In these circumstances it is harder to interpret, apart from a general support of the private sector, what specific political line the diverse shareholders might want a newspaper or news station to follow.

Commercial constraints could even dictate a watering down of partisanship so as not to alienate the audience. This may explain why newspaper groups have studiously refrained from endorsing political parties in elections, as opposed to the political alignment pre-1994.

In the West, the power exercised through the printing press and airwaves seems diluted by citizens' ability to make themselves heard through blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and podcasting. Though greater web connectivity has yet to democratise this access to

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voice fully in South Africa, for the middle class social media does play a role in the public conversation.

The growth of web connectivity has also seen several attempts at web-based news and comment publications. Financial website Moneyweb was a pioneer, with the most recent being Daily Maverick and TMG's The Rand Daily Mail. The African version of The Conversation is another entry, though the non-profit website, which repackages academic research into a more popular format, is more commentary than news.

The death, perhaps temporarily, of the overt party-political alignment of the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking press was accompanied by the elimination of cross-holdings between the English-speaking print companies, and greater competition between them. The Afrikaans press, part and parcel of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, has embraced capitalism with fervour.

Symbolising the end of co-operation, the non-profit South African Press Association, which once pooled news from media houses for redistribution as well as generating content for subscribers to its services ceased to exist, and has been replaced by three agencies, the African News Agency, a Media24 news agency, and an in-house Times Media news agency.

All this comes as traditional print media, daily and weekly newspapers and some magazines, has come under pressure from declining circulation and revenue from 1994.

What of a black-owned press? With the advent of black economic empowerment requirements and a radical transformation of the racial makeup of the audience, it may no longer be sensible to talk about the black media as distinct from the white media.

Anglo American Corporation sold JCI's industrial assets to a black grouping in the 1990s, establishing Johnnic, which in turn owned Times Media, but the BEE ownership was nebulous. One attempt at creating a black media group, by New Africa Investment Ltd, was stymied at birth by the unintended consequences of regulation.
That whites are heavily represented in the top

management, both editorial and business, of South African media makes it appear that companies are "white-owned" but the largest shareholder of the big four South African media houses has been the Public Investment Corporation. The money that the PIC invests belongs mainly to government pensioners, who are mostly black.

Only one of the Big Four is now identifiably white-owned and "unempowered", Caxton-CTP. INMSA is controlled by a BEE group, while TMG is part of a Malta-listed investment company. Media24 is part of a multinational, whose biggest shareholder is the PIC with around 15% of the shares. All three companies used to have relatively high ratings in terms of South Africa's BEE ratings regime, before recent changes to the way BEE is rated.

The growth of social media and the ubiquity of the web are not the only phenomena afflicting the print media. The last 20 years has seen a steady, and apparently ineluctable, shift in advertising revenue from the print media to TV. Print's share of ad revenue, according to OMD Media Facts, dwindled from around 50% in 1991 to less than 29% mid-2013, most of that lost to broadcasting, especially TV. Perhaps the resulting cost-cutting at print publications has created a vicious spiral of decline.

Yet the country has seen a surge in community media and in business-to-business publications, alongside the growth in TV channels, many hosted on the Multichoice/DSTV platform.

So change there has been, but should South African media 20 years after democracy's arrival offer a greater diversity of views? Would greater competition through more diverse media ownership mean more actual diversity?

More competition does not necessarily translate into diversity, but may even mean more homogeneity as almost all compete for the wealthier sector of the market. In any case, we have to guard against being too media-centric. In an economy where racial patterns of ownership overall have changed, but not changed radically, it is unrealistic to expect media, a sector now roiled by technological disruption, to present ideal patterns of ownership.

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AFRICA'S WORST NEW INTERNET CENSORSHIP LAW

everything you don't want to know – but need to

The Film and Publication Board's new Draft Online Regulation Policy has been touted as a measure to protect the children. But if the children of our future get to take a look at its deeply censorial and draconian measures, they ought to be extremely offended.

By Julie Reid

The Film and Publications Board's (FPB) Draft Online Regulation Policy has been called "Africa's worst new internet censorship law". Condemnation for the policy has been swift, damning, and widespread, and an online petition against the policy has quickly gathered thousands of signatures. Many decry the policy as an attempt to censor the internet in South Africa. To its credit, the FPB has shown a remarkable level of willingness to openly engage the public and its critics with regard to the policy, hosting a series of public consultation sessions around the country. I took part in those engagements, and below is an account both of what happened, what is wrong with what happened, and some additional analysis of the FPB's fundamentally flawed arguments.

Vague and imprecise
The aspect of the FPB policy which has caused the most alarm is the vague nature of the imprecise language and definitions. The fact that so many concerned parties are all left unsure of who this policy actually applies to, indicates that there is something very wrong with the drafting of the policy. Faced with a badly written policy, all one can do is believe the policy applies to absolutely everyone who uses the internet.

And it is not only about to whom the policy applies, but to what type of content it applies. Here again, definitions are over-broad and resultantly includes everything that is published online. The policy claims to apply to films, games and "certain publications" but it is patently unclear on what "certain publications" means.

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

The FPB's current policy, if realised, would have an undoubtedly negative impact on the encouragement of media diversity within South Africa, and be at odds with the variety of efforts to do the opposite.

The problem here is that the policy demands pre-classification of published content. This means that anyone wishing to post anything in a digital space, first needs to apply to the FPB for a digital online distributor's licence (and pay a fee) and thereafter submit each piece of content to the FPB for pre-classification before it can be posted online (and pay another fee).

At the Johannesburg hearing the FPB PowerPoint presentation included a slide depicting a photograph of a young girl to the left, and a photograph of a middle-aged and over-weight man to the right. Below these images were some text, depicting an extract of an online chat-room type conversation between the two characters. The young girl interacts with her online co-chatter while mistakenly believing that he is one of her age-peers. The much older man delivers a misrepresentation of himself in his interaction with the female child, leading her to believe that he is young and attractive. This was shown to the audience to demonstrate how adult predators may use the online space to 'groom' younger people and lure them into situations which may endanger them.

Protecting the children

The FPB is doing all of this under the moralistic guise of protecting children from harm, and preventing the distribution of child abuse content (which it calls "child pornography"). It's a clever tactic because it holds a great deal of moral weight: who can legitimately argue that the protection of children is a not a good thing?

But if we are serious about protecting our children from the evils of this world, then measures to do so must be effective. Due to the impracticality of these regulations, as 'good intentioned' as they claim to be, they are not going to be a solution to the problem of children experiencing content that is harmful. There are many other more appropriate things that the FPB should be doing to protect children from harm online. The FPB could work with the Department of Education to introduce digital literacy tuition in school curricula: the best way to protect children in the digital information age is to empower children to protect themselves. The FPB could roll out wide-scale national digital literacy public awareness campaigns to warn parents of the dangers to their children online, and explain how parents can educate and protect their children.

The FPB's resources would be better spent on researching all the various different kinds of safe-search software available, and make this freely available, and free-to-download for parents to provide an additional safety-net to protect children. The FPB should commission audience and ethnographic research studies in consultation with children, in order to determine what the South African child's real and lived experience of the internet really is.

And yes, this means actually talking to real children – not just referring to statistics. These are effective measures and more appropriate to the FPB's purported goals. For its part, the FPB states that it has conducted research into the matter, which Palesa Kadi from the FPB told the Johannesburg audience, will be released shortly. One wonders however, what was the methodology of that research, what were its aims/goals/hypothesis/research questions, and what were its findings, that it could have informed a policy which is written this badly and which through implementation will do nothing to meet the professed aim of protecting children? We will see.

During the public consultation hearing in Johannesburg, Sekoetlane Phamodi from the SOS – Support Public Broadcasting Coalition, questioned whether the FPB is over-stepping its mandate. There is no such thing as 'child pornography', he claimed. The term 'pornography' is used to describe the representation of a consensual sex act between adult persons, and watching pornography is not illegal in South Africa. Sex acts depicting children do not involve consent (a child is too young to consent

to sex) and therefore cannot be described as, or associated with, pornography. Instead, Phamodi pointed out that the representation of sex acts involving children can be considered as nothing other than the depiction of child abuse.

The law already provides for and criminalises those who abuse children or who distribute material showing the abuse of children. These are criminal acts and as such ought to be investigated by the authorities responsible for reacting to criminal activity – that is, the South African Police Services. Phamodi made the point that the FPB does not have the authority to do the SAPS' work for them.

Mark Weinberg, national co-ordinator for the Right2Know Campaign, raises the point that parents may not be delighted with the FPB's determining (on behalf of parents) what children may be exposed to, saying: "The footage of the Marikana Massacre was shocking and horrific. As a parent, I had to decide if I wanted my son watch the murder. I chose to show him the footage so that he could better understand the forces driving the inequity he sees around him every day. It was not an easy decision, but I'm glad I got to make it, and not some conservative FPB censor sympathetic to the state. The President is now refusing to release the Marikana Commission Report. As a parent, I'm relieved that the massacre footage is on YouTube and Al Jazeera websites, well beyond the reach of government censors."

It's worth noting that the FPB's slogan is "We inform. You choose". In itself, and with parenting in mind, the slogan contains a good principle. It encompasses the practical notion that content has been reviewed and rated before-hand so that viewers, and especially parents, can determine for themselves whether they want to expose either themselves or their children to certain content prior to watching it. If the new online regulation policy comes into effect in its current form however, the slogan would require rephrasing in order to more accurately describe the practical functioning of the FPB: "We censor. You deal with it".

Payment

There is also the matter of the money. The policy, in sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3, demands that anyone who wishes to post content on the internet need first apply to the FPB for an "online distribution agreement" and thereafter either self-classify content or if that is not feasible, submit "each title" to the FPB for classification. Of course, content distributors would need to pay a fee to the FPB for all of this. The policy does not state what these tariffs will be, but says only that the fee will be "prescribed from time to time by the Minister of DOC as the

The footage of the Marikana Massacre was shocking and horrific. As a parent, I had to decide if I wanted my son watch the murder. I chose to show him the footage so that he could better understand the forces driving the inequity he sees around him every day. It was not an easy decision, but I'm glad I got to make it, and not some conservative FPB censor sympathetic to the state.

Executive Authority". This raises a constitutional question, since freedom of expression is listed as a basic fundamental human right in the Bill of Rights. But under this type of regulatory regime, freedom of expression belongs then to only those who are able to pay for it.

I questioned Risiba on this at the public consultation hearing. He answered that the FPB is planning to release a tariff structure in the near future, which will take smaller online distributers into account, and adjust the fee structure accordingly. That all sounds good and well, except that it is missing the point. No one, whether you are extremely wealthy or economically disadvantaged, should have to first, ask permission of anyone else to publically say something (pre-classification) or second, pay a fee (even a small fee) before you can do so. This fundamentally undermines the principle of freedom of expression and is unacceptable in a democracy.

The FPB has claimed that it is really seeking is a co-regulation agreement, and that if material is posted online that is understood to be harmful to children or the like, then they will contact the big distributers like YouTube or Google and ask them to

The FPB is inviting the most widespread civil disobedience that this country has ever seen.

take such content down. But this is actually at odds with what is in the draft policy because that type of thing would only amount to post-publication take-down. However, the policy asks for pre-publication classification. So, what the FPB claims to be thinking with regard to a co-regulatory environment is certainly not accurately reflected in the policy.

Classification

And then we come to what the policy demands regarding the actual process of pre-classifying content. The policy itself is damned complicated and near unfathomable in this regard, but here are the basics. First, online publishers must apply for an "online distribution agreement" and pay a fee, after which they will be allowed to self-classify their own content so long as they do so according to the FPB's guidelines (section 5.1.2). Then, each time a distributer posts content online, that content has to be submitted to the FPB and another fee paid (section 5.1.3).

If online distributers want to be permitted to classify their own content, this first needs to be authorised by the FPB (section 5.5.1). Online distributers would need to employ either full-time or part-time "classifiers" who would have to screen anything going into the online space (section 5.5.6). If an online distributer cannot afford to employ a FPB–approved classifier, presumably they would then need to submit each bit of new content to the FPB directly for pre-classification and pay an additional fee to do so.

Realistically speaking, it is unlikely that smaller online publishers will be able to afford these costs (of the distributer's agreement and the employ of classifiers). Even if smaller publishers do attain an online distributer's agreement, they will not be able to self-classify. They are also not likely to be able to carry the additional cost of applying for pre-classification from the FPB for each new segment of content. In this scenario, one of two things will happen.

Smaller publishers will ignore the pre-classifications regime and publish content regardless, in which case they will be automatically criminalised. Or, smaller publishers, many of whom do not turn a profit, will be bankrupted by the additional costs. Under its guiding principles the policy states that, "(7) the classification regulatory framework should not impede competition and innovation, nor disadvantage South African media content and service providers in international markets". But it will

do exactly that.

The FPB is out of sync with the current national conversation on media diversity and transformation. A widely mooted political argument is that the South African media, particularly the print sector, remain untransformed and offer too little scope for access to a broad range of opinions and ideas. Although the cost of data and widespread access to the internet remains a challenge, the internet nonetheless holds a democratising potential in this regard. Non-profit-generating online community news websites, civil society orientated online news publications, small independent online publishers and individual bloggers offer stories told from perspectives which are rarely carried in the mainstream commercialised and highly monopolised news media.

The ANC listed the issue of media transformation as a concern in its 53rd National Conference resolutions saying, "[t]he reality arising out of this situation is that the majority of South Africans do not have media that report and project their needs, aspirations and points of views onto the national discourse". The FPB's current policy, if realised, would have an undoubtedly negative impact on the encouragement of media diversity within South Africa, and be at odds with the variety of efforts to do the opposite.

The policy would serve as a dis-enabler of media diversity and transformation because smaller publishers will not be able to compete. Small distributers, operating on tight shoe-string budgets would also be criminalised, because: "Failure to pay the said classification fee within the stipulated period may result either in the Board withdrawing the online distributor's registration certificate until the fee is paid, or in the online distributor being penalised and legal action being taken against the distributor in terms of section 24A of the Act". As if it's not bad enough that small distributers could have their slim coffers emptied by the FPB itself, they could further be financially ruined by legal fees.

Media accountability

There are soon to be other measures to deal with the administration of complaints against cases of unethical journalistic content online.

A new media accountability system is currently being established by a cross-platform committee (involving Sanef, PCSA, IABSA, NAB) which will include the administration of complaints again online news media, in a similar way to how the Press Council currently deals with complaints

against printed newspapers. The FPB's policy completely ignores that process and makes no mention of it. But again, the FPB is here extending its regulatory tentacles into an arena in which it has not place. Two separate processes of review, including that performed by the Press Freedom Commission, as well as a number of international protocols including the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa (2002), agree that self-regulation is the most appropriate mechanism for the regulation of journalistic content, and this ought to be performed via the post-publication administration of complaints.

Journalism ethics is a highly specialised field of enquiry and expertise. The FPB have not yet employed this expertise. To enact the regulation of journalistic content, you have to employ expertise in journalism ethics, an expert ombudsman, set up a code of ethics, institute a viable complaints procedure, and establish an appeals panel which commonly is headed up by a retired judge. These structures are considered best practice in democracies all over the world for the regulation of journalism content, in terms of ethics and accountability. The FPB policy puts none of this in place.

Understanding the digital age

The FPB displays a dearth of understanding of how the internet actually works. It boggles the mind to imagine that the FPB believes that it is even possible to monitor or restrict the swathes of content which is uploaded onto the internet each minute. This is impossible. Hundreds of hours of YouTube content is uploaded in South Africa each day, while millions of pieces of new text content are posted online daily.

The FPB has also not taken the aspect of audience expectation into account. We are talking of at least three generations of people who have either grown up in the digital age, or had the digital sphere grow up with them. These audiences are now fully accustomed to experiencing the internet as an almost entirely-free medium. They have simply never known things to be any other way. To infringe even in the slightest way upon a freedom which is ingrained in the apriori collective knowledge of three or more generations is simply asking for a backlash of magnificent proportions. Ordinary people are likely to ignore the FPB's requirement of pre-classification as they do e-tolls. The FPB is inviting the most widespread civil disobedience that this country has ever seen.

It is worth noting that the Right2Know Campaign is not alone in its opposition to the policy. Many others have voiced dismay and outrage

> *Remembering that the FPB is arguing its online policy is necessary for the protection of children, and considering all of the above, it is difficult not to become enraged. To attempt something which is such a blatant and outrageous abuse of free expression and human rights in the name of our children is disgusting and morally reprehensible.*

too, and for the record, have done so independently of the Right2Know Campaign. These include among the country's top and most prominent media lawyers, and various civil society organisations, most notably the SOS – Support Public Broadcasting Coalition, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI), the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) amongst others. Also worried are various media representative bodies such as Sanef and the Interactive Advertising Bureau of South Africa (IABSA), media stakeholders themselves including Google and the SABC, local and international tech journalists, and local and international prominent freedom of expression activists. Individual members of the public have independently taken to the web to set up a slew of different online petitions, Facebook pages and websites. Significantly, the only public support we have heard for the policy has been from Communications Minister Faith Muthambi and from the ANC study group on communications.

Remembering that the FPB is arguing its online policy is necessary for the protection of children, and considering all of the above, it is difficult not to become enraged. To attempt something which is such a blatant and outrageous abuse of free expression and human rights in the name of our children is disgusting and morally reprehensible. The policy does nothing to actually protect children, but the FPB (ab)uses the cause of children to surface its own moralistic, draconian, authoritarian position. Our children can be deeply offended. In principle at least, it is the Film and Publications Board who are here, the real child abusers.

An edited version of this column was published on the Daily Maverick online news website on 10 June 2015 and can be found at http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-06-10-africas-worst-new-internet-censorship-law-everything-you-dont-want-to-know-but-need-to/#.VXft6huJhD4

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Why GroundUp?

By Nathan Geffen

When explaining the reason why GroundUp was started I like to tell this story. Sibongile Mazeka was a five-year-old child dying of AIDS because the family who looked after her could not afford antiretroviral treatment. These medicines were not yet available in the public health system as they are today. The Cape Times ran a moving story about Sibongile which showed the tragedy of untreated HIV infection. A couple of weeks after the story was published, I was in the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) office in Khayelitsha, and alerted to the sad news that Sibongile had died. I phoned the reporter who covered the story, one of the country's better health journalists at the time, and asked her to run a follow-up story on Sibongile the next day. "Sorry, there's no chance it'll make the paper tomorrow," I imperfectly recall her saying, "a plane has just flown into the World Trade Centre in New York."

We've published stories of police using live ammunition to disperse housing protesters, bribery at Home Affairs, how you can buy your driver's license in Khayelitsha, the removal of people from informal settlements on the West coast, the shocking conditions in the Free State health system and drug stockouts in the KwaZulu-Natal public health system.

The example of how the life and and death of young, black and poor Sibongile was displaced in the main newspaper in the city in which she lived is startling but perhaps a bit unfair. 9/11 was hopefully a no more than once-in-a-lifetime event, and the Cape Times could not be blamed for prioritising it. But the point remains that while working with the TAC in the 2000s, I became increasingly frustrated with the mainstream media's lack of attention to the daily struggles faced by ordinary people confronted with the HIV epidemic. Not only did reporters struggle to understand the science of the epidemic, they or their editors tended to ignore, or get wrong, the human side of the disease. Not always of course – there has been much fine South African reporting on the HIV epidemic over the years – but often.

This struck me as not only a problem for TAC, but also in other areas where human rights are frequently trampled upon such as education, sanitation, sex work and immigration. Poor media coverage of these issues is deeply frustrating for organisations working to improve our society's responses to these issues, such as Equal Education, Social Justice Coalition, SWEAT and PASSOP. It the need to fill this gap in the mainstream media that the idea of GroundUp was born.

GroundUp is a news website based in Cape Town. Most of our articles are hard news, though we do run opinion and analysis pieces, and most deal with issues of social justice in townships and immigrant neighbourhoods. We try not to go where the mainstream media goes. Instead we offer our copy free to anyone to republish. Thankfully, Daily Maverick, News24, Mail & Guardian and other publications have been publishing our material regularly. We typically publish from Monday to Friday, aiming to average three to four stories a day.

Many of our stories are daily news items: short and often ephemeral. However, we've published many breaking news stories of continuing interest that have been widely read, for example police using live ammunition to disperse housing protesters, bribery at Home Affairs, how you can buy your driver's license in Khayelitsha, the removal of people from informal settlements on the West coast to the low-cost housing development located on the periphery of Cape Town called Wolwerivier, the shocking conditions in the Free State health system and drug stockouts in the KwaZulu-Natal public health system. GroundUp, so far as I can tell, was the first news agency to run a report on the unprotected strikes by farm workers in Western Cape in 2012, though at the time we didn't foresee how the situation was about to explode.

We also strive to follow-up on stories. For example, we have regularly covered the aftermath of the evictions of people from SANRAL-owned land in Lwandle near Strand in Cape Town. We publish in-depth longer articles and photo essays, such as a struggling Cape fishing community, Redhill an all but forgotten

neighbourhood from which people were removed in the 1960s not unlike District 6, and the "karretjie mense" of the Karoo.

Our reporters are mostly drawn from working class communities and some are former activists in social justice movements. They have insight and contacts in working class areas that most middle-class reporters lack. But they also lack experience and are battling the deficits acquired through the South African education system that for the most part fails to teach people to write competently. This means the editing process has to be more time-consuming and involve more feedback to the reporters than at most publications.

Producing fact-based news is hard and expensive. Even simple short reports can typically cost a few thousand rands when you take into account the entire apparatus involved in putting them together. Complex, important and long stories cost considerably more. A question nearly everyone I speak to about GroundUp asks is how do we finance it. It's almost entirely funded through grants from donors and smaller donations from our readers. Advertising money is negligible. In the beginning we harboured ambitions of attracting adverts. But with time it has become apparent to us that advertising is not an appropriate model for GroundUp.

> It is hard enough at present for large, mainstream, serious news publications to attract advertising, having to compete against outlets like Buzzfeed that specialise in clickbait articles that are certainly entertaining but of limited newsworthiness; it would be especially hard for GroundUp to compete for this advertising.

First, our articles are read much more when republished in the mainstream media. And for us it is crucial that GroundUp articles are widely read. Obviously we can't attract advertising revenue when published in publications belonging to other organisations.

Second, as a non-profit, too much advertising has the potential to subtly affect editorial policy.

Third, it is hard enough at present for large, mainstream, serious news publications to attract advertising, having to compete against outlets like Buzzfeed that specialise in clickbait articles that are certainly entertaining but of limited newsworthiness; it would be especially hard for GroundUp to compete for this advertising.

Donor-supported journalism is not a new thing. In 1969 the Fund for Investigative Journalism gave Seymour Hersh $1 000, which he used to uncover the massacre committed by American troops against Vietnamese civilians at My Lai. Hersh's reports helped turn the American public against the American invasion of Vietnam, and he won a Pulitzer Prize.

ProPublica in the United States "focuses exclusively on truly important stories, stories with 'moral force.' We do this by producing journalism that shines a light on exploitation of the weak by the strong and on the failures of those with power to vindicate the trust placed in them." Their website articulates precisely the same purpose behind GroundUp: "It is true that the number and variety of publishing platforms are exploding in the internet age. But very few of these entities are engaged in original reporting. In short, we face a situation in which sources of opinion are proliferating, but sources of facts on which those opinions are based are shrinking. The former phenomenon is almost certainly, on balance, a societal good; the latter is surely a problem." ProPublica is supported by philanthropic funding.

In South Africa, GroundUp is not the sole media publication primarily dependent on donor funding. AmaBhungane and Health-e are too. All three organisations are publishing important news of considerable public interest.

Is donor funding a sustainable model for news organisations like ours? I hope so but I'm not sure. I can't see any other way to finance what we do. I hope enough donors, big and small, can be convinced that what we do should not be subject to market forces, that this is work which must be done, and that news reporting of this sort is an important public good.

Nathan Geffen founded GroundUp in 2012 and is the current editor. He worked with the Treatment Action Campaign alternately as treasurer, national manager and policy director from 2000 to 2013.
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Youth is wasted on the young, but let's see how we can work with them anyway

By Khadija Patel

It's hardly an ideal time to be a journalist, never mind a whole journalism start-up. Our colleagues at some of the most established media houses in the country are battling job cuts and print circulations are dwindling too quickly for executives to throw more money at it. Innovation is sparking great excitement but there is still little clarity on how to make online economically viable. And even as media transforms, we are still battling draconian surveillance, hostile governments and attention spans that demand to understand the world, all its problems and lolcats in pockets of 140 characters.

Journalism is not in such a grave crisis that may warrant us to think about the end of journalism, and the world as we know it. Journalism is however in a fix. And much of the interrogation around journalism today persists in managing the crisis of journalism itself.

But it's not all bleak.

The uncertainty in which journalism exists has ushered in excitement for new platforms. We are certainly surrounded by some of the best, and most important journalism the world has ever seen.

It is within this cauldron of conundrum and opportunity that we founded The Daily Vox; at once acutely conscious of the precarious place young journalists find themselves and yet fully aware of the opportunity ahead.

The institutional challenges of journalism continue to be widely discussed, interrogated and debated. But what is often less discussed, and even less understood, is how young journalists experience these challenges.

Too often in South Africa, young journalists are thwarted by the traditions of newsrooms, the dogma of editors and the agenda of owners. Journalists must carve a space for themselves, their ideas and their capacity to force change in newsrooms that prescribe conformity to a prescribed ideal of what journalism is – an ideal that is often not as noble as it is made out to be.

Not-so-black journalists

Our not-so-unique history as a colony, and our situation as slaves to international, corporate media still extracts a toll from us today. There is a kind of repression enforced on young media professionals in too many newsrooms. Most often it is young, black journalists who are expected to decry their blackness. They must prove every day that they are capable and honest story tellers, but also that they are not so black that they would question the common sense assumptions that drive the news agenda.

The quintessential journalist then is still white, and male, with the worldview of another era, but with some coding knowledge thrown in. To be a successful young journalist in the traditional media, is to give up your own ideas, to give up little parts of yourself until your writing, or speaking, conform to a dominant

discourse. So media might be changing, and the voices are far more diverse than ever before, but mainstream media still owns the narrative, driving diversity to the crowded, but murky periphery.

And it is exactly this experience that hinders many aspiring journalists from finding space for their voices in South African media. They may work hard but hard work alone is not enough when past and present continue to impinge on the future their legacies of injustice, inequality, and imperialism.

Azad Essa and I have ourselves experienced the difficulties of finding spaces for untrained voices in South African media. Neither of us were trained as journalists, but both of us gravitated towards journalism as a receptacle of our curiosities. We've both been fortunate enough to receive vigorous training at the Daily Maverick and Al Jazeera respectively that has allowed us to see the gaps between the ivory towers and the certificates they confer and the actual skills needed to be a journalist.

One of our core principles of The Daily Vox is to offer young journalists the training and experience that will help them raise their voice in any newsroom in the country.

It is however not enough to simply give young journalists a space to do what we think they should be doing. Young people bring with them a new vigour and a new experience of the world, that must be allowed to impinge on the norms and processes of our institutions. In the year in which The Daily Vox has been live, we continue to learn the value of listening to the young journalists who work with us, and allowing them the spaces and time to tell the stories that matter to them, in ways that may be considered unorthodox to traditional journalism. It doesn't always work out, and we sometimes get it wrong, but when it does work, the results are spectacular: we tell the stories of South Africans in their own words.

But it hasn't all been easy

Finding the right combination of people to grow The Daily Vox has proved to be one of our greatest challenges. There is no shortage of young people looking for work – and certainly within 24 hours of us putting out a vacancy notice on social media we typically receive more than 50 applications. But the next step from there, getting these people to deliver test assignments has been more difficult. Whether it is a lack of confidence, or a very real lack of access to transport and the internet, many young journalists stumble at this first obstacle – The Daily Vox then is the unvarnished story of the new South Africa.

We are confident that we are building a news platform that speaks to young people, by giving young journalists the space, time and gentle guidance to drive what we do. But most importantly, we seek to reposition the person on the street, the ordinary South African, to the forefront of our news agenda. Journalism is supposed to be vital to democracy, it is supposed to be the harbinger of the public experience.

Indeed if the world remains as it is, though we may cling to technology for solace, we face a very troubled future. The need for good journalism that underpins the principles of democracy is needed now as ever. The Daily Vox is our hope for a journalism that is meaningful to the people who grow with it.

Khadija Patel is the co-founder and executive editor of The Daily Vox. She pushes words on street corners as a freelance journalist who has previously written for The Guardian, Quartz, Al Jazeera, the Daily Maverick, the Mail & Guardian and City Press among others. She is also a research associate at Wiser (Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Witwatersrand) where she is writing a history of the Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair.
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Soweto by Jodi Bieber

'WE DON'T WANT TO SEE WHO IS BIGGER THAN WHO – WE JUST WANT SERVICES'

The Herald NMMU Community Dialogues

There are about 60 of us here and we are sitting in an interesting format – layers of semi-circles – at an internal community dialogue held at NMMU's Missionvale campus. We are an eclectic lot when it comes to education – principals, academics, students, governing body members and a couple of fly-on-the-wall journalists – tasked with a mission not dissimilar to locating the "God particle". Only in this case this collective is trying to identify the very root of what really bedevils a seemingly irreparable and dysfunctional system: Eastern Cape schooling. And what we can do about it.

By Heather Robertson

Parents, teachers and non-profit organisations all seem to know what is wrong with our country's education system – and what is quickly echoed here at the dialogue as being high on that list are a lack of resources and teacher commitment.

After the dialogue facilitator, NMMU dean of education Prof Denise Zinn, sets up a "fish bowl" – an inner sanctum of participants airing their views to be replaced later by a fresh ring from the outside – one thing is for sure. It emerges swiftly that despite all efforts on the part of some who are clearly committed, something is fundamentally wrong and that is what is robbing an entire generation of their most basic right: a good education.

If parents ensure their children make it to school every day – neatly dressed in full school uniform and arriving on time – is there a guarantee of a dedicated teacher when they get to the classroom? Are those teachers instilling enough discipline?

It's quite true that among the things identified as being the problems in education these days is the lack of commitment from teachers, in particular those affiliated to the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU). So a question posed, is SADTU's role in education a positive one?

One principal speaks of how "useless teachers were kept in the system and protected by the union, which I found to be demotivating to the dedicated teachers". Sapphire Road Primary School principal Bruce Damons justly raises a question to teachers, asking if they would want their children attending the schools at which they teach and why.

"We have become so slack and lazy, and have just stopped caring," he said.

"But parents are failing their children too," notes another delegate.

Zinn then introduces the questions of "what can be done?" and "what do we need to do?", and an air of optimism suddenly pervades the room.

NMMU student Yolisa Lawrence raises a pertinent point about the voice of the pupil. "We must involve the students and ask them to identify the problems. They should be here so we can say: what is the problem?"

Practical action on the part of participants includes a commitment to get teachers and parents to work together far more closely, presenting a parenting skills programme, showing teachers more appreciation, and initiating focus group interventions to get to the nitty gritty of specific failings and teacher grievances at a particular school.

Then Paul Miedema, of the Calabash Trust, hits a positive note: "We must share our success stories." Indeed. Finding out what works is a fundamental antidote to identifying what is wrong."

This edited extract of a leader article published in The Herald newspaper, written by journalists Zandile Mbabela and Brett Adkins after they attended and covered one of many small community dialogues focussed on solving the challenges facing our beleaguered Eastern Cape schools, encapsulates what we at The Herald have been striving to achieve with these community engagements that we have been facilitating with NMMU's CANRAD (Centre for the Advancement of Nonracism and Democracy) since March 2011.

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Not only does this engagement enable us to do our own hands on research into civic concerns, it also provides us with a people-centred as opposed to politician-centred approach to our coverage of local government elections.

The series of education dialogues using the fish-bowl style method of debate was a successful experiment aimed at deriving deeper engagement from community members, allowing them to define the challenges that beset them and then steering the conversation through asking the right kinds of questions for them to come up with solutions. Learners, teachers, parents, union members, academics and education department officials all contributed ideas from pupils saying subjects like maths and science should be taught in their mother tongues, parents who spoke of rotating as voluntary security at a school that was constantly burgled, all unanimously agreeing that the education department needed to be made more accountable.

These education dialogues will this year be followed up by a series of local government dialogues in various wards across the Nelson Mandela Bay metro in the build up to next year's election to ascertain 1) residents' experiences of municipal services by both councillors and civil servants 2) what they expect from the political parties 3) what they think needs to be done to fix their area and the metro as a whole.

Not only does this engagement enable us as a newspaper to do our own hands on research into civic concerns, it also provides us with a people-centred as opposed to politician-centred approach to our coverage of local government elections. While the debates are open to anyone to attend, we will insist that politicians listen to what community members have to say, as their views will be made centre stage.

The idea for The Herald's Community Dialogues was born at a dinner party in late 2010 at the home of CANRAD director Allan Zinn and Denise Zinn who is now deputy vice chancellor of teaching and learning at NMMU. We agreed that both the university and the newspaper would benefit from stepping down from our ivory towers and connecting with the communities we serve. I had just been appointed editor of The Herald and realised the newspaper had the potential to play a role as a bridge between the city's disparate communities as well as between ordinary citizens and the often remote politicians, business leaders and thought leaders. Since then a mutually beneficial partnership between the CANRAD and The Herald has seen

joint decision making and planning of each event, with the university covering costs.

Even though it was not initially one of our conscious aims, what Danish journalist Cathrine Gyldensted refers to as "constructive journalism" could be used to define what we have achieved through our facilitation of community dialogues. In a column in The Guardian newspaper explaining constructive journalism Gyldensted said: "We believe constructive news will keep powers more accountable by asking them to find solutions, rather than simply encouraging them to argue which is always the easiest thing to do."

Allan Zinn and I have facilitated several dialogues in the Bay since the first one in March 2011 when we managed to persuade a very aloof Eastern Cape education department SG Modidima Mannya to deign to listen to the concerns of 600 principals, teachers, parents and community members at the Nongoza Jebe Hall in New Brighton.

During our 16 June Youth dialogue in 2012 we managed to get DA student organisation members to listen to ANC youth league members and vice versa. This year we saw young Afriforum spokesman Marnus Vvn Staden calmly up against the EFF provincial MPL Siyabulela Peter , as City Press columnist Mondli Makhanya and South African Heritage Council's Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa tried to make sense and explain the rise of the student anti-colonial movement at a debate on the colonial monuments and the #RhodesMustFall movement. We have hosted book launches that have turned in to major philosophical musings on what needs to be done to kick start our country out of it's current corruption ennui at the Red Location Museum with Moeletsi Mbeki, Frank Chikane and with Vusi Pikoli at St Stephen's Church hall in Zwide. Last year the chief financial officer of the metro, Trevor Harper, came face to face with the people at the receiving end of his budget cuts at a dialogue we hosted in Bethelsdorp. He studiously recorded complaints and handed out his direct email address so that problems highlighted could be addressed.

One of the most memorable dialogues we facilitated was in August 2012 with 1 000 residents of the Nelson Mandela Bay metro who arrived at the Feather Market hall to tell local politicians to stop the petty political bickering that had plunged their world class city into a crisis. The speakers at the dialogue, which was themed "Addressing the challenges facing our metro", and which included Nelson Mandela Bay Business Chamber president Mandla Madwara, Ratepayers' Association president Kobus Gerber and Bishop Lunga ka Siboto from the Ethiopian Episcopalian Church, pleaded with local government MEC Mlibo Qoboshiyane not to turn a blind eye "while Rome is burning".

The residents pulled no punches either. Luyolo Makwabe from Walmer township said : "We are getting a lot of leaders using Walmer as a political battlefield. What is the MEC going to do to address the service delivery needs of Walmer?" Another resident, Xolani Nkonko from ward 21, said: "We don't want to see who is bigger than who – we just want services."

This is the greatest success of our dialogues. Giving the microphone to the voices that the politicians say they serve, yet do not listen to and bringing those voices into the mainstream on the pages of our paper and on our digital platforms.

> The greatest success of our dialogues is giving the microphone to the voices that the politicians say they serve, yet do not listen to.

Heather Robertson has been editor in chief of The Herald and Weekend Post in Port Elizabeth since August 2010. Before that, she was deputy editor, national news editor, KZN bureau chief, features editor and a journalist at The Sunday Times. She started her career as a journalist at the anti-apartheid newspaper South in Cape Town in 1987 and has worked as a features editor for Tribute Magazine and Sunday World and was deputy editor of Elle Magazine. RobertsonH@timesmedia.co.za

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SHIFTING THE PRIORITY FROM GIVING VOICE TO LISTENING

By Anthea Garman and Vanessa Malila

If, as the critics have argued, the South African media prioritise the voices of elite, middle-class South Africans, then the majority of South Africans are certainly invisible in the mainstream media. Kate Lacey argues that "listening is at the heart of what it means to be in the world, to be active, to be political" (2013: 163), and as such more than just providing a 'voice' for citizens, the media needs to be engaged in active listening to allow audiences to feel 'heard'. Servaes and Malikhao argue that people are 'voiceless' not because they have nothing to say, but because "nobody cares to listen to them" (2005: 91).

Active listening for journalists would move beyond simply representing a community of people, or acting as the 'voice of the voiceless', but instead providing a space where that community feels listened to. Susan Bickford argues that the process of being listened to is an opportunity to move beyond the stereotypes which are often thrust upon groups. Young people are often stereotyped as the 'lost generation', unemployed, unemployable and not looking for employment because they prefer the welfare provided by the state. Without an openness to listen to both individual and group voices, the media will continue to regard the youth as "a stereotyped object [rather than] as a conscious, active subject" (Bickford, 1996: 131). The way in which journalists, ordinary citizens and the youth think about listening and speaking requires a shift in the priority between these two activities.

Media and Citizenship research

Our research investigated the way in which mainstream and community media in the Eastern Cape understand listening as an important part of their role as journalists. In-depth interviews with senior journalists, editors and station managers were conducted with both mainstream and community media based in the two biggest metropoles in the Eastern Cape – Port Elizabeth (PE) and East London. The Herald (based in Port Elizabeth) is one of the two English-language, mainstream, broadsheet newspapers in the province. Both focus on local and regional news, with specific interest in the cities in which they operate. Algoa FM is the only commercial mainstream radio station which operates in the Eastern Cape and thus provided a key perspective on the commercial radio market. The following community radio stations participated in the research: KQFM is based in Zwide township in Port Elizabeth and is described on its website as "the most listened to community radio station in PE"; Izwi Lethemba (which means 'voice of hope') is based in East London and has been operational since 2012; Kumkani FM is situated in Scenery Park township in East London, and is a relatively new radio station, having only been operation since 2013. A huge number of community newspapers operate in the province based in almost every small town, but just three were selected to participate in the research: Zithethele is a Port Elizabeth-based community newspaper which is published in Xhosa (the dominant indigenous language of the Eastern Cape), and has a circulation of 50 000. Township Times operates within the East London metropole and describes itself as a service aimed at "getting the community talking, sharing, growing together" (https://www.facebook.com/TownshipTimes). EC Today operates in East London and reports its circulation figures to be 42 000, and was started in 2008. The final participant in the research is the only community television station based in the Eastern Cape, BayTV. This station operates in Port Elizabeth and focuses content on the local community, though it does provide information, news and content from the wider provincial region.

We divided our assessment of whether journalists, editors and media outlets listen to their readers and audiences into three types of approach:

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"We are trying to have a face so that people can engage and know about our paper and publications" – Sisonke Labase, EC Today

The commercial imperative dominates but the outlet is still audience-minded in a somewhat traditional way even with the advent of social media.

For many of these media organisations the commercial needs of the outlet are the supreme driver of programming and engagements with audiences. Audiences are treated as consumers of media products and not necessarily as citizens. News programming has a very traditional approach: it speaks to and for the audience, the journalists have the voice and set agendas (on behalf of their audiences). As to a concern about young people, one of the station managers said "the youth won't always be the youth" – in other words they will become adults and acquire a taste for more serious information so journalists don't have to devise special programmes for them. Events aimed at youth are organised and run by the marketing/advertising arms of the stations and are for the purpose of driving up consumption.

There is a growing awareness that access to social media segments their markets (ie different people use Facebook from those who phone in to programmes and there are also different people operating on Twitter). Nevertheless no serious research into who is using what platform and where young people (particularly those without jobs and steady family income) are placed in relation to this has been done.

There is a strong reliance on traditional media methods to engage audiences – phone-ins for Algoa FM and a hotline for Bay TV. Local people are invited onto programmes – "we make certain the communities see themselves" [on TV].

There is strong commitment to local content and local news information. Bay TV encourages local artists and filmmakers to use them as a platform but they have no budget to commission local work.

Politically there is a strong commitment to help people deal with problems – reporting on broken infrastructure, taking on municipalities to deliver better services. Journalists go out and do their reporting in the communities covered, they don't just work from their desks.

A stronger commitment to being in and of a community; the commercial imperative recedes somewhat.

"We are trying to have a face so that people can engage and know about our paper and publications" – Sisonke Labase, EC Today.

The features of this approach are that hyperlocal programming and content is core to the journalism. Journalists and freelancers live in the communities they cover and they and propose story ideas from their locations. Very often the community newspapers are free because they know hundreds of thousands of people in the areas they cover cannot afford a paper. There is a consciousness that listeners and readers may not have high levels of education and therefore a need to make programming and content very relevant. A high degree of concentration is placed on providing information people cannot easily get their hands on (as they would need an internet connection or access to a library) and often there is a special focus on education.

There is a stronger consciousness about young people in the audience and their lack of education, jobs and opportunities – this permeates particularly radio programming. The Township Times editor considers himself a product of that social environment and focuses his journalistic energies on the development of small businesses. Township Times organises events which involve young township artists. Key to this approach is an awareness that social media reaches young audiences and that older audience members usually phone-in or drop in while the youth are active on Facebook.

Many of the radio stations hire personable presenters who speak directly to their audiences and invite responses. There is a mindset that takes cognisance of the harshness of people's lives and an emphasis on providing "positive... inspirational stories that speak to the people" (EC Today). Local languages are important (Afrikaans and Xhosa) and invitations are made to officials to come into the studio and answer questions raised by audiences. Some media outlets forge good relationships with local businesses so that they can imbed themselves more deeply in their communities. EC Today has been holding debates in partnership with Fort Hare University so that important issues can be raised in the communities they serve.

Pioneering 'listening journalism' which is attuned to a local context.

Two of the newspapers had a really fascinating approach to their readers: Zithethele and The Herald.

Zithethele community newspaper is edited by Max Matavire who has a great deal of journalistic experience. He has covered local government, the municipality and politics. He worked in Zimbabwe for the Herald and Ziana (the news agency) and for ZBC. He also worked in Johannesburg for The Citizen and as a correspondent for City Press, Sunday World and AFP. Matavire started Zithethele in July of 2014. Eighty percent of Zithethele's readers are Xhosa-speaking and the PE-based paper circulates all the way to East London, King William's Town, down the garden route and throughout the PE metro.

The paper is deeply imbedded in community issues through the dialogues it runs. "We go to communities, sit with them and listen to their problems," says Matavire, adding, "we call in specialists to answer or respond to people's grievances, problems and challenges." He goes on: "Yes people come. These are not political rallies. People are fed up of political rallies because they are told the same thing... somebody is listening to them so they like that, we have good audiences in these community halls." Zithethele invites local councillors and officials to hear these issues which are mediated by community leaders and church leaders. "We try our level best not to bring politicians into this," Matavire says. A major benefit of this process seems to be informing city officials of situations: "After the meeting, they'll come to us and say 'we didn't know about this.'" That is the most important thing this community dialogue does, it directs. Officials explain processes of governance so that people better understand them."

The dialogues also feed the journalism: "Everything is coming from them [the dialogues]", he said. Turning to the issue of young people, he commented: "They have lost the plot; they do not see any future for them[selves]... more so than their parents, [they are] frustrated with lots of things, less trusting that the politicians will do something for them."

The impetus for this approach for Matavire is journalism that tries "to find what is beneath the protest".

The Herald edited by Heather Robertson.

Robertson was deputy editor of the Sunday Times when she was appointed as editor of the Herald in Port Elizabeth by Mondli Makhanya, who had been editor of the Sunday Times and had been promoted into management for the Times Media group. Makhanya advised Robertson that she would need to work hard to shift the paper from one that served a suburban white audience into one that served the entire, very diverse community of the whole city. He advised her to think about ways of engaging her readership through community dialogues. When Robertson got to Port Elizabeth she discovered that the sister paper in East London, the Daily Dispatch had been running such dialogues for a while, and also she was approached by Allan Zinn, director of the Centre for the Advancement of Non-racialism and Democracy based at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University who was seeking a media partner to engage in community dialogues. Thus began a series of engagements with communities all over the city to air the really hard issues they wanted raised in the public domain (see Robertson's account of these dialogues on page 106).

The important features to note from this engagement are that the editor and newspaper are conscious of the diversity of the community within the location they serve and they wish to play a role that speaks to that diversity.

As a result The Herald reporters make strong use of social media: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram – Robertson said "we are digital first". On Facebook the Herald has 100 000 followers, when a teacher went missing the number went up to 750 000. Surprisingly, followers are from all race groups and classes as poor black people access the internet through mobile. Editors and journalists are available to readers through numbers and email and they speak and listen to their readers.

When it comes to the actual dialogues, the role of the newspaper is to provide a safe space for discussions to happen. These discussions are often around the issues of post-apartheid SA and inequity. The intention is understanding. Reporters capture the debates and then produce media pieces for the paper and for social media.

People are so desperate to have their voices heard, sometimes we can't steer conversation towards a solution, they need to just vent.

Robertson said: "People are so desperate to have their voices heard, sometimes we can't steer conversation towards a solution, they need to just vent. We have to have follow-up conversations." One of them most important ongoing conversation is about education which started with "80 people in a circle" – students, parents and governing bodies. Robertson said of this series: "It has been most constructive in terms of getting towards solutions and seeing schools as community resources – for literacy, after-care, vegetable gardens, etc. By the 10th one they getting used to understanding that they have the capacity to solve these problems."

One of the key roles the newspaper plays is to "mediate the arrogance of officials and get them to listen to the issues raised."

Robertson said: "Having these debates has helped us reform the content of the newspaper to adapt and change, we are constantly flexible to actually meet the needs of our readership, our audience."

Conclusions

The commercial imperative of media operations discourages listening journalism but also makes it difficult for journalists, editors and station managers to conceive of different ways of doing journalism.

Journalists in many newsrooms continue to communicate with their readers and audiences in the same routinised ways of the past despite the radically-altered political and social space in South Africa and despite the upheavals of digital and social media.

Where listening has become imbedded in a journalism operation it is usually driven by one individual who has the power and authority to make it happen.

The impetus for listening is usually driven by a desire to deal with a local situation and the outlet's particular readership or audience.

The impulse is usually a social justice one – to understand and redress the inequities of the democratic present.

Social media tools are very helpful to enabling listening and they are increasingly used even by very poor people.

The gains of adjusting one's relationship to audiences and readers is not just an enhanced social space with less frustration between officials and the public, it also cements the relationship between the media outlet and the public and builds trust.

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Activating archives for accountability

the TRC records and the duty to remember

By Catherine Kennedy

*I*t is deemed necessary to establish the truth in relation to past events as well as the motives for and circumstances in which gross violations of human rights have occurred, and to make the findings known in order to prevent a repetition of such acts in future...[1]

Twenty years ago the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act was passed, setting in motion what was to become South Africa's most ambitious memory initiative, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Committed to the principles of transparency and public participation, the aim of the TRC was to begin the long, difficult journey towards a post-apartheid reconciliation by investigating the harsh realities of the country's past.

Though not without its critics, the South African TRC has been lauded internationally as an exemplary effort in striking the balance between acknowledging the past, pursuing justice and effecting reconciliation. Yet today South Africa is a country in the grips of apartheid fatigue, in danger of forgetting the work of the TRC. All too often, there are calls to stop unearthing the past, and look towards the future instead but the reality is that most South Africans have not even seen the findings of the Commission and little has been done to build on the ideals that underpinned the TRC's initial establishment, There remains a persistent lack of political will and resolve to follow up on the groundwork laid by the TRC, as articulated in their recommendations to Parliament,

contained with the TRC Final Report[2].

Only a selection of the TRC recommendations have been engaged with – often controversially so. In recent years, the presidential pardoning of those perpetrators who were either denied amnesty by the TRC or chose to eschew the amnesty process has made a mockery of the TRC's promise of amnesty only in exchange for full and frank disclosure from applicants[3]. The process for reparations and redress, recommended by the TRC, is also stalled[4] – the persistent delays in the payment of reparations promised to victims of apartheid-era gross human rights violations means that many are now living in worse conditions than they were under apartheid.

Yet it is becoming clear that many of the fault lines disrupting South Africa today can be traced back to the injustices of the past. Some of the gravest ongoing challenges to the process of reconciliation are the structural inequalities inherited from the past that continue to compound to the ever widening gap between the wealthy and the poor. And there is compelling evidence that large scale corruption took place under apartheid, corruption that not only robbed the country of money that could have made an enormous difference to effecting reparations and redress, but arguably continues to shape and enable cultures of corruption in South Africa today[5].

At the heart of the TRC was the belief that uncovering as much information about apartheid-era crimes was vital if South Africa was ever to move beyond its dark past and build a democracy built on openness and transparency, rather than secrets and impunity. This idea is not unique

1. The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation, Act 34 of 1995. Available at http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1995-034.pdf
2. In October 1998, the TRC presented the first 5 volumes of the TRC Final report to President Mandela. In 2003, a further 2 volumes were handed to President Mbeki on 21 March 2003. The report can be accessed at http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/reports.htm
3. For recent media coverage relating to the flawed presidential pardons process, see, for example: http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-05-trc-plight-of-political-prisoners-and-victims-unfinished-business; http://pressoffice.mg.co.za/khulumanisupportgroup/PressRelease.php?StoryID=260417, http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/political-pardons-would-damage-trc-legacy-1.1832027#.VdMOgPmqpBc
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5. For recent media coverage relating to the reparations process, see, for example: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-10-14-the-presidents-fund-where-is-the-money-for-apartheid-victims-actually-going/#.VdSU6_mqpBc; http://groundup.org.za/content/over-r1-billion-fund-yet-apartheid-victims-still-await-compensation;

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

to South Africa having emerged from early transitional justice initiatives in Central and South America and is now expressed in international law as the right to truth – resolution 2005/66 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) "recognises the importance of respecting and ensuring the right to the truth so as to contribute to ending impunity and to promote and protect human rights."[6] As with all rights, there is an implicit notion of responsibility at the heart of the right to truth – what Louis Joinet, the former Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in a 1997 report to the UNCHR, called the "duty to remember" – in what would later become known as the Joinet Principles, the right to truth is framed not simply as the right of individual victims or close relatives to know what happened, but more broadly as a "collective right, drawing upon history to prevent violations from recurring in the future... A people's knowledge of the history of its oppression is part of its heritage and, as such, must be preserved by appropriate measures in fulfilment of the State's duty to remember."[7]

So South Africans have some obligation to acknowledge the past, to better understand and bear witness to the violations, the indignity, the exploitation and disempowerment visited on so many black South Africans under apartheid. And the state has the duty to facilitate this remembering in order to ensure that, to borrow the oft-repeated rallying challenge to impunity, Nunca Más[8], never again shall anything resembling the crime against humanity that was the apartheid system be allowed to recur in South Africa.

Yet to what extent is history repeating itself already? Similarities between the stories told to the TRC and the Farlam Commission are worryingly apparent – as Dr Fanie du Toit, director of the Institution of Justice and Reconciliation observed in 2013: "The shock of Marikana is that we did go there again... It is clear that there was a military-style operation with overwhelming force where live ammunition was shot at South African citizens and killed them en masse"[9].

And to what extent is the South African state meeting their obligations to preserve and make accessible those records collected by the TRC in the process of "establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed"[10] during apartheid? Access to the TRC archive remains vital in order to address the unfinished business of the TRC: from the provision of reparations to victims of gross human rights violations, through the prosecution of perpetrators who ignored the TRC's amnesty process, to ongoing truth recovery efforts to understand more about hidden, unacknowledged aspects of our past.

Tracing the TRC archive

One of the recommendations of the TRC was to protect and make readily accessible to all South Africans the "national asset" that is the TRC archive[11]. In line with this recommendation, the South African History Archive (SAHA), an independent activist archive based at Constitution Hill in Johannesburg, has demonstrated a longstanding interest in making the work and records of, and surrounding, the South African TRC more widely available, often in the face of little state engagement in continuing the reconciliation agenda begun by the TRC.

One example of the work SAHA has undertaken in making the TRC archive, in its broadest sense, more

6. See Van Vuuren, Hennie. "Apartheid grand corruption-assessing the scale of crimes of profit in South Africa from 1976 to 1994." Institute for Security Studies 2 (2006). Available at: http://opensecrets.org.za/wp/wp-content/uploads/Apartheid-Grand-Corruption-2006.pdf, as well as the ongoing research project, Open Secrets, "a research project focusing on the legacy of grand corruption, power and profit in South Africa, from the apartheid era to present day (1980s – 2015). More information available at http://opensecrets.org.za/

7. Available at http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/E/HRC/resolutions/A_HRC_RES_9_11.pdf

8. These principles defined four pillars of transitional justice: the rights to know, to justice and to reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence. The right to know is framed not simply as the right of individual victims or close relatives to know what happened, but more broadly as a "collective right (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/20/Rev.1) The report is available at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G97/129/12/PDF/G9712912.pdf?OpenElement. These principles were later updated by Diane Orentlicher in 2004, and become known as the Joinet-Orentlicher Principles, available at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/109/00/PDF/G0510900.pdf?OpenElement

9. Nunca Más (Never Again) was the title of the report of Argentina's National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons, the first ever truth commission. English version of the report is available at http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/english/library/nevagain/nevagain_001.htm

10. One of the objectives of the TRC, as described in Section 3 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation, Act 34 of 1995. Available at http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1995-034.pdf

11. "One of the key aspects of the Commission's work has been its commitment to transparency and public scrutiny. Its records, which are in the form of documents, video and audio tapes, pictures and photographs as well as a computerised database, are a national asset which must be both protected and made accessible." TRC Final Report, Volume 5, Chapter 8. Available at http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/reports/volume5/chapter8/subsection31.htm

readily accessible was the development of the SAHA / SABC Truth Commission Special Report multimedia player and website[12], an interactive tool built around the 87-part Truth Commission Special Report television series.

Originally broadcast weekly by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) from 1996 to 1998, these audiovisual records provide a powerful window into the conflicts of the past, particularly those multiple public hearings that had been intended as a mechanism for promoting national healing, the creation of new public histories, and the guarding against amnesia. After the series became largely unavailable after its initial broadcast so in 2007, SAHA began the slow process of locating, digitising, cataloguing, transcribing and indexing this endangered archive.

Episodes from the series were linked to relevant sections of the official TRC Final Report, transcripts from TRC hearings, amnesty decisions, submissions made to the TRC and other related resources, to form a seamless, searchable multimedia player, launched in 2010, intended to support much needed ongoing transitional justice and reconciliation work in South Africa. Based on the success of this multimedia player, SAHA and the SABC then collaborated to put the entire product online in order to make the work of the TRC more widely accessible, to enable users to revisit the work of the TRC, to introduce a new generation of South Africans to this vital period in the making of our democracy, and to prompt consideration of the extent to which conflicts of the past continue to shape the country's ongoing challenges for reconciliation.

This site is now being expanded to include transcripts of the controversial, previously secret TRC 29 "in-camera" enquiries, recently released to SAHA in terms of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) after a decade long battle with the Department of Justice[13], a battle that is worryingly emblematic of the state's failure to fulfil their "duty to remember." In SAHA's experience of having submitted close to 100 PAIA requests for access to TRC records, the state has repeatedly attempted to block access to the TRC archives, which, all too often, has resulted in unnecessarily lengthy, hostile and litigious engagements. SAHA

has secured several favourable settlements, forcing government departments to hand over TRC records they had previously refused to disclose and, in some instances, had denied even existed. However, because of these last minute out-of-court settlements, no legal precedents have been set around access to the TRC archive, enabling government departments to continue using such blocking tactics. Furthermore, going to court is expensive and time-consuming and should not be the primary mechanism to gain access to TRC records.

It is ironic to consider that, as stated in its preamble, PAIA had, in part, been enacted to counteract "the secretive and unresponsive culture in public and private bodies which often led to an abuse of power and human rights violations"[14] in the apartheid era. The lack of openness by the state, most notably by the Department of Justice, as it relates to records of apartheid violations the TRC was tasked with uncovering, points to an unacceptable conflation of pre- and post-apartheid realities in the treatment of state records and arguably amounts to a continuation of the old frame, contrary to emerging international principles that call for records relating to violations of international human rights to be treated as having a higher presumption of overriding public interest.[15]

In withholding access to the records of the TRC, is the state essentially undermining one of South Africa's greatest right to truth initiative with a will to forget? And in failing to hold the state accountable for the failure to continue the work started by the TRC, are South Africans tacitly condoning and enabling a return to secrecy and impunity? Unless South Africans are willing to become better informed about the secret machinations that enabled apartheid oppression and continue to shape the secret practice of power and corruption today, there is little hope for the guarantee of non-recurrence of human rights violations, of progressing towards the new South Africa imagined by Mandela in a statement made at his inauguration in May 1994:

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.[16]

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12. See http://sabctrc.saha.org.za
13. For more information on the TRC section 29 enquiries and the records released to SAHA, please see http://www.saha.org.za/news/2015/April/saha_releases_the_list_of_section_29_hearings_obtained_under_paia.htm
14. See http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2000-002.pdf
15. See, for example, access to information laws in other transitional justice contexts such as Guatemala, Uruguay and Mexico, as well as Principle 10 of the Global Principles on National Security and the Right to Information (Tshwane Principles), available at https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/global-principles-national-security-and-freedom-information-tshwane-principles
16. See http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3132

MAPPING THE MEDIA WORLD,
fraught but fertile

By Gerard Goggin

A threshold issue for many people interested in understanding the state of play in contemporary media is sheer complexity. It is a cliché – but true nonetheless – that media are dramatically and rapidly transforming, especially with the "digital disruptions" widely discussed and featuring prominently in recent issues of Rhodes Journalism Review. There are different social, political, and economic dynamics woven into new technologies and digital cultures that require deciphering and response – as much as they offer new opportunities.

A central development heightened with the advent of digital technologies revolves around the new kind of global settings and frameworks. Such new forms of governance have a heightened influence on new and old media forms, industries, professions, and policy. However, we lack a good understanding of how policy, in particular, works in the altered new worlds of media.

For sure, there has been substantial research on the role of overarching supra-national forums, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) or World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), and how these now jostle with the likes of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), World Broadcasting Union (WBU), or the internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) and other international bodies that deal with specific aspects of media. However, the new forces yet to receive proper reckoning are the new titans of digital media: the likes of Vodafone, Google, Baidu, Apple, Facebook, Twitter, Alibaba, and others. Add to which, global media policy has seen the emergence of new policy and governance arrangements: from company policy on how they moderate and regulate

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new

visual mapping can help trace the development of policy debates and arrangements, explore the interconnectedness of themes that compose policy discourses, and investigate networks of interaction among people, organisations and controversial issues

their social media platforms (dealing with the public's online commenting), through industry self- and co-regulation, to multistakeholder governance of the internet world.

Just to rachet up the challenges, how such global media dynamics play out very much depend on regional dynamics. So older theories of how cultural and media imperialism work, based on power, influence, and information radiating outwards from the former colonial and imperial metropoles have been considerably revised – to cope with the emergence of new groupings, such as new powers (for instance, those like BRICS) or ascendant regions – from Africa, to Asia, to Latin America. Into the bargain, it turns out that national, and local, media habits, preferences, practices, cultures – but especially industries, laws, and policies – often still are decisive. Amid this babel of global media, it is no surprise that 'mapping' is turning out to be one of the most fertile and interesting ways to come to grips with the unfolding scene of policy.

This is especially evident in the area of internet governance – one of the most contentious media issues today. Strong interest in mapping internet governance has been shown, especially by those associated with the NETMundial Initiative. Within the context of the initiative, the GovLab group at New York University – in conjunction with key internet policy body ICANN (internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) – have produced a handy "map of internet governance maps" <http://thegovlab.org/toward-a-netmundial-solutions-map-mapping-internet-governance-maps/>. Here mapping spans to include efforts such as clearing houses and observatories, as well as a number of initiatives explicitly revolving around mapping.

A relatively early mover in the world of mapping projects using online platforms and tools

is the International Association of Media and Communications Research (IAMCR)'s Global Media Policy (GMP) Working Group. With heightened scholarly, policy, and civil society interest global media policy – especially evident in the strong interest in the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) – the group established the Mapping Global Media Policy project in 2007 based at Media @McGill, and led by Marc Raboy (McGill University), and Claudia Padovani (Padua). The project serves to monitor, categorise and analyse key issues, significant developments and recent trends in the governance of media, information and communication on a global level.

Through a database platform, GMP <http://www.globalmediapolicy.net/> aims to build and share knowledge on the complex field of global media policy, especially relating to actors and processes. The project also aims to enhance actors' capacity to effectively intervene in relevant policy settings and thus reduce barriers to meaningful participation, as well as stimulate collaboration between scholars and stakeholders worldwide <http://www.globalmediapolicy.net/node/20>. The GMP platform is open to researchers to establish sections on areas of their own interest. To date, there are resources on a range of topics, including gender and media, internet governance and policy, mobile internet policy, public service broadcasting, media literacy and education. The newest section is on disability and media policy, drawing on my own work.

As well as documenting and making resources available, the platform makes in-built tools available for visualization and analysis <http://www.globalmediapolicy.net/node/26>. So, for instance, the GMP platform allows the immediate transformation of the explored datasets on areas

of policy into visual representations. Investigating global media policy through visual mapping can help trace the development of policy debates and arrangements, explore the interconnectedness of themes that compose policy discourses, and investigate networks of interaction among people, organisations and controversial issues. Of course, theories, approaches and methods of how to design and deploy such digital tools are now widely discussed with the rise of digital humanities and social sciences, and associated 'e-research'. Such lively debates add further insights and provocations to the long-standing acknowledgement of mapping as a fraught as well as fertile endeavour, very much involving powerful ambitions as much as imaginative attempts to find new knowledge.

So, at the annual conference of the IAMCR held in Montréal in July 2015, this mapping turn in media research was put under the microscope. Organised by the GMP Working Group, a dedicated session on "Mapping as Relevant Knowledge" discussed the various projects around the world attempting to map aspects of media. Participants included Arne Hintz (Cardiff University). Samantha Grassle (Govlab, New York University), Annabelle Sreberny (SOAS, University of London), Francesca Musiani (French National Centre for Scientific Research), Marjan de Bruin (University of West Indies), and Robin Mansell (London School of Economics). Discussion

centred on two main themes: how relevant is all this mapping to policy and advocacy engagement? To what extent, and in what conditions, do these initiatives actually contribute to more participatory practices, better informed policy decisions, and better media (typically the common goals of different mapping initiatives)? And what of the practical challenges in the establishment and development of these initiatives: platform population, content generation and sharing, sustainability of projects (expert knowledge, skills, human and financial resources), language diversity and accessibility, comprehensiveness or gaps in policy information and analysis?

Given the variety of mapping projects, and their range in scope, approach, duration, and viability, this kind of wide-ranging, critical discussion of mapping is more important than ever. In many ways, media mapping is at a crossroads. We need it more than ever – to understand the rich and complex state of play of global media policy, and how goals of democratic participation, more effective policy, and, in the end, better media, can be achieved. Yet mapping, like everything, takes time and dedication, and is difficult to do at scale, with comprehensiveness, and rigour. This is no more so, if we really care about genuinely international mapping of media – where everyone's media is put on the map, in service of shaping better and fairer futures.

Further reading

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Minding the gap

students reporting on poverty and inequality

By Martha Evans

JOURNALISM **new**

"South

Africa has developed an alarming momentum for inequality," says top poverty researcher Murray Leibbrandt; yet poverty and inequality remain underreported in our mainstream media. UCT's print journalism students collaborated with a top poverty think tank to produce Cape Connect, a newspaper devoted solely to South Africa's most pressing concerns. Here's how events unfolded.

"You can't teach journalism, any more than you can teach sex," the Canadian journalist Allan Fotheringham is reported to have said, adding to the long list of disdainful comments on teaching journalism at tertiary institutions. Part of the challenge is the "play-play" nature of the university setting. Students pretend to be journalists, writing reams of news articles, profiles, and features that never see the light of day. As much as one might urge classes to write for "real" publications, feedback remains abstract. Students don't have to hammer away at their writing as they'd have to in the so-called "real world". Nor do they have to properly consider the impact of their words, or fight for column space. I suspect it's part of the reason why there is so much scepticism around teaching the profession.

Because of this, when seasoned journalist Pippa Green approached UCT's Centre for Film and Media Studies with a proposal to put together an actual, funded newspaper, we jumped at the chance. Here was an opportunity for our students to learn "on the job", so to speak. Green, the former head of radio news at the SABC and ex deputy editor of the Sunday Independent, currently works as the media manager for UCT's Poverty and Inequality Initiative (PII). One of the Vice-Chancellor's four strategic initiatives, the PII is tasked with tackling the twin challenges of poverty and inequality. Green approached the Centre in the hope that our student journalists would be willing to help make some of the intiative's aims and research more accessible in a newspaper format.

Non-profits, start-ups and PR companies frequently approach journalism departments with pleas for students to produce newsletters or promotional videos, but I remain a little sceptical of such offers. While collaborative projects can provide valuable practical writing and branding experience, because of their focused agenda, more often than not, they don't teach students much about journalism, whose cornerstone is independence.

Working with the PII was different. In South Africa, what could be more important than poverty and inequality? They remain stubborn and pervasive challenges; while the number of people living in extreme poverty has decreased because of social grants, inequality has widened, and jobs remain scarce. Focusing on these issues hardly seemed a departure from journalistic concerns. "Poverty and inequality are the big story," said the former editor

> ... one of the key roles of journalism, is to find the human stories that illuminate society's most pressing challenges.

of the Mail & Guardian Nic Dawes at the 2012 "Towards Carnegie III" conference on poverty in South Africa, adding that the media had been "awful" at covering them.

Because of this, an increasing number of social justice organisations aim to give voice to the communities and issues overlooked by the mainstream media. NGOs such as Ndifuna Ukwazi and the Social Justice Coalition lobby to make a difference in the lives of disadvantaged South Africans. GroundUp, an online news organisation devoted solely to reporting on matters affecting vulnerable communities, has emerged as one of one of the most exciting advocacy journalism initiatives of the past few years, and our students were very much inspired by their example.

It was in this vein, that our student newspaper Cape Connect was born. Staffed by the third-year print journalism students, the newspaper set out to reflect the latest research on poverty and inequality, and to articulate the concerns of those still struggling to find dignity and security even 20 years after the end of apartheid.

Academic research as a starting point

We were lucky enough to begin our journey with a series of lectures from a trio of luminaries working on poverty in the academic field. If only all newsrooms were afforded this kind of luxury. Professors Murray Leibbrandt, Francis Wilson and Haroon Bhorat presented a snapshot view of the situation in current-day South Africa, as well as their views on required policy changes.

South Africa needs to look to other emerging economies for ideas, Bhorat informed us; doing so will show us that South Africa has become too reliant on public sector employment and the finance industry, whereas the small-scale farming and agricultural industries are overlooked. Leibbrandt showed us some illuminating statistics on education and the real difference that secondary schooling can make to unemployment.

Armed with information from the best brains in the business, our students went out to report on the lived realities of disadvantaged South Africans, giving life to some of the vague-seeming statistics and policy statements. In Green's words: "The stories reflect one of the key roles of

journalism, which is to find the human stories that illuminate society's most pressing challenges." After workshopping ideas, we came up with a two-pronged approach:

1. to report on the current state of affairs (where does South Africa stand in terms of inequality, poverty, education; what anti-poverty policies are in place; which ones are working, etc.) and

2. what citizens can do (and are doing) to stop it. Such an approach, we hoped, would result in a publication both realistic and inspirational in its focus.

Yes, Rhodes Must Fall, but what else is happening?

So how did students respond to this mandate? Some of the initial ideas followed the agenda of the mainstream press, and we discussed how to cover the Rhodes Must Fall movement, which was unfolding at the time. Eventually, it was decided that the movement was adequately dominating headlines and that there were other, equalling urgent events and issues requiring attention.

Better student ideas emerged directly from the PII seminar – on, for instance, the success of conditional cash transfers in fighting poverty and HIV in KwaZulu-Natal, on the difference education makes to joblessness, or on the need for increased governmental support of the informal sector. For these and other stories, students echoed the comments of the researchers directly. In their research, and in line with Bhorat's advice, students sought information from other emerging economies to provide background to these articles.

Additional stories focused in a less direct manner on key issues mentioned in the lectures. Small-scale farming in peri-urban areas emerged as central theme of the paper, in line with the PII's findings on South Africa's lack of focus on small-scale agriculture. The importance of schooling was another key concern; perhaps because of their own recent schoolgoing experiences, this resulted in some excellent reporting on some of the the challenges preventing our youth from staying in school – with strong pieces on the detrimental effects of a lack of access to sanitary towels and the impact of gang violence on school attendance.

Getting away from PR copy

By far the largest number of articles consisted of positive "human interest" features and profiles on the groups and individuals working to combat poverty. Several pieces showcased the work of

lesser-known but important NGOs, such as the Raymond Ackerman Foundation, which supports entrepreneurs in business; the Spier Art Academy, which runs business and marketing training for artists looking to enter the high-end art scene; the Chris Steytler organisation, which creates job opportunities for citizens with disabilities; and The Street Store, an innovative pop-up urban store that attempts to restore dignity to the city's homeless by providing them with a choice of free clothing.

Many of these articles needed extra reporting and revision, as they tended to read too much like PR copy for the organisations. It is of course easy to forget about the differences between journalism and PR when reporting on the work of do-gooders, and students struggled with this. They were urged to seek out additional information and commentary to locate the organisations' work within the wider context of poverty in South Africa. In addition, too many of these articles were single-source pieces that relied on the voices of NGO workers. As we had quite a generous lead time, students had the luxury of returning to seek comments from beneficiaries of the organisations, as well as expert commentary from academics in the field. This kind of learning was extremely beneficial.

A few students also reported on new services that might benefit disadvantaged South Africans, such as an innovative online website that charts taxi routes, operating hours and approximate fares, and the cellphone-friendly toilet fault reporting system piloting in Khayelitsha. Here, we benefited enormously from the information sent out by organsations working directly with affected communities. Ndifuna Ukwazi press releases provided the impetus for numerous news stories, and they were quick to provide commentary and, where necessary, images.

As with any news reporting experience, challenges included some of the unseen issues that arose during the production process. The editors agreed that, although not a central strand of our focus, unlike the Rhodes Must Fall movement, we needed to report on the new xenophobic attacks, and the ways in which Cape Town communities had responded to the news from other parts of the country. Here, the students found stories both on campus and beyond, reporting on university panel discussions centring on the causes of the violence and attending an anti-xeonophobia Khayelitsha march (which received little attention in the mainstream media).

In general, the university environment proved to be hugely beneficial, with a ready supply of experts and several debates on current events. Even some course lectures provided stories, now

that students were viewing the world through the poverty and inequality lens.

Still lacking, in my view, were the voices of the poorest of the poor, the kinds of stories seen in GroundUp, such as Nombulelo Damba's piece about the orphaned Sibhozo brothers living in abject poverty (see: http://groundup.org.za/article/sometimes-i-only-manage-make-r10-day-just-put-bread-table-17-year-old-boy_2870). This story was moving without being patronizing and it silenced the usually vindictive internet commentators, eliciting instead a flood of empathetic responses from concerned citizens wanting to help. I have no doubt, however, that the students were not far from this kind of reporting and some of them are now interning with GroundUp.

You can't teach journalism, but you can practise it

The experience of collaborating with the PII was beneficial to both parties: it provided the institute with a newspaper that publicises – in an accessible tabloid-sized format – some of their key concerns and suggestions; and it provided UCT students with the opportunity to practise their craft.

One of the key differences between "pretend" and "real" reporting involved the interaction with sources. Students frequently complain that it is difficult to get sources to speak to them when they tell them that the interview is "only for a university assignment" – it either makes sources loose-tongued and careless, or, particularly in the case of authoritive sources, prevents them from returning students' calls and emails. While some organisations were still unwilling to talk to students (and some very good story ideas were thwarted), on the whole, students found that there was greater willingness to allow access. For instance, the City of Cape Town, usually silent in the face of student requests, provided comments for the Khayelitsha toilet fault reporting system.

Another important difference, of course, is the necessity for accuracy. Aware that any errors would be reprinted thousands of times, many students were chastened by the meticulous requirements of print journalism -- from correct spellings of names to the latest and most accurate statistics, where, again, the academic environment proved useful.

Students emerged with these kinds of useful insights, but they also had many complaints -- about the lack of editorial control, for instance, or their classmates' failure to pull their weight. For the most part, these reflected the kinds of everyday frustrations experienced by "real" journalists, illustrating again that the best way to teach journalism is to practise it, in every sense of the word.

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MAPPING WARD 3

By Hancu Louw

Auntie Bessie* sits squarely on the plastic children's chair, its legs digging into the grey soil. She and her sister have been living here most of their lives. "Ons is local hier,"[we are locals here] she says as Auntie Jasmine* chuckles, nodding in agreement.

We're sitting in the small, muddy playground of Rainbow Kids Pre-School, the two teachers watching over their noisy flock as the kids rush over and around the once brightly coloured jungle gym.

"Ons ken onse mense, en hoe dinge hier werk, ons kan vir jou al die stories vertel,"[we know our people and how things work here; we have all the stories] says Bessie, pointing across the makeshift parking lot and decaying sports field to the low-lying area stretching out in front of us.

The settlements follow the natural geography of the region, modest brick, mud and corrugated iron homes hugging both sides of the two little valleys. Neighbourhoods almost arbitrarily divvied-up by two streams, both contaminated to a gurgling grey sludge – sewage and household runoff that's been left to flow freely, "Sjoe, for many years now!" says Bessie.

Abandoned by the current local government, the estimated 5 000 inhabitants of Ward 3 regard themselves as pawns in an ongoing DA-ANC squabble in a now thoroughly-defunct municipal council and governing structure.

"People are angry, always angry because there are few opportunities here and the quality of life is very bad for some," says Bessie, giving me some background on the social well-being of the communities to which she has dedicated most of her life.

"People have it hard here, most of them live on grant money or rely on piece-jobs to make a living," says Jasmine, affirming the cold, statistical data I pulled off the most recent document of the Makana Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for the 2014/2015 financial year: 3 314 registered voters and their subsequent families, subject to life in conditions similar to much of the socio-political and economic tensions experienced by marginalised communities in the Eastern Cape; high poverty levels, low employment and an almost complete lack of basic service delivery.

Ward 3 has an unemployment rate of 25.8%.

JOURNALISM
new

However, despite the rigidity of ward boundaries and the administration governing how, why and by whom basic services are rendered, the inhabitants don't think in terms of municipal wards here. The administrative boundaries are as arbitrary as the visits from journalists and organs of state.

"Kyk, ek bly in Scotch Farm, daar onder langs die opsigter se huis by die Oval," [Look, I live in Scott's Farm, down there next to the janitor's house by the Oval], Bessie says, pointing to her home about a kilometre away. "Jasmine bly in Ghost Town en meeste van die kinders hier is van die ander areas." [Jasmine lives in Ghost Town and most of the kids at the school come from surrounding areas.]

Most of the inhabitants of Ward 3 and 4 self-identify as culturally coloured, black or "mixed". People here live in "areas" loosely defined by streets and other prominent geographic features; churches, established taverns, schools.

Each area has a distinct character and history; membership is gained through birth, family ties or an arduous process of naturalisation.

Ghost Town, Central, Sun City Squatter Camp, Scott's Farm, Hooggenoeg, Vergenoeg and Polla-Park Squatter Camp.

Seven areas loosely bound by municipal administration, history and geography.

Civic mapping as a journalist – methods
For a period of three months as the first phase of a potential three phase action research project, I have been using civic mapping methods to uncover within the context of a specific hyperlocal area, Ward 3 of the Makana Municipality, "who talks to whom about what?"

This approach draws on Harwood's (2000) typology of civic life which organises civic/community life into five layers: "the 'official' layer of local governmental institutions; the 'quasi-official' layer

of local municipal committees, civic organisations, and NGOs; 'third places' like community halls, places of worship, and taverns/shebeens; 'incidental' encounters on sidewalks, at food vendors' stalls, and in backyards; and the 'private' spaces of people's homes (Harwood 2000 in Haas 2008: 5).

Through these methods, civic mapping allows journalists to identify and cultivate a range of civic actors: official leaders (elected officials, school board members, CEOs); civic leaders (religious leaders, ward committee members); catalysts (people who have wisdom, know-how and historical perspective about issues and places), and connectors (people who move from organisation to organisation, like pollinating bees spreading ideas and social norms).

By exploring these relationships between various members and groups in a community defined according to their position in relation to the layers of civic life, I have been using civic mapping as a research tool in a number of adapted ways, with the aim of improving my journalistic understanding of the people and communities of Ward 3 and surrounds. I elected to employ this approach strategically over time as it seeks to improve how and for whom journalism is produced, as the underlying rationale of civic mapping methods is the cultivation and production of journalism that improves the public's understanding of its own problems and ultimately contributes to the overall health of public life.

Observations – phase one
Seeking to integrate myself and get to know a hyperlocal space has been a challenging process thus far.

After my first three, two-hour-long visits comprising a set of observational walks through the ward I realised the arbitrary nature and influence of administrative structures on the daily lives of the people I chatted to.

Communities are small, bound to streets and blocks. People live

their lives on the street as daily life plays itself out on front-door steps and small, fenced-in yards – weather permitting.

Living as beneficiaries of the state welfare system and expanded development policies and projects, inhabitants share the burden of collective social issues, yet are forced to face these as small insular groups strictly policed by class and culture. "The problem here is that us coloureds don't have ubuntu like the blacks, so even if we wanted to, communities struggle to lift each other up," says Jasmine while herding the kids back into the little square classroom after break-time.

There is little sense of unity between people here, resulting in a general lack of initiative with regard to social upliftment projects endogenous to the ward. "Someone will start a soup kitchen for the needy, do it for a couple of weeks and things will go well, then all of a sudden someone else also starts a soup kitchen down the road because they see it brings respect in the neighbourhood, and just as suddenly, the first person will stop because they say the other person stole their thunder," says Bessie, illustrating the nature of civic activism in the area.

People rely on outside intervention and have been for years now: "Many of our people don't understand that they need to take responsibility for things like their homes, they think if any little thing goes wrong the council must come help," says Jasmine as she helps one of the pre-schoolers choose crayons to give colour to a picture of a Disney princess.

This general sense of mistrust and social policing has resulted in high levels of mistrust dominating the relationship between the inhabitants of Ward 3 and the ward councillor. As head of a bifurcated ward committee split along racial and class lines, the councillor has been able to maintain a state of stagnant politics only spurred into action close to election time or when things reach boiling-point over long-standing social issues, such as the allocation of council homes.

As such, it has been quite a challenge attempting to gently pry open the history and context of the politics of the ward and various areas comprising it, hoping to tap into the civic life and consciousness of the hyperlocal area.

Heading into the second phase of my research, positively-burdened by an ever-growing source list and book of potential story ideas centred on civic issues, the first phase of my research comprised a tiresome back and forth between sources and tit-bits of information

As an exercise in mapping a great deal of what the work requires is a continuous process of connect-the-dots between people, places and issues within the context of the highly-fraught civic lives and social identities of the individuals and groups of people who call areas in Ward 3 their home.

To do this kind of journalism requires a great deal of patience and even more, luck, all premised on the notion that the most effective way to get to the realities of civic life in Ward 3 is to walk the streets.

names have been changed at request of participants

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PUTTING JOURNALISM EDUCATION IN ITS PLACE

a critical pedagogy of place experiment

By Nkosinothando Mpofu

The business models of legacy media organisations are under immense pressure from the corrosive power of online media. Business models lay out the preconditions for journalism organisations to survive and succeed and these in turn have implications for the skills and capabilities that are seen as essential for the practice of journalism and therefore for the training of students who will be a good fit and be able to work in such (market-driven) environments. But several scholars have expressed dissatisfaction with this approach to journalism education.

Mensing argues that such an approach "is a disservice to students who learn skills and techniques that reinforce one-way communication, in the process being socialised for the newsroom and thereby neglecting critical inquiry" (2010). This form of training breaks the connection that journalism has to the society as a watchdog of democracy and a platform for citizens to make their voices heard. The worry is that 'training' prepares students to fit fluidly into news market-oriented organisations rather than educating them with an inclination to ethical public engagement in service of those whose voices are muted by dominant for-profit models of journalism that often reflect the voices and interests of the socially-powerful and empowered. Journalism education (rather than 'training') in the service of deepening democracy, it is argued, requires a reorientation of journalism curricula and pedagogies

(MacDonald 2006; Carey 2000). In a country where the majority of people are poor and poorly-eduated, reorienting higher education to serve the interests of society involves making opportunities available for students to participate in communities as citizens and to also see themselves as responsible partners in and with communities rather than as privileged consumers in a market that is worlds apart from the needs of citizens whose lives are often far removed from centres of power and consumption.

Recognising the challenges that elite institutions of higher education may face in relation to developing socially responsible graduates, the 1997 White Paper on the Transformation of Higher Education calls upon universities "to promote and develop social responsibility and awareness amongst students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes". However, what, in practical terms, might be meant by the development of a sense of citizenship and social responsibility as one of the missions of higher education in South Africa has been the subject of wide debate. Our NRF-supported research focus at Rhodes University's School of Journalism and Media Studies is developing the notion of 'place' as a viable starting point for the renewal of curriculum and pedagogy. Our argument is that what has variously been termed 'place-conscious education' and a 'critical pedagogy of place' holds exciting possibilities for the transformation of journalism education in South Africa.

Soweto by Jodi Bieber

A critical pedagogy of place

The notion of a 'critical pedagogy of place' sees the convergence of two mutually supportive traditions – place-based education and critical pedagogy. Place-based education describes an approach to learning that endeavours to connect students with local places, allowing them to participate in those places in the process generating knowledge, understanding and even a sense of caring for those places. Woodhouse and Knapp (2000) described place-based education as an educational philosophy that is: "inherently multidisciplinary and experiential; broader than the notion of 'learn to earn' and primarily concerned with connecting place with self and community".

Thus place-based education moves away from the uniform and standardised curriculum to one that is "focused on the unique strengths, histories and characteristics of local places" (Graham 2007). Place-based education emphasises the study of places and is motivated by the desire to contribute to the well-being of the people who inhabit them.

Place-based education thus "embraces the experience of being human in connection with others" in a particular locale which has particular (historical, geographical, social, cultural, economic, biological, etc) characteristics (Gruenewald 2003). While place-based education has been criticised for taking a celebratory approach to place, a critical pedagogy of place is characterised by an emancipatory, transformative agenda (Bowers 1993). Critical pedagogues such as Freire, McLaren and Giroux consider education to be political and call upon teachers and students to become transformative intellectuals with an ability to identify and redress the injustices of an oppressive world. Critical pedagogy thus has human liberation as its key animating component and challenge the individualistic nature of education whose tendency is to support and further entrench the dominant and oppressive status quo in the education context.

For Freire, critical pedagogies must lead learners to what he calls conscientizacao (1970, 1995). Conscientizacao or "becoming conscious" is seen as

... you are involved with people who are actually the ones who have to live with the consequences of whatever is going on, they are the people who have to face the reality. It also started opening up the question who do we create this journalism for? What is the market? Is it market-driven and should it be? Should you be writing certain things just because a certain kind of person will buy?

the ability to perceive social, political and economic injustices in society and to have the courage and audacity to take action against injustice. To enable coming to consciousness, Freire and Macedo (1987) proffer the notion of 'reading the world in order to read the word'. That is to say, understanding the (worldly) context in which one experiences the (academic/theoretical) word is a necessary condition for the emergence of the capability to reflect and to act on reflection in ways that advance justice rather than reproducing injustice. At the centre of critical pedagogy is the ability of pedagogy to support coming to consciousness among students of injustice as a necessary condition for taking transformative action in society.

Gruenewald thus describes a critical pedagogy of place as place-based education that aims to:

1. identify, recover and create material spaces and places that teach us how to live well in our environment (re-inhabitation) and
2. identify and change ways of thinking that injure and exploit people and places (decolonisation).

Reinhabitation and decolonisation are seen by Freire as means for acting on one's 'situationality' or conditions of existence. Learning to live in a place could mean pursuing the kind of social action that improves the social and ecological lives of the places people inhabit. Decolonisation on the other hand involves learning to recognise disruption and injury and to address their cause: to confront a dominant system of thought in order to be able to craft just and sustainable ways of being in the world.

A critical pedagogy of place is thus concerned with the effects of social inequalities and power imbalances, seeking to question the established order and encouraging working for the common good including a commitment to environmental sustainability and social justice. A critical approach to place-based education is seen as an approach that is grounded in the peculiarities of the local community that provides the context in which particular educational exchanges occur, and attentive to how power and culture work through places to enhance or limit human potential. Therefore, it presents a critical perspective as a starting point for education that promotes civic engagement, democratic practices and fosters values largely absent from individualistic approaches to education.

The place project

In 2015 we experimented with these approaches to learning by integrating 'place' into the Journalism and Media Studies first year (JMS1) course at Rhodes University. We sought to connect learning to the local social, ecological, cultural, and historical contexts of the university. Students first wrote about where they had "packed their suitcases" before arriving at Rhodes, and went on to writing profile articles on each other. This process began to attune these proto-journalists to the profound diversity of students who arrive at Rhodes' gates every year.

The students were then tasked with doing some civic mapping – using a set of tools and techniques designed to help journalists better understand the complex layers of civic life, and the relationships between these layers, in a diverse community. One layer is the official layer of public servants and political representatives. Another is the private layer – people's private, domestic spaces and lives. But there are others – 'third places' such as places of worship, clubs and community gatherings, and the quasi-official layer of civic organisations and NPOs. While civic mapping has been employed as a way of narrowing the gap between news organisations and their audiences and between citizens and access to political influence, we were also interested in civic mapping as a teaching tool which would provide students with a more acute sense of what it might mean to be richly located in a particular local context – in this case Rhodes University.

Throughout, we explored aspects of Rhodes history, politics and sociology in the classroom, but most crucially we asked students to identify and enter a variety of third places in the university. They had to work hard to observe and understand the norms of these spaces before easing their way into community conversations, being careful to avoid intrusive or rapid-fire questions. In this way it was hoped they would tap the thinking of a diversity of people by listening for how they described both their personal concerns and the big issues.

The mapping was conducted in the heat of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign. And when the 240 journalism students explored with citizens in the various layers what it was they were thinking about in terms meaningful to them, they discovered that debates around the transformation of the university overwhelmingly dominated third place discussions. They went on to identify and profile civic leaders of one kind or another (official, quasi-official, connector, catalyst, expert).

All of this inquiry informed the second phase of the course, which entailed the production of journalism that attempted to integrate citizen concerns and viewpoints into the construction and reporting of stories. The journalism students moved well beyond purely reporting events to become

vehicles for public education, debate and structured discussion of public issues. The journalism aimed to connect the community, engage individuals as citizens and to help public deliberation in search of solutions. For their final assessment, students were asked to write a reflexive essay.

Framed as a critical pedagogy of place, then, the teaching of JMS 1 aimed for decolonisation: a pedagogy that provokes confrontations with a dominant system of thought in the hopes that students learn to recognise disruption and injury in their local places and to identify ways to address their cause; and creates the space for students to reinhabit their places. The latter would mean learning how to live well in a place which may include pursuing social action that improves the social and ecological life of the places students' inhabit.

The study, which took a phenomenological and ethnographic approach, found that there was resistance to the approach we took to teach them journalism practice and this often emanated from the discomfort which comes from being displaced and then emplaced in unfamiliar places. This unfamiliarity and displacement related not only to the physical embodied experience of being in unfamiliar environments but also to the intellectual displacement of being asked to do unexpected things that students did not associate with what their prior experience had taught them to anticipate their journalism education would be about. As one student explained: "I didn't really want to do civic mapping, I felt for me it was uncomfortable and it definitely put me out of my comfort zone. It's not something that l thought I would typically be exposed to in Journ. It's not the same as writing an opinion piece..."

Another student said: "I feel like the textbook has a lot of information in it and we were not told to use it as much as we should." Their displacement was thus also a pedagogical one – from traditional styles of teaching (such as text book-based teaching) and what they anticipated would be the content of a journalism course.

Reading the world in order to read the word is a founding idea in critical place-based education. The course was therefore interested in inviting students to understand the context in which their learning is taking place. This process of reflection was powerful in provoking some participants to think critically about of the enterprise of journalism. As one student said: "l thought it was really interesting...because you are involved with people who are actually the ones who have to live with the consequences of whatever is going on, they are the people who have to face the reality. But I also thought it was really interesting because it sort of started opening up the question who do we create this journalism for? What is the market? Is it market-driven and should it be? Should you be writing certain things because a certain kind of person will buy? It was just an interesting way to explore those questions."

Another student said: "I think it's very easy to just think of journalism as probably going to interview people, writing a blog and trying to write something which you can google it. But when we were introduced to civic mapping it made me realise that there is so much more that is happening, so much more that you would not be necessarily exposed to in any other way but going out there and talking to people and finding out what is going on. Like l said that is not something that l can be comfortable with but it can generate so much content especially for local newspapers."

To engage students in learning which goes beyond the classroom context can allow them to understand the word – academic knowledge and debates – in ways that are informed by, and emanate from, reading the world. Such an approach to education becomes part of a socially responsive process of reflection, critical thinking and transformation. Journalism education that critically embraces place as a starting point for learning could ignite the restorative possibilities of a journalism practice which does not aim towards an imagined audience but will work with the inhabitants of real places to build functioning communication structures that are relevant to local conditions, needs and characteristics, in all their complexity, and that support democracy.

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NEW SCHOOL MEETS OLD SCHOOL
journalism education in Africa's newest country

By Peter du Toit

South Sudanese journalists have a critical contribution to make in promoting peace, development and democracy in Africa's newest state, but many lack the training and skills to fulfill this potential.

The need for advanced training was raised in the UNESCO Interim Assessment of Media Development in South Sudan published in 2015[1]. This assessment included recommendations for a university-level journalism curriculum and the development of locally relevant training materials.

While it was not captured in this assessment, the media development NGO Internews-South Sudan had already risen to the challenge. Internews recognised the importance of developing a new cadre of journalists and also that of providing working journalists with formal qualifications[2]. For these reasons, they facilitated a partnership between Juba University and the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University. The principle objective of this partnership is the development of a two year diploma in broadcast journalism which responds to the complex social and political context that exists in the world's newest state.

The republic achieved independence in July 2011 but has been wracked by a brutal civil war that started just 18 months after independence. This conflict between forces aligned with the former deputy president Riek Machar and government forces aligned with President Salvador Kiir[3] has continued unabated despite ongoing peace talks.

The partnership brings together Africa's newest journalism school with one of the most established on the continent. The University of Juba's School of Journalism and Communication Science (SJCS) was formally established in July this year, while the Rhodes Department of Journalism (now the School of Journalism and Media Studies) has been educating journalists for almost 45 years.

In working to develop this curriculum the partners are acutely conscious of the need to complement each other's strengths. On one hand, the Rhodes School of Journalism and Media Studies (JMS) has years of experience of designing, refining and redeveloping its journalism curriculum. On the other, its Juba-based partners understand the intricacies and complexities of teaching and learning in an environment characterised by significant underdevelopment.

Driven by a team of JMS lecturers working in consultation with the SJCS academic leadership and Internews trainers, the curriculum development process has involved reciprocal visits between campuses during which partners have reached key decision on the overall focus and structure of the programme.

In the first phase of this process, JMS staff held wide ranging consultations with stakeholders with

1. UNESCO. 2015. Interim Assessment of Media Development in South Sudan. Available: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002327/232709E.pdf
2. Internews is responsible for a network of community radio stations in South Sudan and provides support to other stations and humanitarian communication project in IDP camps.
3. Some have estimated that this conflict has already resulted in the deaths of up to fifty thousand people, although no official death toll is available. It has also seen more than two million civilians displaced. UNHCR. 7 July 2015. More than 2.25 million now displaced in South Sudan and across is borders. Available: http://www.unhcr.org/559bdb0e6.html

JOURNALISM EDUCATION

> Journalists need to contribute to nation building in South Sudan and to help build bridges of understanding between 63 different ethnic groups that are spread out across 10 different states. Journalists also need to build bridges between citizens on the ground and those in power with the responsibility to serve communities.

an interest in media development in South Sudan. During a week-long visit to Juba organised by Internews, Rhodes radio studies lecturers Jeanne du Toit and Shepi Mati conducted in-depth individual and focus group interviews with academics, journalists, editors, media support NGO workers and civil society groups.

Participants were asked to identify aspects of the South Sudanese social context that should inform the design of the diploma, how radio journalism can contribute positively within this context, and what knowledge and skills journalists need to develop if they are to make a positive impact.

Responding to these questions participants stressed that the curriculum needed to take into account South Sudan's long-standing history of violent conflict that is often misrepresented as a consequence of primal ethnic antagonisms. Journalists, they argued, need to be equipped to question such deterministic assumptions to look for the social and political explanations that make these conflicts possible.

Participants pointed to the need for journalists to contribute to nation building in South Sudan and to help build bridges of understanding between 63 different ethnic groups that are spread out across 10 different states. They also argued that journalists need to build bridges between citizens on the ground and those in power with the responsibility to serve communities.

Many stressed the challenge that journalists face in covering developments within a very new nation where social and political systems are still emerging. South Sudan is currently governed under a transitional constitution and it's unlikely that a final constitution will be concluded in the near future. Journalists need to be able to report on this transition and to explain complex processes to

Professor William Hai Zaza, Head of the School of Journalism and Communication Sciences at the University of Juba, speaks about the partnership between the University of Juba and Rhodes University during his visit to Rhodes in June 2015.

audiences who have previously had little involvement in political processes.

Participants noted that there is a critical need for information across South Sudan and that this is exacerbated by the fact that only 27% of the population is literate. They explained that the vast majority of people live in rural areas and that many are reliant on media, particularly radio, for information about government programmes and processes. People needed to be informed about issues relating to peace initiatives, food security, education and issues of public health.

Journalists, the participants stressed, needed to be prepared to go beyond the objective reporting of facts. They should also be equipped to educate the population about how, by participating in civil society activities within local communities, they can contribute to peace building and development.

The conditions in which journalists were operating were often hostile. Participants observed that journalists faced restrictions with regard to the way in which they covered the civil war. For example, journalists are not able to use rebel voices on air. They also face the prospect of intimidation if they expose or challenge people in power.

Many participants also suggested that reporters often lack a strong enough sense of their own professional identity and that this meant many lacked confidence when it came to asking challenging questions of people in power. Some said this was often evident in the way in which reporters allowed important sources to take control of interviews.

Journalists also frequently have difficulty in persuading people to speak to them. The participants suggested that this refusal to engage with journalists could often be traced to a general lack of faith in journalists to accurately represent the facts.

Participants generally agreed that by offering journalists a chance to complete a professionally relevant qualification the planned diploma could contribute towards addressing several of these problems. Qualified journalists are likely to have more confidence when it comes to asking hard questions and they are likely to inspire more confidence in source by getting stories right and adhering to professional ethics.

In the second phase of the partnership, the SJCS leadership, Internews – South Sudan and the JMS team have developed the overall structure for a broadcast journalism curriculum that responds to the needs of both working and aspirant journalist in South Sudan.

This curriculum, which involves eight modules offered over two years, has been designed to accommodate people who are already employed at radio stations and to meet the needs of new entrants with no experience in journalism.

Each module includes two weeks of intensive classroom engagement followed by a month or more of experiential learning at a radio station. Working journalists will be able to complete their experiential learning at their own stations and to incorporate learning tasks alongside their professional duties.

In the first year students complete a module dealing with media and society in South Sudan and a second focusing on journalism, development and democracy to strengthen their knowledge of the social context in which journalists work in South Sudan. They then take two more practical modules to develop their foundational knowledge of radio broadcasting, dealing respectively with the basics of radio production and basic radio journalism skills.

In the second year students continue to study the social context of journalism and strengthen their journalistic practice. They first complete a module in conflict sensitive reporting and thereafter explore how radio journalists can take advantage of digital technologies and social media for telling stories. In

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the penultimate module students learn to facilitate debate and discussion shows. The last module is project-based and encourages students to experiment with what they have learned as they tackle a major project of their choice.

In the next phase of the project JMS staff will complete the process of developing content that will be integrated into the different modules, and the assessment and teaching strategies that teachers can employ when presenting these to students.

The curriculum will need to be approved by Juba University's senate and once this is done JMS staff will provide support SJOC lecturers as they prepare to deliver the curriculum. They will also work with these lecturers as they revise the curriculum based on the experience of teaching it for the first time.

It is anticipated that the partnership between Africa's newest journalism school and one of its oldest will continue to provide opportunities for teachers from vastly different contexts to share ideas about innovative approaches to journalism education.

Chaplein Kara Yokoju talks to Ettione Ferreira about the workshop held at Rhodes University in June 2015, aimed at strengthening the curriculum for the University of Juba.

Peter du Toit co-ordinates the Rhodes School of Journalism and Media Studies curriculum development partnership with Juba University's School of Journalism and Communication Science and Internews – South Sudan. He is also a media trainer who specialises in providing conflict sensitive reporting to journalists in conflict-affected countries. p.dutoit@ru.ac.za

Let's talk
accountability

By Chengetai Chikadaya

The Eastern Cape Socio-economic Consultative Council (ECSECC) has adopted the acronym VUCA to succinctly describe the socio-political landscape of the province. According to the council, the setting in which our provincial leaders, civil society organisations and media houses operate is challenging, not only because it is **Volatile** and holds much **Uncertainty**, but also because it has problems that are **Complex** and **Ambiguous**. The Eastern Cape is a province with a strong storytelling and oratory historical tradition. There are therefore many institutions and organisations that use this asset to facilitate inclusive communication spaces that address the VUCA environment. The province has a vibrant community and local media sector, civil society organisations (CSOs) like the Eastern Cape Communication Forum (ECCF) and state actors like the Government Communication Information System (GCIS), working together to facilitate inclusive communication spaces where citizens can discuss key development issues and hold their local government to account.

CSOs and state actors frequently make use of dialogues and debates to facilitate inclusive communication spaces where citizens can not only voice their opinions freely but also be heard by relevant decision-makers. However, one of the major disadvantages or challenges of many of these invited spaces is that firstly, there is a negative invited-inviter power dynamic unintentionally formed by technicalities as simple as the process of agenda drafting, seating arrangements and feedback loops. The importance/role of inclusion and listening as a value and act is often underestimated within these spaces. There also exists a healthy yet complex historical tension between state and local/community media. A thorough exploration into the complexities of the relationship between state and media is imperative to facilitating a radical shift in the metanarrative and meta-values used to underpin communication in the Eastern Cape public domain.

From 10 to 25 June 2015, the ECCF co-ordinator travelled to Germany on a study tour with 12 South African communicators. The group included editors and journalists from the community and local media sector as well as government communicators from both Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. The tour was organised by the South African-German GIZ-Governance Support Programme (GSP) in an attempt to facilitate learning and transfer of knowledge on tools and mechanisms in the field of accountability. Over 15 days the group travelled through Berlin, Hamburg and Bonn, to engage on the importance of two-way communication between state and citizens and the role of local media as an intermediary. The team visited a variety of media houses, public offices and communication enterprises to gain an overview of the German media-state dynamic, especially regarding state accountability.

It is the fundamental belief of the ECCF that in order to contribute to a transparent, healthy and more vibrant democratic media ecology, which is in line with its vision, an understanding of all actors must be gained, and furthermore, an overview of the system dynamics must be attained. On embarking on this study tour to Germany, the key intentions of the ECCF was to learn more about the democratic and communication ecology of Germany and how the various actors relate to one another. Through discussion and comparison, the hope was to therefore gain a deepened understanding of the South African context.

The tour was facilitated by trained journalist and coach Andrea Tapper of Tapper Press, who gave input in the form of workshops and guidance and assisted in eliciting deliberative dialogue on key issues throughout the trip. The trip successfully provided a variety of insights into the inner workings of the German federal state and the healthy tension between itself and the German media. The trip also provided the opportunity to reflect on the historical differences and similarities between the two countries.

Germany and South Africa: democratic cousins

South Africa is viewed as Africa's economic and political powerhouse. It has a decisive influence on Africa's political stability, while Germany holds a similar position in Europe. The two countries share a comparable history characterised by citizens suppressed through legislative segregation who showed a determined unwillingness to submit to unjust laws. Both countries were host to a socio-political system of separation that limited freedom of movement and association. In South Africa, the system was known as apartheid, loosely translated as a system of "being apart". In essence it was a 46-year-long institutionalised system of racial segregation, established and enforced by the ruling, white, Afrikaans, National Party from 1948 to 1994. Therefore, for 46 years, South Africa was divided along racial lines. While in Germany, almost 14 000 kilometres away, a different kind of wall existed, a physical barrier named the Berlin Wall that was erected in 1961. The wall separated the "socialist" East from the "capitalist" West. The East claimed that the wall was built to protect the people from fascist elements that threatened the "will of the people" and the development of a self-determined, socialist state. In reality, the wall served as a barrier to the masses of people that sought to defect from East to West Germany during the post-World War II period. Therefore, for 27 years, Germany was divided along ideological lines.

In 1989 the Eastern political forces experienced increasing pressure. Poland and Hungary began to succumb to an erosion of power. After continuous civil unrest, on 9 November 1989 East Germans were allowed to travel to West Germany. Masses of people crossed and climbed onto the wall. At the same time, in South Africa, political pressure on the apartheid government through international sanctions put the regime under increasing pressure and in 1990 negotiations to end the heinous system of apartheid began. The Berlin Wall fell completely

in 1992 and South Africa enjoyed its first democratic elections in 1994. South Africa and Germany were both born anew.

Formerly advantaged minority groups stayed in South Africa in and among the previously disadvantaged majority. This dynamic forced reconciliation to the top of the political agenda and made South African politics a highly VUCA space. Some would say that while systems and frameworks for access to information were being set up well, a culture of accountability was eroded by challenges in implementation and political appointments dominated by patronage. Further questions about the transparency of the South African governance space arose when the Protection of State Information Bill that was passed by parliament in 2010/11. Yet, on the other hand, South Africa simultaneously joined the Open Government Project (OGP), a membership-based international project whose selection criteria is based on frameworks that allow access to information, constitutional rights, budget transparency, civic participation, and asset disclosures. Economically speaking, structures were set up to equalise opportunities for the black majority through radical programmes like Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) followed up by Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBEE). South African political discourse therefore became highly contextual.

On the other hand, in Germany, things transpired a little differently. There was a strong focus on transparency and accountability. Symbols of transparency were placed in the public domain; wooden doors were replaced with glass in parliament buildings, historical exhibitions were placed in public spaces and the electoral system was set up to ensure that no one political party held exclusive power at any given time. The study tour to Germany revealed that many of these small actions combined with the bigger acts of the state, make the German political domain one of the most stable and transparent spaces. Although many historical problems remain and there is a struggling media sector, it is still a space where accountability remains key.

Overview of the German media landscape

The German media landscape is characterised by a vibrant print, TV and radio sector. The print sector has about 50 daily, 1 528 local, 121 weekly and seven Sunday editions. Out of a population of 80-million people, 22-million are regular readers, making Germany one of the greatest reading nations in the world. The numbers are quite difficult to believe, especially because in every train travelled on during the tour, almost no one was holding a newspaper and almost everyone had a cellphone in their hands. According to the same numbers, television has a penetration of 90%, newspapers 63% and online about 46%.

The media sector is divided into public or private. There are two nationwide television channels (ZDF 1 and 2) and a number of community television stations. Public TV is run by an independent board made up of people from all walks of life (church, trade unions and parties). Since 2010, a law was passed, forcing all citizens to pay tax to finance public TV. However, not all citizens are supportive of this law and the state has two cases in the constitutional court against the regulation. This is interesting because in South Africa, TV licenses are rarely contested. Compared to the American-centric South African TV, German TV is still very much under the influence of British television, especially the BBC.

What is most interesting about German public TV is the fact that no advertising is allowed. This is very different from public TV in South Africa where prime TV time is sold to advertisers. Compared to a country where state advertising is relied upon for survival (the state recently promised 30% of its advertising to community media), in Germany, for the past five years, more money is made from distribution (€4.7-billion) than advertising (€3.1-billion) in print. This is a major paradigm shift that impacts the relationship between state and media drastically, especially

making media free to report on state matters as they wish. This theme ran through the various engagements that the team had with media houses throughout the journey. Print publications are clearly branded by their ideological leanings, left, right and/or liberal. The question of political allegiances in South Africa remains a sensitive topic that is rarely discussed but often made into accusations.

Similar to the situation in South Africa, the print sector in Germany has not been immune to the effects of online penetration and shrinking budgets; many editors are being fired and re-hired as online editors for far smaller salaries or as freelancers and stringers. Also, similar to the South African Press Council is the German Presse Rat. The German body is far more anonymous that the one in South Africa. Complainants can go online and file their complaint (www.presserat.de). The body had only 20 cases in 2014.

Alex TV: free radio and TV for all

Alex TV is a public access television station based in Berlin, Alexanderplaatz. The main vision of the television station is to encourage public participation and because of this, anyone and everyone can produce and share content on its platform.

In 2006/2007 German online spaces became saturated with low quality content and German TV inundated with badly-produced programmes. The big question then arose: do we need open access TV, if it's really this bad?

Alex, started in 2008, has an open TV and radio studio where young people can come and produce and broadcast their own radio/TV shows. Radio shows are produced using a simple software programme called Mairlist. In Berlin there are about 150 radio stations and many open access radio stations. This means that there is huge competition and content has to be good. Alex allows young people to produce content by providing equipment for anyone to use free of charge, as long as they produce for Alex. The quality of equipment provided and duration allowed depends on the quality of the production and level at which the product engages the audience. Alex has about 530 evaluators of content. The evaluators watch the content and then critique the quality. Suggestions are given and workshops are provided to help producers improve. Alex is seen as a valuable stepping stone for practical experience for young people. A great deal of the content produced is placed online, with their website receiving around 27 500 clicks per day. The station has about 800 producers and 86% of them are from Berlin.

Talking Point!

Alex TV allows young people to freely contribute to local and national discourse. By the mere fact that it remains a platform and not a producer, its political affiliations are unquestionable. The value of such an initiative to the South African media landscape would be immense. However, some of the already glaring challenges would be skills shortage and language barriers. In Germany, everyone speaks German. Would it be possible to develop a cross-cultural platform that allows the flow of information in various languages? Would the government be prepared to sponsor an endeavour where it is not possible to censor through any means, especially pressure through advertorial supply? The Media Development and Diversity Agency could quite possibly take on such an endeavour in the Eastern Cape.

Bezirksamt Neukölln: a problem district changing

Neuköln is one of 12 boroughs in Berlin. Each borough has its own municipality. Similar to Soweto in South Africa, the borough is home to a large migrant population. In its totality, the area has a population of about 310 000. Almost half of the population are immigrants coming from 146 different countries. Not only are the immigrants from a different racial/ethnic background, mostly, Turkish or Arab; 63 500 are Muslim. One major difference between Neuköln and South Africa is that the state provides a great deal of financial and social support to foreigners. Firstly, there are many schools where parents do not have to pay for books and furthermore the state pays out €185 per child for school fees and other expenses related to education. The down side to this is however that because the state provides so much support, a small minority of migrants do not work and others even go as far as pocketing the surplus cash.

Most of the Germans who could not handle the influx of foreigners moved to other suburbs and integration became a top priority for the municipality. Regardless of the state support, the area was soon

labelled a "problem borough". Social workers began to work closely with the police and develop strategies to manage integration and encourage engagement. The situation became difficult in the district when in 2006 an elementary school, the Rutli School, was declared unmanageable by its own teachers due to the high levels of violence. The issue was communicated extensively through local news. Political tension grew between politicians and those working on the ground.

In an effort to curb this, the municipality began to run projects with civil society. A nationwide debate about the schooling system ensued and the school has since been reformed. In addition to this, the main church was developed into an intercultural centre. There is even a café run by an African and rooms for seminars. In order to maintain close communication with citizens, the municipality does not use a complex communication strategy but rather relies on close ties with CSOs through a hands-on municipal officer and social workers who also speak directly to the media. It is interesting to note that in comparison to the multi-layered communications departments that many of the South African municipalities have, the Neukőlln Municipality has had no formal communications department for 15 years.

Neukoellner.Net: famous, wild and unpaid

Neukoellner.Net is an online news website founded in 2011 by three young women who studied cultural journalism. They started off as student project and continued when they got their first jobs (none of them are actually working as journalists). The magazine is run as a non-profit entity. The website is attractive to the eye, clean and fresh with beautiful photography. The news section is creatively labelled as "art and kitsch" and the politics section as "power and fairy tales".

The website can be translated into eight different languages and receives almost 12 000 clicks per day. The main aim of the online news website is to re-imagine and shape the image of the "problem district" which it serves.

The topics started with culture, street life, and galleries and changed as the district changed. Issues of crime and gentrification took the fore but the magazine still aims to provide balanced and fair reporting that gives everyone a voice. They recently won the Grimm award which is an important step for acknowledgment of online journalism.

Zebralog: professional citizen participation

What do you get when you cross a team of psychologists, historians, town planners, software engineers, project managers and dialogue specialists with a zebra? Well, you get Zebralog. Zebralog is a Berlin-based agency specialising in public participation. The agency manages everything from concept to design, technical development to communication issues, management and evaluation and has carried out major public participation projects such as school planning in Frankfurt and various participation websites in the city of Berlin.

Why the name Zebralog? "A zebra is very much like a human being. It is almost impossible to domesticate and does not like to be manipulated. A zebra is a social animal and although humans may think that they are individualistic, they care a lot about social issues," said Mathias Trenel, the founder of Zebralog. "We love democracy and we all know that for democracy to function, people need to be consulted and allowed to participate in public processes." In 2003, the agency recognised a gap in the market. The state of Berlin was embarking on various development projects following the reunification of East and West. Questions about the use of public space were often coming up. Similar to South African municipalities, the city of Berlin has a lot on their plate. Public participation often ranks low on the list; even though there are dedicated officials for this purpose, they are often themselves in the communications department, acting as communicators and making use of the obvious communication suspects of radio, TV and print to elicit public participation.

In an ever-changing and flowing dynamic, the tried and tested methods are simply not enough, because people do not like to be manipulated and public participation should never be just another communication campaign. Therefore, Zebralog does not run communication campaigns for the state; they develop tools and software that create a platform for the state to engage with its citizens.

"Let's take the example of a new building in the middle of the city. How do you get people involved?

How do you answer their questions before they even get the chance to ask? Imagine a public participation website where visitors get the following options: attending a live event on site, a colloquium with building experts that can tell them about the impact of the building on urban planning, noise pollution, property costs etc., a citizen workshop where grandma and grandpa can actively engage and debate their concerns and queries around the erection of the new infrastructure, a theatre show on the future uses of the building, a guided tour… the list goes on and on. These are just some of the tools we are using to get the public participating."

When you walk into the Zebralog office you immediately notice the glass walls, free and open spaces and dynamic discussions in each room. The team consists of a range of professionals with varying backgrounds. Trenel attributes the success of the 12-year-old agency to the eclecticism of the team. He believes that public participation is a cross-cutting function and cannot be left on the shoulders of, say, communication experts or software engineers alone. In fact Zebralog thoroughly enjoys working with more technical officials in the municipality, such as town planners, because they are always on the pulse of the action. In addition to the state, the agency also works closely with civil society organisations and often runs joint workshops.

There are of course some grey areas in the space of public participation. For instance, what do you do when you start an online dialogue and the feedback is atrocious? What do you do when public participation may ignite dormant issues that would much rather be left untouched? What do you do when you feel strongly about an issue and are asked to mediate objectively?

Talking point!

Is this model applicable in South Africa? Can public participation be outsourced? In a country where trust for the state dwindles and people suffer from consultation fatigue, perhaps a fresh, neutral and non-biaed approach to public participation can be found in a South African Zebralog? Public participation is a value that is also shared by South Africa and some of these lessons can be useful for the South African context. South Africa has a complex and bureaucratic government system; government communicators are extremely busy managing invited spaces and regulated public engagements. In such cases, the space and time for social innovation becomes limited. Social innovation could help to address issues such as xenophobia, housing, public services etc. and in this case, outsourcing might just be the key needed to unlock public participation in our country.

Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten (PNN): daily for sale, weekend for free

Nachricten is one of two daily newspapers in the affluent and historic neighbourhood of Potsdamer. The paper has a circulation of about 10 000 and that's not rising. Its main readership is the affluent and active citizens of the area. The paper is ideologically liberal and has historically been seen as a revolutionary option in the times of the East-West separation. Readers crave liberal political opinion and PNN provides them with this. Potsdamer Neue is the little sister of the Tagesspiegel, a national newspaper. It is a mix of local news and national news sourced from its big sister publication and the local version would not be able to survive without this. PNN has a small team managed by editor-in chief Sabine Schicketanz. The paper publishes six times a week with a paid e-paper that has a rising circulation. The paper, like most publications, has been hit by shrinking news rooms and drops in circulation.

The paper itself is sold for €1.40. The Sunday edition – Potsdam am Sonntag – is given out for free to households and has a circulation of more than 120 000. Fifty percent of the paper's revenue comes from sales and the other 50% from advertising. To supplement the business, the PNN runs a small ticketing office on its premises. Printing and stringers are outsourced. Distributors/vendors are paid a minimum wage in accordance with German labour laws. The paper does not have fixed editors; everyone does a little bit of something. The paper keeps contact with its readers through media, letters, emails, calls and some drop-ins. Returns are stocked and recycled. Dissimilar to most South African community newspapers, the PNN does not struggle with a high turnover, because for many journalists, Potsdamer is actually seen as the greener pasture. To give back to the community, they do media literacy work with schools.

Hinz and Kunz: A media project for and by the homeless

The life expectancy of a homeless person is about 47 years compared to an average German who is expected to live to the age of 80. Homelessness is more likely to affect men because women often go into other illicit activities like prostitution to earn money. There are 2 000 people in Hamburg living on the streets and 4 000 in Berlin.

Many people who have fallen on hard times move from small towns to big cities in an effort to gain anonymity and avoid public shame. These are hard facts that most Germans do not know about. In an effort to raise awareness, Hinz and Kunz is a unique magazine/NGO that covers major issues surrounding the lives of homeless people in Berlin. The magazine is very similar to the Big Issue and the two publications have a strong relationship.

Counterintuitive to what one might think of a NGO/magazine focusing on marginalised groups, Hinz and Kunz is a high-quality product. It has a full editorial staff made up of professional journalists, a press office and a fundraising officer and works very closely with social welfare from the state. The founders of the magazine admit that they could not work without social workers as many of the homeless have complex psycho-social problems that they are not equipped to deal with (drug and alcohol addiction, depression and psychosis).

The main office of Hinz and Kunz provides a welcoming space for homeless people to get a free coffee and socialise. The magazine is sold by the very same homeless people who act as vendors on the streets of Berlin. Each vendor buys their own copies to then sell on the street for a profit. Vendors are 18+ and come from 15 different nationalities but most are from East Europe, Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. Since its inception in 1993, more than 17-million newspapers have been sold by 5 000 homeless men and women, averaging about 64 000 copies per month. They do not make huge profits from this because by law, anyone who is receiving assistance from the state can only earn a maximum of €100 from employment.

As a non-profit organisation the publication aims to offer a good structure for vendors as well as open the minds of the people in Berlin to alternative narratives about why people become poor in Germany, as there is quite a strong stigma against the poor. For most people in Germany, housing is very expensive. One can see posters advertising simple two-bedroom flats in town for the amount of €1 200 (approximately R18 000). Many young working people have found it difficult to find housing in the city and many of the houses that provide so-called asylum for the homeless are actually far from safe. Homeless people are mixed among the mentally disturbed, drug addicts and rapists. It is for this reason that most homeless people prefer to live on the streets. This is an issue that they address in their magazine, while working closely with the state to rectify the situation. Hinz and Kunz often work with the homeless to develop new projects that support them.

It is very impressive that the magazine manages to finance itself and fundraising for the NGO is strictly done locally to maintain the dignity of its beneficiaries and raise awareness among its neighbours. Once a year the magazine has a special edition on cooking where staff members and vendors cook together and share recipes. The last edition was wildly successful and made a large profit.

Der Spiegel/Spiegel online (SPON): famous news magazine, popular news site

Der Spiegel is Germany's most famous and recognised weekly news magazine published in Hamburg. Even as the largest and most recognised publication, Der Spiegel has suffered the effects of the decline in print. Today Spiegel sells about 880 000 copies, down from over a million copies in 2003. On the other hand, its online news site makes enough money to sustain a large staff; they charge about €50 000 per day for a single online ad. In 2009 they did however sustain a big hit from the financial crisis. No online adverts were sold that year. The online site has about 150 journalists. Although they work side by side with print, there is the feeling that more needs to be done together. They have lost the lead on digital to Bild which oftentimes sacrifice fact-checking for speed. They get about 20-million page impressions a day and 10-million readers a month. The institution was made famous when two journalists were charged with treason for publishing an article titled, "Germany is not quite ready to defend itself".

Professor Caja Thimm: social media expert from Bonn University

If there is an expert on social networks, Twitter, Facebook and the like, it's Dr Caja Thimm who studied communication and political science in Heidelberg, San Francisco and Berkeley and has been a professor and director of the media science faculty at Bonn University for 15 years.

This dynamic social media expert talked to the team about her recently published analysis "Digital citoyens: political participation in times of social media" covering case studies in Germany, Egypt and China. She provided the team with an insight into an all-important question: in times of digital democracy, what do citizens really want?

One cannot talk about politics without talking mediatisation of politics. In essence we are experiencing the transformation of politics through media. Habermas talks of normative political deliberation. Thimm asks if the traditional concept of deliberation can be applied to the digital world. Thimms' team has been attempting to model Twitter as a discursive network by looking at German national elections through qualitative research methods. They looked at 3-million tweets from certain selected events. The results of their research are yet to be completed and published. They have however found that more and more people are fighting for their digital rights and demanding to be heard. However, what is even more interesting is the overwhelming feeling that the digital world cannot close the real life and social divide that we experience on a day-to-day basis.

Petra Reiner, DJV-German Federation of Journalists: press freedom vs. state duties

Petra Reiner is a lawyer and media expert employed by the German Federation of Journalists (DJV). The federation was founded in 1945 in Hamburg. Hamburg is a state known for its progressive transparency laws and also used to be known as the media capital. The DJV is one of two trade unions for journalists in Germany. It has branches in 16 federal states; each has a website and a magazine. The federation has seven interest groups including gender, freelancers and photographers. It carries out trade union work like organising strikes, checking the contracts of freelancers and creating a network for journalists. Some of the interesting points about press freedom that the DJV oversees are:

- When authorities and politicians refuse to give statements, the journalists can claim their right to information. The authority is required to give them this information.
- Within the state only designated people are required to give this information; ordinary officials do not have to. It is the responsibility of the journalist to ask the correct authorities.
- Only editors, freelancers and publishers are allowed to take information. Authorities are not allowed to judge whether it is serious information or tabloid news. Regardless of the category, they are required to pass on information.
- Foreign publications can request information from Germany.
- Information can be denied if it affects pending legal (or otherwise) actions and must not hinder the work of the authorities.
- Journalists cannot claim secret information or public/private information that must be protected. Information is deemed secret only by state law.
- Personal rights of any third party must be taken into consideration. Personal data from archives regarding war cannot be supplied until 30 years after the person's death (like Nazi membership). This kind of information can be collected elsewhere but the state is not allowed to provide it.
- The press code is there to offer ethical rules to journalists and guidelines on responsible writing and adequate journalistic behaviour.

Abgeodnetenwatch.de: the watchdog of the parliamentarians

Parliamentwatch.org is the watchdog of parliamentarians. In 2004 there was a reformation of the electoral law. The founders of the organisation were involved in this process. It is a site that allows the public to pose questions to the parliament. Once the question is posed, it is moderated and posted. One can also give "votes" to different candidates in different parties. If a member of the public has any queries they can contact the head of moderators and board of trustees. The site not only creates positive information to foster transparency; it also encourages investigation into shady practices. The organisation looks at issues such as parliamentarians who have a second source of income, and in this way, they track the actions of politicians. The pressure that the politicians feel to answer questions drives competition. During the time of elections a lot of the politicians increase participation and competition increases. If there is an article online about that politician, the online site directs the reader to parliamentwatch.org. The employees at the organisation have backgrounds in political science, social science and software engineering. Not all are employees; they also have volunteers and their moderators are interns.

The site has an archive of 160 000 questions and answers, with a response rate of 80%. One success story shared was an incident when the Minister of Labour communicated with someone through the site who had posted that they were struggling to get a job. The minister invited that person for dinner and helped them

fill out application forms for jobs. A second incident was when there was an MP they thought was "lazy" as he did not respond to any questions on the site. They investigated further and found out that he did not even have an office and yet was still earning money from the state. Once this information came out, he resigned. Some parliamentarians have also been exposed for not attending parliament. They also do research on donations to parties and started a petition against donations and political corruption.

Conclusion

Almost two decades after the peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy, state and media in South Africa are still in a state of transition. More and more people are expressing a feeling of exclusion from public processes. Although the media exists as a fantastic opportunity to develop inclusive communication spaces in the country, the fractured relationship between state and media remains a cause for concern. Not only is the strength of the media to hold government to account precarious, but the state still has a long way to go in terms of social innovation in the communication space. What has become clear through the study tour is that South Africa holds all the necessary resources to facilitate inclusion, transparency and accountability. What is lacking is only a paradigm shift in the metanarratives of power and force within these spaces. Not only should deliberative dialogue and democracy play a more established role in public participation processes; communicators and actors need to come to the spaces with a stronger emphasis on listening to each other and especially to citizens.

When state and media enter a space of deliberative dialogue and democracy they will believe that the answer can be found in the space only through the two processes of dialogue and deliberation and not debate. It is important for both parties to suspend judgment and remain open to listen to others. Our broader communication spaces must assume that everyone, through the sharing of their personal lived experience, holds a part of the answer and that the shared thinking of other participants can improve their own.

Deliberative dialogues and democracy is less about finding the correct technical solution and more about working with what we have in common as state, media and civil society. It is about figuring out what our values are and what the assets and interests are that are most important to us as we think about our way forward. If implemented in the Eastern Cape, this kind of communication will allow problem-solving in a deeper and more sustained manner.

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BEING A BORN FREE

the misunderstandings and missed opportunities facing young South Africans

Last
WORD

Sitha Kentane

Young South Africans are often referred to as the Born Frees – a term which sometimes means people born after 1994, sometimes people born after 1990, or young people who came of age politically after 1994. I've come to really dislike the term Born Frees and particularly the way it is used by the media and the politicians.

By Vanessa Malila

By calling young people Born Frees, society is using apartheid as a reference point to identify a post-apartheid generation. This reference point (the transition to a 'free' society) unfortunately does not resonate with many of the young people that I've encountered in my research and many feel insulted by the implications of this term, which does not apply to them in any way. Should South African society really be using the transition from apartheid to define its young people and how does it relate to the lives of real young people in South Africa today? Are they really Born Free, free from what, free to do what, free individuals or free as a collective? I will look at some of the stereotypes being used in the mainstream media of Born Frees, and then look at the reaction to this term by some real young South Africans.

In media and advertising we sometimes encounter Born Frees as a group of young, hip, upwardly-mobile, black African youth who have a strong consumer culture and are able to move within middle-class social circles. These are young people who were born without the burden of apartheid and continue to enjoy life without the structural and economic burdens of post-apartheid South Africa. These are young people who live in a world of cool clothes, cool friends and the opportunities to buy into a cool and hip lifestyle – these are the young people of Top Billing and the new reality show Rich Kids where Sandton youth Nape said, "Yeah sure, I could buy a R15 000 pair of Christian Louboutins, and I did."

Beyond economic freedom, there is the stereotype of political freedom. Our Born Frees are the first generation of South Africans that have lived all or most of their lives in a democratic country. As a result of having been born outside of the confines of racial segregation, they are expected to be racially integrated with others of their generation. The expectation which comes with the freedoms fought for by previous generations is that this young generation will take up the baton and engage in the same way that millions did more than 20 years ago during those memorable first democratic elections. The assumption is that young people will take advantage of the legal rights they have been afforded by being born after 1990 – such as the right to vote.
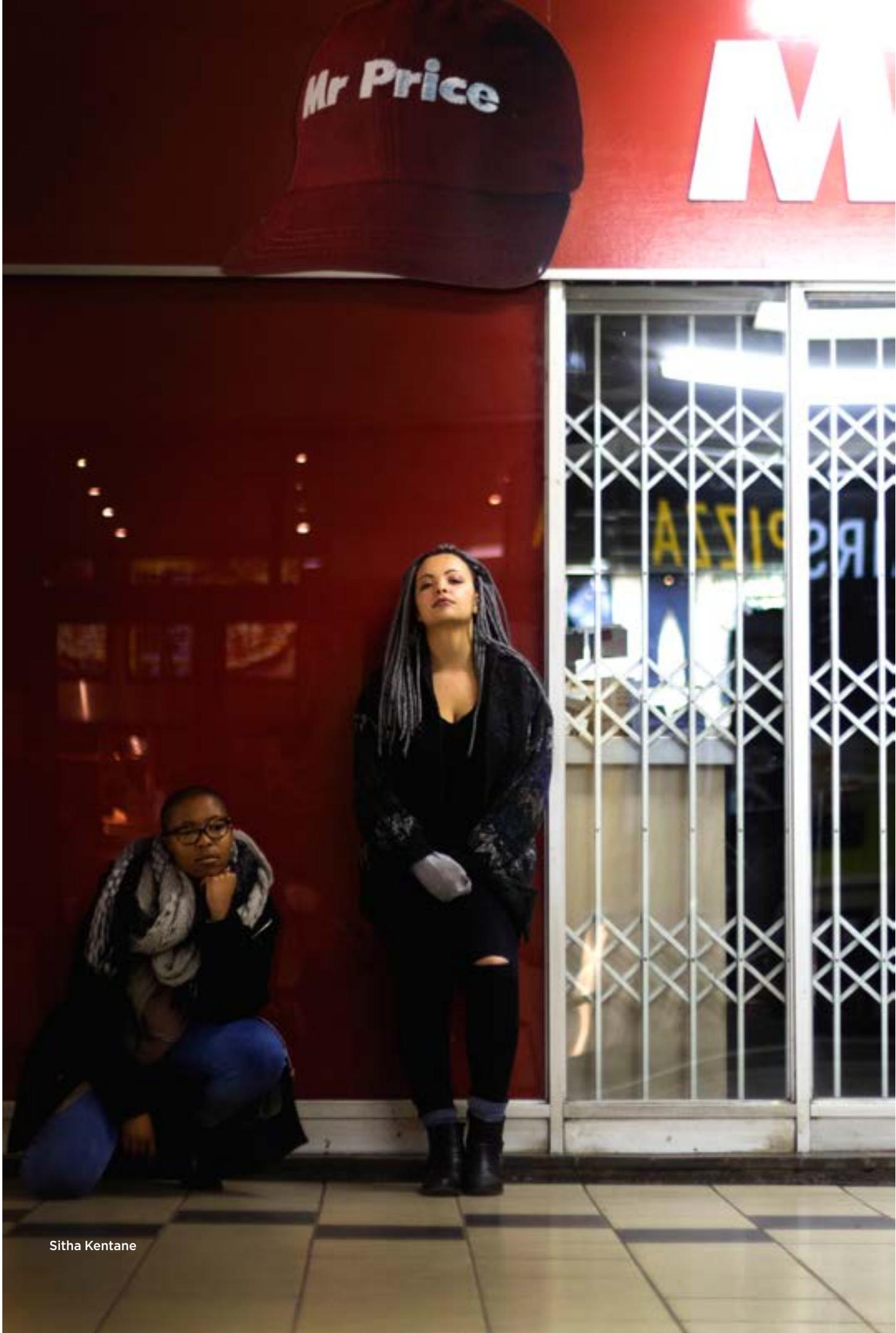
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2014 saw particular pressure placed on the Born Frees as many of them were able to now vote for the first time in national elections because they had come of age politically. The City Press for example led a story with the headline: "Elections: where are the born-frees?" (9 February 2014) in which it reported that "the IEC was running television and radio campaigns featuring musicians and other celebrities in a bid to appeal to young voters and was also running current affairs shows. Other campaigns to rope in the youth included visits to youth organisations, schools, universities and the use of social media to reach out to young voters." You might remember the I vote SA campaign where the likes of Toya Delazy, Khuli Chana, Lira, Pabi Moloi and Loyiso Bala to name a few, tell us why it is so cool to vote. Not to vote was to go against the grain of the hip and cool and the politically free. The mainstream media were particularly dismissive of Born Frees during key moments in the election process such as during registration weekends and voting days. The Born Frees were scolded for not taking up their right to vote and for not recognising their freedoms and the importance of the times in which they live, freely.

These are the more positive stereotypes; there are of course many negative stereotypes. Some politicians dismiss this generation as lazy, apathetic and ungrateful. In October 2014, President Jacob Zuma argued that South Africans are too dependent on the state due to its welfare system. He was quoted as saying: "Our people are waiting for government. Our people are not used to standing up and doing things" (News24 2014). The argument being made by many in society is that their failure to take advantage of the freedoms afforded by a transition to a democratic society is their own fault and they can no longer blame apartheid for their struggles because they were born in a democratic society.

We often read or see stories about 'Africa Rising', the continent on an upward economic momentum, creating opportunities for small businesses and go-getter entrepeneurs. In a recent report called "Born Free but still in chains" (2015), the IRR reports that "Unlike many of their parents, Born Frees were thus born into a recovering economy. Many Born Frees have also benefited from the rising living standards of the households to which they belong". And yet we hear constantly of high unemployment among the youth, and high proportions of NEETs (Not in Education Employment or Training). The images we often see are of young people who are not only jobless, but have become so despondent that they no longer even look for work. These are young people lining the streets of townships, idle, despondent and not willing to take up the opportunities afforded by a democratic and economically better off country. The narrative is one of young people happy to fall into a system of welfare and social grants, too lazy to uplift themselves and not willing to work hard enough to move beyond their structural economic limitations.

Another stereotype of the Born Frees is being "alienated from contemporary South African democratic political culture" (Malila et al. 2013: 13). Young people are not content and it shows up in involvement in social unrest, protest action and xenophobic attacks. The number of street protests, or what are often referred to as "service delivery protests", have increased 40% between 2009 and 2012 (Alexander 2012), with approximately 2.9 incidents a day during this period. The Institute of Race Relations reports that this figure has increased to more than five a day in 2015 and argues that "given that more than three million Born Frees are not in employment, education, or training, it is a reasonable assumption that they play a large part in many of these protests" (2015: 23). Indeed, many observers have argued that young people are at the centre of these 'service delivery protests' (Johnston and Bernstein 2007; Gower 2009; Wasserman and Garman 2014).

News reports show young people who take to the streets to protest against a lack of service delivery, violently opposing the government which brought them freedom. It is perhaps ironic that these Born Frees are using the same

actions against the current government that previous generations used against the repressive apartheid government. Nelson Mandela, in his address to the 1993 Cosatu Congress, said, "If the ANC does to you what the Apartheid government did to you, then you must do to the ANC what you did to the Apartheid government." So it is that the Born Frees are using struggle politics through protest to speak out against the democratic government. These stereotypes, though, go further. These are not images of young people who are simply disgruntled and have turned to organised protest to get a hearing; these are violent, unruly protests which have little real objective, and often result in the burning of resources meant to uplift communities such as schools, and libraries.

But what does it mean to really be a young person in South Africa today?

What is the reality of being a Born Free? Despite growing up in a democratic country, the economic status of young people has not changed significantly from those of their parents, leading to disillusionment with political engagement. In its report, the IRR noted:

"Unemployment therefore appears to be the single characteristic that African Born Frees have most in common. The same applies to coloured Born Frees. Unemployment may also be the single most important characteristic setting African and coloured Born Frees apart from whites and Indians/Asians. Rising unemployment may also help to explain why income inequality among Africans and coloured people has risen since 1996, while it has narrowed among whites and Indians/Asians" (2015: 10-11).

The inequalities within the country go far beyond economics however, with social, political, educational, cultural and wider institutional inequalities continuing as the norm across the broader South African society. Despite some movement to improve service provision and delivery of basic needs such as water, sanitation and housing to all South Africans, "the efforts to change the lives of South Africans for the better are running up against formidable hindrances. Some are legacies of history, some stem from specific policy choices, others emanate from malfunctioning systems or spring from misjudgements, shoddy management or sheer bad luck" (Marais 2010: 1).

The aim of my research is to move away from the stereotypes, to engage with young people as individuals, each with their own story, their own history and their own challenges. I choose to label them as youngizens because it means that they are identified outside of the confines of this context and history. This does not mean that I dismiss history; I am just trying to find a term which allows them to take ownership of their own identities, rather than to impose an identity on them based on when they were born in relation to a period in history. My research participants are all black African, all aged between 18 and 35, and all live in the Eastern Cape. They were asked to keep a diary for a period of eight days during which they were tasked with recording any media they consumed, conversations they had, and interactions that emerged during that time. They were also sent a series of questions during those eight days via BBM and WhatsApp which were targeted at specific topics such as voting, political participation, engagement with particular media, and interaction with family and friends. There is an equal mix of male and female participants, as well as a mixture of participants who live in rural and urban areas. For the purpose of this article the responses below relate directly to their attitudes towards being called a Born Free.

Sibusiso is a young black woman who grew up and still lives in Grahamstown. She grew up in a township and attended township schools. She is, however, fortunate enough to have received a scholarship to attend Rhodes University, one of the most expensive, and prestigious universities in South Africa. She has an interest in politics, but is disillusioned with the reality of living in a place

where she thinks little has changed since the end of apartheid.

This is what she told me when I asked her if she was a Born Free:

"Born Frees are people that were born with freedom, things become easier than back in the days. I am not a Born Free if that is the case. Because first thing ja I went to township schools… there are schools like my school, my previous high school, where there we no teachers, where there were no resources, because I did physical science and the teacher was always just giving the solutions in the text book, teachers would be like just check the solutions… I wouldn't say that I was a Born Free like having to struggle like up to Grade 12, having to come to Rhodes begging for students to help us… and having to live in a township area, the RDP houses, the toilets are not flushing, but the project is still going on, but it is still going on this year. We haven't been flushing, so I wouldn't say I'm a Born Free, I would say I was a Born Free if I went to school where there are resources like at home we have flushing toilets… but now I am not a Born Free."

Sihle is a young black woman who lives in Peddie in the Eastern Cape. She lives with her parents, and at the time of the interview was looking forward to moving to Grahamstown so she could attend a vocational college and continue her studies. Her attitude towards the notion of the Born Frees is similar to that of Sibusiso. She argues that while the media sometimes portray young people in a positive way, that it also made her realise that while some people are "on the right track", that others faced more challenging situations:

"It is a bit of a confusion, because [the media] talk about Born Frees in a really good way. There was for example a show on e.tv, it was all about the Born Frees from different countries. They took about eight or nine kids and then they checked on their lives. I think they were still teenagers, but then I think it was after some years, they went back and checked on their lives again. It brought a lot of things on my mind because it was asking them about the pregnancies and so on, and for some kids they were really on the right track, going to school, studying, focusing on their lives, but they also bring up the teenage pregnancy thing."

Shepherd is a black man who is a student at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). I asked Shepherd about being a Born Free on two occasions. The first was through the daily diary questions via WhatsApp, and his response made it clear that his attitude towards the term was wholly negative. He wrote the following in his response:

"A Born Free… How does one have the guts to

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call someone something that is not there, so I don't relate to the term a Born Free because it's a myth, it's only imaginary... to begin with, what is free about us? Is being able to go and vote freedom? The ability to take a taxi to Summerstrand only to walk around the Boardwalk not even having the money to have lunch? What's free about this situation??? What is free about cultural distortion, degrading of black people and their values, I feel nothing about this concept because it does not exist."

His attitude towards the term and the idea had not changed later when we conducted our interview:

"Most of us don't want to be called Born Frees, and then we are now told we are Born Free, before we even know about Born Frees. What do you call a Born Free? What conditions must be followed to be recognised as a Born Free? So to me this thing of Born Free, I don't think it is going to exist in our country, for the next 50 to 100 years."

Sboniso is a young black man who grew up in KwaZulu-Natal, but now lives in the Port Elizabeth CBD while he attends NMMU to study. He has worked hard to elevate himself from a poor township upbringing to obtain a bursary. Part of his attitude towards the idea of being a Born Free is strongly linked to his struggle to move out of a poor township structure.

"I do not believe or see myself as a Born Free. What I see now in this country is that we are being oppressed by a system that only favours those that are rich... there can never be a black child in this country who is a Born Free... I am not a Born Free as I grew up in a township while there is another child who was growing up in a suburb. I had to be on top of the class with the marks for me to get a bursary and go to university... so this term of being a Born Free to me is a word that is used to mock us, the poor, which the majority are black."

Edumisa is a young black woman who is a student at Rhodes University, but grew up in Mdtansane, East London. She has a strong connection to her family, particularly her grandmother who she grew up with. As a young woman growing up in a township she felt increasing levels of pressure to vote for the ANC and stay loyal to the ruling party. While she felt some pride at being born into a free society, and recognised the sacrifices that previous generations had made, she contested some of the stereotypes of Born Frees:

"The media portrays Born Frees as rebellious people, people who live for the moment, people who don't care about the politics, people who don't care about the country as a whole. And I feel that is just some kind of stereotyping... they say we don't appreciate what has been done for us... they automatically think that we are the lost generation, because we are not like our grandfathers and our forefathers who were told that Mandela did this and that's it, no one else did anything. We want to question more, we have questions on everything and that is what they don't want from us."

Sindi is a young black mother who lives in a township in Grahamstown, attended township schools and is trying very hard to better her own situation. She is involved in a number of civic organisations, volunteers and does community work in order to hopefully get full time employment and contribute to her community. Making a change is important to her because, as Sindi notes, she wants to leave a "legacy" through changing her community. Her identity as a youngizen is closely connected to change,:

"Born Free to me means... I was actually born a year before, but I am still a Born Free. I am because like I am free and it is all about you to make a change and take charge, so I also consider myself as a Born Free who like to take charge of the country and make a change, even if it is a small change because I want to leave a legacy one day when I am not around and I would leave a mark and everyone would remember me, this is what Sindi has done... know I can't change the world, but I am willing to try and do it."

Thando is a young black man who lives in Port Elizabeth and studies at NMMU. He is very interested in politics, strongly critical of politicians, and disappointed by political processes he's been involved in. This has led him and some friends to form a civic movement called the African Consciousness Movement. When asked about whether he related to the term Born Frees, he told me:

"I don't like the term Born Free, because there is no African child Born Free in this country, only white kids can be given such a title. I do not relate to it because democracy was paid for by African blood. I do not see myself as a Born Free… I see it as a negative, false thesis that shows better change in this country, whereas all of us knows that life hasn't changed for the better."

What my engagement with young people has led me to conclude is that most do not identify with the notion of Born Frees; they are very much inhibited by their structural limitations and as a result have little agency as individuals. However, this does not mean that they sit idly by and expect a handout from the government. They are extremely critical of the government, but also realise the structural limitations in which they operate – including a system of patronage in the townships.

We need to take cognisance of the fact that young people are not born free – the challenges they face in a post-apartheid country are structurally very similar to those of their parents. They face structural challenges which limit their agency, limit their ability to be economically, politically, socially and culturally free. Youngizens will use different means to engage with their political identities, but they do not engage with the state in formal politics because they feel let down by the state and burdened by the continued inequalities within society.

We need to think differently about **who** young people are, rather than **what** they are and engage with them as individuals rather than as a collective object which doesn't fit into our preconceived ideas. The media particularly need to create spaces to listen to young people, to stop engaging with them on a superficial level and really engage with individuals, particularly those that are marginalised because they are poor, black and young.

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