

STATE OF THE NEWSROOM SOUTH AFRICA 2014

Disruptions Accelerated



WITS
Journalism



A WITS JOURNALISM PROJECT

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
PREFACE	vi
INTRODUCTION	vii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	viii
01 THE MEDIA LANDSCAPE	1
Media Industry Landscape, Structural Changes and Trends	
Big Stories of the Year: Nkandlagate; Nelson Mandela's death; Oscar Pistorius Trial	
Broadcast Growth, New Kids on the Block, More Sunshine, Please	
Changes in the Media Landscape	
First Year of the New Press Council	
Transformation Updates: Race and Gender	
Media Freedom Trends	
Secrecy Bill Problems	
Surveillance: Big Brother is Watching You	
The National Key Points Act	
Attacks on Reporters and Photographers	
Shot Dead for Taking Pictures	
02 DIGITAL-FIRST DEVELOPMENTS: EXPERIMENTATION AND PROMISCUITY	28
The International Situation	
Digital Developments in the SA newsroom	
Contribution of Mobile to Total Unique Browsers: March 2013 and March 2014	
Digital-First Strategies and Developments in the SA Newsroom	
Comment and Analysis: Digital Developments	
Key Trends	

03	SOCIAL MEDIA TRENDS	41
	Social Media Usage, Big Brother Surveillance	
	Background: Discussion Points from the Sanef Social Media Panel Discussion	
	Media and their Twitter Activity (July 2014)	
	Survey: Social Media Trends in South African Newsrooms	
	Social Media Policies	
	Blurring of the Personal and Professional	
	Legal and Disciplinary issues	
	Policies and Regulation	
	Key Trends	
04	TWITTER AND JOURNALISM IN THE NEWSROOM	51
	Work-related Tweets	
	Drilling into the Different Newsrooms and Individual Twitter Accounts	
	EWN	
	Mail & Guardian	
	City Press	
	Key Trends	
05	COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS: DIVERSITIES AND DIFFICULTIES	63
	Challenges in the Community Newspapers' Sector	
	Local Voices verses Non Local Voices	
	Diversity Race and Gender	
	Drilling into the Individual Titles	
	Difficulties and Struggles	
	Key Trends	
06	COMMUNITY RADIO: POWER PLAYS AND PRESSURES	75
	A Framework for Growth	
	Notions of Community	
	Emerging Themes	
	Case Studies	
	Alfred Nzo Community Radio	
	Karabo FM	
	Thetha FM	
	Key Trends	

07 **WHERE DO JOURNALISM GRADUATES GO?**

89

Which Institutions do the Graduates come from?

What were their Qualifications?

Did they get Internships after Graduating?

How Long after Graduating till they found their First Full-time Jobs?

Which Media Company Employed the most Journalism Graduates?

Current Employer

Current Job

Considering Studying Further

Key Trends

BIBLIOGRAPHY

97

APPENDICES

101

Appendix 1: ABC figures of South Africa's newspaper circulations for the period April-June 2014

Free newspapers

Local Newspapers

Weekend Newspapers

Weekly Newspapers

Daily Newspapers

Appendix 2: Editors of Newspapers: Race and Gender

Appendix 3: Radio 2014

Appendix 4: Arson, Assaults, Harassment, Intimidation, Death Threats and One Death: 2013-2014 (of journalists and photo-journalists)

Appendix 5: List of Community Newspapers (source: AIP)

Appendix 6: Mail & Guardian Social Media Policy

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Glenda Daniels

PREFACE

DISRUPTION IN OUR NEWSROOMS OPENS UP OPPORTUNITIES AS IT SHAKES UP INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERSHIP WHICH MAY HAVE BECOME COMPLACENT, RIGID AND DEFENSIVE. It can also be challenging and punishing, costing jobs, creating fear and uncertainty and sacrificing skills and experience. This we all know well, as disruption is the common factor running through this second State of the Newsroom (SoN) report and last year's pilot publication.

This turmoil is a global phenomenon as newsrooms take on the challenges of new technologies, but it has distinct local characteristics, particularly because of the on-going demands of social and political transformation needed to create a media which can best serve democracy and deal with the legacies of apartheid.

SoN aims to provide research that will inform and stimulate those engaged in these challenges. SoN 2013 dipped a toe into these waters, and SoN 2014 aims to turn this into an annual opportunity to look at our news industry and assess our progress. The PMDTTT Report of 2012 into transformation in our media provided a basis for this – laying out many of the issues which needed to be addressed and calling for regular reporting on progress – and we hope that SoN contributes to this. At Wits Journalism, which is located close to the heart of the media industry, we see it as part of our mission to use the space and resources of an academic environment to promote informed examination of the news industry.

SoN does not aim to be a comprehensive account of our newsrooms. We select some of the most topical aspects to research and vary this from year to year. Apart from an overview of the media landscape, including an update on the issues of racial and gender representivity and media freedom, this year we offer a look into the progress of digitisation, the use of social media among journalists, the contribution of community print media and the challenges of community radio. With a nod to self-examination, we include some research into journalism graduates to promote discussion about the strengths and weaknesses of journalism training.

Data collection took place between August 2013 and August 2014, based on formal surveys and one-on-one interviews with 77 editors, managers, journalists and experts from all media types. We thank those who participated, and urge those who were less helpful to consider whether they would not prefer to improve the representivity of this report. Notably helpful was Izak Minnaar of the SABC and Sanef, Louise Vale of the Independent Publishers' Association, Jude Mathurine, who at the time headed the Rhodes University New Media Lab.

Dr Glenda Daniels coordinated this project and did most of the research and writing. Jayshree Pather contributed the chapter on community radio. Dinesh Balliah gave guidance on the Digital Developments chapter. Postgraduate students in the Wits Journalism department: Ilanit Chernick, Emelia Motsai, Pheladi Sethusa, Dean Falcke, Elvis Presslin, Vaylen Kirtley, Thegandra Naidoo, Sisa Majola and Mzi Gcukumana assisted with research.

Gill Moodie did a sterling editing job.

We are already planning next year's report, so ideas, comments and criticism are welcome. Join us in a social media discussion at #stateofnewsroom.

Prof Anton Harber and Prof Franz Krüger
Wits Journalism, Johannesburg
September 2014

INTRODUCTION

THE THEME OF TRANSFORMATIONS, TRANSITIONS AND DISRUPTIONS IN THE FORM OF CONTRACTIONS, CUTBACKS, AND DIGITAL FIRST, ACCELERATED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSROOM FROM 2013 INTO 2014.

The contractions and cutbacks took place in print media and expansions took place in broadcast and digital media.

Last year – in State of the Newsroom (SoN) 2013 – we envisioned the SA newsroom to be a leaky ship facing strong headwinds but with an adventuring spirit. This year – as retrenchments dampened morale and shrunk staff components, sustainable digital revenue remained elusive while ad revenue for print was squeezed and circulations declined, as controversy swirled around the SABC and Independent Newspapers, and the future of Sapa and Saarf remained uncertain – the newsroom ship battened down the hatches amid the gathering storm.

Parallel to this negative path – for print – there were significant expansions in broadcast media, community media as well as digital media – increasing diversity in the media landscape.

Uncertainty reigned as worried eyes turned to the darkening sky.

The themes of transitions, disruptions and transformations, continued from last year on two different paths. First, a disparate and uneven digitisation process, social-media growth, shrunken print newsrooms and more retrenchments, slow but sure digital-news offerings but without a viable revenue model in sight, and finally some dismal race and gender developments – for example, the number of women in top leadership positions in media decreased and the percentage of women on the boards of media companies stood at 4%.

Second, on a parallel path, there was expansion of diversity: in ownership with the acquisition of Independent Newspapers by the Sekunjalo-led consortium, new radio licences granted and the growth of two TV news channels, ANN7 and SABC's 24-hour channel. For this SoN (2014) we also investigated the coal face of journalism – community newspapers and radio – and found them to be performing valuable roles in their communities although they suffer from sustainability issues and are under extraordinary pressures from outside forces.

However, the dominant view within the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) must be noted: it bemoans the lack of diversity mainly at the level of ownership and content (in newspapers) because four big players own the main commercial print media. A further criticism of the media, especially the commercial press, is that it is overwhelmingly focused on middle-class concerns. For this, among other reasons, we examined the hyper local media, to find out what kind of contribution this sector makes to diversity, who the dominant voices are, and the concerns from communities on the ground, hyper locally.

The research period for this State of the Newsroom took place from August 2013 and ended August 2014.

The next section, the Executive Summary, contains the summarised findings from the different chapters.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE NEWSROOM OF 2014 CONSTITUTED A MIXED BAG OF FORTUNES.

The major transitions which disrupted newsrooms and journalists' lives, discussed in last year's State of the Newsroom report, accelerated in 2014 but in an even more disparate and uneven way.

In this State of the Newsroom 2014 research, "transformation" means more than just race-and-gender demographical changes but also encompasses transitions from traditional to online and social media. "Diversity" deals with the broad spectrum of media available in the country: two chapters, for instance, are devoted to community media – described as "a moveable feast" – but also scrutinises the commercial difficulties and other pressures and conflicts within this sector of media. Below is a summary of what each chapter contains, including some of the findings.

Chapter 1: The Media Landscape highlights several trends, for instance, the continued steady circulation decline of print, on-going retrenchments in 2014 and the increased number of broadcast media, both television and radio stations, in the commercial and community sectors.

With regard to race and gender transformation, the most noteworthy change from last year is the decline in the number of women editors in the print-media sector while the number of women who sit on the boards of big media companies remains at a grim 4%, from the 2012-2013 period.

Also included here are: big stories of the year; media organisation that made the headlines (Independent Newspapers and the SABC); as well as a discussion of the trends of the first year of the new Press Council of South Africa. There is a section called Media Freedom, which highlights an apparent growing trend (as noted by the Committee to Protect Journalists) in harassment of and violence against journalists, particularly of photojournalists, while the Protection of State Information Bill looms like a large dark grey cloud over the media landscape. Meanwhile, the Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT), while off the table for now, still exists as a threatening resolution of the ruling party.

Chapter 2: Digital-First Developments: Experimentation and Promiscuity, named as such because it is an apt way to describe the transitions from traditional to new media. "Promiscuity" resides in the fact that audiences are growing more and more "platform agonistic", i.e., showing decreasing loyalty to particular brands and demanding news from a variety of sources and in various forms. In turn, newsrooms are struggling to keep up with these changing news consumer patterns.

From online media statistics from IAB/Effective Measure, we found that 24.com had the most unique browsers per month, at more than 6-million. A further trend is that all news organisations participating in this research made significant progress with mobile news offerings.

The majority of the media companies researched did not have a paywall model but were keen to qualify, or add the caveat, that they would never say "never" on this issue. Of those who did have paywalls, digital managers were reserved about disclosing subscriber numbers and revenue.

The bottom line is that digital offerings are not bringing in sufficiently sustainable revenue.

Chapter 3: Social-Media Trends. The use of social media in the newsroom is increasing in leaps and bounds but off-the-record discussions with journalists and news editors revealed that things were not hunky dory in the "unhappy newsrooms of today, as there was too much pressure to do too many things"¹. Editors felt the industry needed to have more discussions about possible regulation of the online space.

The biggest problem with social-media use was the blurring of professional and personal lines, according to editors. However, there was also very little legal action taken over tweets by journalists.

Editors were keen for journalists to engage on the different social-media platforms (the Sanef survey showed that 100% of the editors who participated in the research said they encouraged social-media use) but some also mentioned time wasted on social media.

Chapter 4: Twitter and Journalism. In 2013, Twitter was the most-used social network in the newsroom, and by 2014 this had accelerated to being regarded as an “indispensable professional tool”. Of four newsrooms surveyed, two said 100% of their journalists used Twitter; another two said 90% of their journalists did.

JOURNALISTS SPEND, ON AVERAGE, AT LEAST 15 TO 20 MINUTES PER HOUR ON TWITTER – MUCH MORE IF THEY ARE LIVE-TWEETING EVENTS.

There was evidence in the qualitative data of “tweeting journalists” being rather dismissive of the non-tweeters in the newsroom. The journalists’ accounts under analysis show the main reasons for Twitter use was work-related. In more than 80% of cases it was used to put out news, share opinion, and interact with audiences. However, the latter, i.e., engagement with members of the public, was smaller than expected.

Journalists spend, on average, at least 15 to 20 minutes per hour on Twitter – much more if they are live-tweeting events. Some journalists stated that Twitter had disrupted their lives and increased their workload but the majority attested to its usefulness.

Chapter 5: Community Newspapers: Diversities and Difficulties is an investigation of what kind of local content and local voices can be found in this sector. We discovered a large sector of 249 newspapers (in just the Association of Independent Publishers database) and that the majority of voices in community newspapers are, in fact, “local”. We analysed local voices and local content from 15 newspapers and over 300 stories and found that the majority, over 60%, were sourced from the community itself (the hairdresser, community volunteer, local school teacher, housewife, church worker, the citizen do-gooder who wants to catch thieves). This was opposed to “cut and paste jobs” from press releases, the quoting of officialdom and prominent national, regional and local-government figures. Community newspapers appear to be making a valuable contribution to diversity of news in terms of content and plurality of voices. Further, there was an inspiring idealism among editors and journalists – for most, their driving force was to serve their communities. We also found that the majority of community newspapers used social media to engage in some form of citizen participation, particularly, Facebook (rather than Twitter, which was the choice of the commercial-print sector).

Male voices were the loudest, with 58% of all voices quoted as sources, being male. Black voices were in the majority, 77%, as sources. A surprise finding was that, considering the survey was done in “Women’s Month” (August 2013), there was little or no focus on the main issue of the time, i.e., violence against women and children, nor were women’s voices in the majority.

The sector struggles with sustainability issues and most are in need of a viable financial model while it is interesting to note that the community newspapers followed the commercial newspapers’ trend of being concentrated in the big cities, as our heat map shows.

Chapter 6: Community Radio: Power Plays and Pressures adopts a case-study approach and looks at three community radio stations (Alfred Nzo, Karabo FM and Thetha FM). It sketches for us a portrait of the tug of war in community ownership and control issues. It discusses the commercial difficulties, political pressures, and community power plays from religious and traditional leaders, language and cultural sensitivities and tensions, as well as pressures from listeners – all trying to add their particular influence, and often even interfering directly with the stations. Some of the issues community-radio staff members wrestle with include low salaries; harassment and intimidation from political parties; members of the community feeling they have the right to propose presenters for shows; tackling difficult topics such as Satanism and male circumcision and, in one instance, an arson attack that destroyed the station building.

Chapter 7: Where do Journalism Graduates Go? This is the first known research in SA on where journalism graduates find themselves after their degrees. It is perhaps heartening that the majority, 60%, of the graduates found journalism and journalism-related jobs, of those we interviewed or the sample in this research.

We also found that it took an average of 15 months before the majority of graduates found permanent positions while only 23% of the graduates got jobs straight away. A further finding was that the majority of participants in the survey wanted to study further, and a hefty 80% were keen on an MA in Journalism.

Find the full report at:

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01 THE MEDIA LANDSCAPE

CONTRACTIONS, CUTBACKS AND CONSOLIDATIONS IN NEWSROOMS COUPLED WITH DIGITAL-FIRST STRUGGLES CHARACTERISED THE 2014 MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The economic climate has been gloomy and retrenchments in the news media continued from 2013 into 2014 (SoN calculated this figure to be 596 retrenchments, conservatively)¹ while the political landscape was testing for journalists and editors in newsrooms.

Positive developments such as transformation in media ownership – Independent Newspapers was bought by a black consortium – took place in an increasingly threatening environment for journalists, particularly investigative journalists, those pursuing corruption stories and photojournalists covering service-delivery protests. The environment included incidents of surveillance and the alleged tapping of journalists' phones,² a number of assaults and harassment of journalists and photographers, including one death³ and a violent arson attack that completely burnt a community radio station to the ground.⁴ All this occurred against an ominous legislative backdrop: the impending signing into law of the Protection of State Information and Intelligence Bills and the existing anachronistic National Key Points Act.

Meanwhile, the Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT)⁵ appeared to have fallen out of the spotlight but it still lurked in the background as an ANC resolution. It serves as a threat to robust and independent media. The enforcement of a MAT would change the present co-regulation system to statutory regulation. There are more details about this in the "Media Freedom" section at the end of this chapter.

Chiefly, expansion in the media landscape has taken place in the past decade in the broadcast sector, which has seen an increase in the number of television channels from 67 channels in 2004 to 180 in 2012.⁶ By 2014, ANN7 and SABC's 24-hour news channel had been added. Off the mainstream radar, community newspapers, TV and radio continue to survive and enrich the diversity of the media landscape.

The newest kid on the block – social media – grew in leaps and bounds. Twitter morphed from being tangential to a fundamental part of newsroom practices; it became an essential newsroom tool. Finally, print media continued its decline in circulation,⁷ wrestled with making digital-first transitions, and struggled with the online business model.

THE ENVIRONMENT INCLUDED INCIDENTS OF SURVEILLANCE AND THE ALLEGED TAPPING OF JOURNALISTS' PHONES

Against this broad mediascape, a 20-year-old call for a more patriotic media continued ahead of the May 2014 national election. This consisted of pressure by the ruling party on media to tell the "good story" of South Africa and the government's service delivery to the people.

This chapter is divided into three main sections: A). Media Industry Landscape, Structural Changes and Trends; B). Transformation updates: Race and Gender; and C). Media Freedom Trends.

MEDIA INDUSTRY LANDSCAPE, STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND TRENDS

This chapter covers disparate elements, reflective of the media landscape itself.

Many commercially driven changes took place such as companies selling off non-core assets (Times Media Group) and withdrawing funding from the South African Press Agency (Sapa), creating a crisis for Sapa. The broadcasting industry was in the process of pulling out of the South African Audience and Research Foundation (Saarf) while “native advertising”⁸ emerged as a new trend to add to the economic woes of the print industry.

Journalists in newsrooms felt the fierce economic pressure their media companies were under as they competed for the ever splintering advertising revenue pie⁹ and consumers’ attention. This continued with even more intensity from the year before, making the media landscape in South Africa a more competitive and fluid environment.

Four big companies dominated the print landscape: Times Media Group (TMG), Caxton, Independent Newspapers and Media24, with the latter the largest. There was also the smaller but influential *Mail & Guardian* plus the most recent addition to the scene, TNA Media, that owns *The New Age* newspaper and ANN7 24-hour TV news channel. The state-owned SABC dominated broadcasting while Primedia



The declining sales of newspapers caused deep morale loss in print newsrooms

and Kagiso Media remained key players in radio and MSG Afrika, owners of Power FM and Capricorn FM, emerged as a significant force for the future. Sabido Investments – owners of e.tv and eNCA – and Naspers’ DSTv MultiChoice were important players in television. There were also many community media entities, which will be discussed in separate chapters.

Changes in South Africa’s newsrooms took place against the background of world trends, which show more similarities than differences. For this we reflect on two sets of trends: firstly, the latest World Association of Newspapers (WAN) trends report and, secondly, a Future of News conference held at Wits Journalism in January 2014. At the latter event, two media experts, Raju Narisetti of News Corp, and David Boardman, former editor of the *Seattle Times*, discussed global media trends. Some of the world trends echoed in South Africa included:

- News was in huge demand but consumers of news were now “platform agnostic” and would also get news from non-traditional sources, i.e., multiple platforms;
- Newspapers were not dead but dailies were suffering more challenges than weeklies;
- Engagement with community was becoming intrinsic to the age of interactive news;
- Social media was intrinsic to newsrooms; the traditional scoop could hardly be owned for more than five minutes;
- Video was becoming very popular in the age of multiple platforms; and different platforms required innovative and creative ways of thinking to tell the same story differently;
- The days of journalists getting on with just producing news were over; they now had to be aware of and involved in the business of journalism too, e.g., marketing their stories through social media; and
- The lesson for developing new business models in the digital age was that different news organisations needed different solutions.

Indeed, the WAN Trends in Newsrooms 2013 report showed similarly that South Africa was not isolated from worldwide media trends; it was just playing catch up. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. The report, referring mainly to US, European and Australian newsrooms, noted the following:

- Print was in decline but this was not universal; there was growth in the East and South, for example China, India and parts of Africa.

- Diversity was important with gender identified as the most important issue. Likewise, in South Africa, the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) report on transformation cited gender (especially on boards and management) as a serious concern. This year's SoN 2014 research confirmed this pattern, especially regarding editors of newspapers.
- The key challenges were engagement with audience, economic pressures but not political repression. In SA, newsrooms faced all three issues.
- The transition to digital had already happened, and now there was engagement on multimedia platforms. In SA, digital first was still in progress; no single business model had emerged as successful to replace reliance on print advertising.

The above picture paints the media landscape in broad brush strokes. It forms the context for the research for this SoN 2014 report.

A). BIG STORIES OF THE YEAR

The following stories have been identified as the three biggest of the past year: 1). **Nkandlagate**, the corruption story of the year centred on R246-million of expenditure on President Jacob Zuma's private home and the tug of war over the Public Protector's Nkandla report; 2). **Nelson Mandela's death** that put South Africa at the centre of global attention; and 3). **Oscar Pistorius's murder trial**, a precedent-setter in many ways. The Pistorius trial placed both the media and the justice system in the local and international spotlight, and produced records for online and social-media activity in this country.

Nkandlagate

The scandal over R246-million of public money spent on upgrading the president's private home in Nkandla in KwaZulu-Natal was one of the biggest stories of the new South Africa. The initial amount budgeted for security upgrades for the complex was R27-million but independently costed by the *Mail & Guardian* Investigative Centre (AmaBhungane) to be R20-million.¹⁰ The print media broke the story in incremental stages: first, in 2009 through an accidental stumbling upon renovations of the Nkandla home (estimated then to be worth R65-million) by *Mail & Guardian* (M&G) reporter Mandy Rossouw.¹¹ Then, in 2012 *City Press* reporters Paddy Harper and Adriaan Basson exposed that the upgrades were worth more than R200-million,

and that public funds were used for the upgrade.¹² In 2013 AmaBhungane made Promotion of Access to Information Act (Paia) applications¹³ to the public works department for documents relating to the upgrade and, in November 2013, it published a draft of the Public Protector's report into the spending. It was through dogged and painstaking investigation that the details of Nkandla were revealed.

The story was constantly in the news in different ways. In November 2013, Minister of State Security Nathi Mthethwa banned all pictures of the Nkandla home, in the name of state security, under the National Key Points Act. The response from the media, including social media (but not including the SABC), was to defy the ban with loud front-page photographs of Nkandla as well as footage on television stations. The SA National Editors' Forum (Sanef) said the government was using security laws to avoid accounting to the public on the upgrades.¹⁴ On 19 March 2014 Public Protector Thuli Madonsela released a 443-page report, titled "Secure in Comfort", which vindicated various media investigations. The report's release came less than two months before the general election on May 7. It said the expenditure was excessive and communities could have benefitted from the public funds instead.

Nkandlagate continues to unfold and could be called the most explosive story in South Africa's 20-year-old democracy. For example, it resulted in calls by opposition parties for the impeachment of the president.¹⁵ The Public Protector's "Secure in Comfort" report recommended that Zuma pay back some of the money, but did not stipulate how much. It revealed "improper behaviour, ethical violations, maladministration, improper benefits, excessive expenditure, political interference..."¹⁶ Some of the details included: Zuma benefited unduly from the upgrade, which consisted of a cattle kraal and culvert, amphitheatre, medical clinic, tuck shop, visitors' centre, swimming pool and chicken run among other things; money for upliftment for other communities and from other departments was diverted to fund the revamp; Zuma's personal architect pocketed R16.2-million of state funds, and seven teams of professional consultants were involved – and they overcharged. In August 2014, it emerged that the state was demanding R155-million from the Nkandla architect, Minenhle Makhanya, for allegedly allowing the scope and the cost of the upgrade to spiral out of control without approval. The public works department was also cited as a defendant in the case for allegedly appointing Makhanya illegally.

The significance of Nkandlagate brought the following issues related to the media to the fore: the importance of transparency and the free flow of information; a free media able to do its work independently and free from political interference; media attempting to hold the powerful to account.

Professor Jeanne Prinsloo of the Media Policy and Democracy Project did a critical textual analysis of the Nkandla coverage by the *M&G* and *City Press*. In her critical discourse analysis of 84 stories she found: the newspapers acted in the interests of democracy; and the news reports while being “highly critical” did not attack the ANC, the office of the president or that of public officials but rather particular forms of conduct.¹⁷ Of the ANC’s conduct, she found: “On the other hand, the ANC public officials felt no obligation to provide access to the information about public spending that was requested. President Zuma at no stage saw fit to address the issue or reassure the public of South Africa.” Prinsloo’s criticism of the newspapers’ investigations was a “lack of diversity of voices”, which she said could easily have been addressed under the circumstances. On 11 April 2014 the AmaBhungane team won the Taco Kuiper award for the best investigative story of the year, for their “Nkandla Files” package.¹⁸ The team had painstakingly and persistently pursued Paia requests for more than a year, and eventually was inundated with 12 000 pages of documents of which it had to make sense on a tight deadline. It did.

Nelson Mandela’s Death

The death of former president Nelson Mandela on 5 December 2013 knocked all other stories off newsroom diaries and took centre stage. In so doing, it also focused the world’s attention on South Africa. Coverage of his life and death was saturated and detailed, and included Mandela’s childhood in Qunu in the Eastern Cape, his romantic life, his massive contribution to the struggle for democracy, his imprisonment on Robben Island, his negotiation skills, political development, his capacity for forgiveness, compassion and reconciliation, his two divorces and relationships with his children.¹⁹ No stones were unturned and there were a wide variety of voices in the media. The coverage persisted for the duration of the 10 days of mourning and included the memorial service and funeral.

The story was big from many points of views – it made the headlines in just about all print, broadcast and digital media but something unusual happened that slipped beneath the radar: the ANC congratulated the media



The media’s coverage of the Mandela death was praised all round

for its extensive coverage. Media analyst and director at Social Licence, Wadim Schreiner, noticed for the first time warmth from the ruling party towards the media but felt the latter did not need such a stamp of approval from the ANC for its coverage.²⁰

Showing the different angles and ways of coverage, Gill Moodie, publisher of Grubstreet, looked at three journalists, all from East London where the *Daily Dispatch*, Mandela’s hometown newspaper, is based. All three covered the once-in-a-lifetime story: the funeral of Mandela in Qunu in the Transkei “but with totally different world views and media experience”. The reporters were Andrew Stone (*Dispatch* metro editor), Sibongile Mkani-Mpolweni (eNCA reporter)²¹ and Andrew Austin (*Hawke’s Bay Today* editor in New Zealand)²². The three talked about frustrations with security clampdowns, and trying to get accreditation, sleeping in some cases only three hours a night to make deadlines in countries with different time zones, inadequate technological infrastructure, and the jostling for space among the world’s media but ultimately deep satisfaction with covering this remarkable event.

The Oscar Pistorius Murder Trial – First-Hand News

The Pistorius murder trial in 2014 signalled a new era for media: it was a victory for open justice as the court ruled that all trial audio could be broadcast live on radio, TV and online. Traffic on local news websites shot through the roof,²³ attesting to consumers' appetite for getting first-hand news quickly while daily newspapers struggled to keep up. The world famous disabled South African athlete, Oscar Pistorius, shot and killed his model girlfriend, Reeva Steenkamp, at his home in Pretoria on Valentine's Day in February 2013 (mistaking her for a burglar, he claimed). The story created an international media firestorm with Pistorius dominating social networks such as Twitter. The reporting on both the arrest, bail application and the murder trial put journalism, social media, South Africa, the judiciary, court access, among other issues, in the spotlight.

A pop-up television channel on DStv, Channel 199, was dedicated to live court proceedings, documentaries, profiles and expert analysis of the trial. The 24-hour coverage – on all the different platforms – allowed for not just the minutiae of the trial to be aired but the issues around it: femicide; domestic violence; South African gun culture; fear of violent crime; and how the media covers celebrity, crime and race in South Africa.

For the media, coverage of the murder trial raised the following issues: how quickly news is disseminated via social networks and that in this new media landscape, it is impossible to own the story for more than a few



The Pistorius trial reporting was a significant breakthrough for journalists particularly in court cases.

seconds. The trial had more than 2.5-million mentions on Twitter and Facebook, according to Brandseye, an online monitoring company, in May 2014 after the trial began at the start of March.²⁴ Video views on the SABC News YouTube channel shot up to more than 2.3-million during April 2014 (more than three times normal monthly views), driven mainly by live streaming and other content related to the Pistorius trial.²⁵

Media Victories

Broadcast media applied to do live broadcasting of the trial and Judge Dunstan Mlambo ruled in February 2014 that this would be allowed.²⁶ The media hailed this as a victory for transparency, open access to justice, and in the interest of accuracy of reporting.

There were, however, later restrictions that seemed to trample on existing rights of the media, e.g., to publish images of witnesses. (Traditionally, the media shoots footage and pictures of witnesses in the street as they come and go from court).²⁷ This led to the peculiar situation that the media were not allowed to publish pictures of witnesses – even those sourced in the public domain such as on websites and social networks – while witnesses could be named and heard live on radio, TV and online.

There was Judge Thokozile Masipa's decision not to allow live media coverage of Steenkamp's postmortem even though South African law does not explicitly protect the dignity of the dead.

Masipa also banned live-tweeting in her courtroom but withdrew the ban within 24 hours. Media lawyer Dario Milo understood the situation thus: "I think the judge didn't realise the nature of Twitter and its integral role as a court reporting mechanism and then was good enough to correct the mistake the next day."²⁸

Nevertheless precedents about open justice, and media access, were set in the Pistorius trial.

Milo²⁹ said he believed the live broadcasting of the trial was good for open justice and democracy because it delivered first-hand – and hopefully more accurate and textured – news. The bottom line, for him, was that if you had wanted to follow this trial you would have done so on Twitter and with radio-bulletin and TV updates every half hour. "You would be reading about it in the newspaper in the afternoon editions or the early morning edition – but it would all be second-hand because you're not in court."

The trial also raised the debate over the *sub judice* rule (to prevent prejudicing or interfering with the proper administration of justice), what can and cannot be said about a court case in the media, and trial by media.

It also re-opened debates about class, race and gender in media coverage. For instance, why were similar crimes afflicting poorer people, (especially in femicide cases) and black South Africans – even the Marikana commission of inquiry³⁰ – not getting the same attention as the Pistorius saga? Why was Bredasdorp teenager Anene Booysen's gruesome autopsy report read out in detail in court and widely tweeted when Steenkamp's had limitations imposed by the court?³¹

Then there was the trial going on right next door to that of Pistorius's: for the murder of a young woman, Zanele Khumalo, by her partner, Thato Kutumela,³² which was not covered to the same extent. While only the Khumalo family attended the court proceedings, the Pistorius court was packed. Was this because being black and poor in South Africa makes one invisible? Or was it because Kutumela was not an international sports star?

It is more likely a combination of factors. Race and class mingled: same crime, same court house, same time, metres apart but different worlds.³³

In summary the trial afforded the media the opportunity to educate the public about how courts work, to debate and air issues about race, class and gender, as well as discuss rampant violence against women in South Africa.

Broadcast Growth, New Kids on the Block, More Sunshine Please

There has been growth in broadcast media over the past ten years, e.g., the number of television channels has grown by more than over 200%,³⁴ according to the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). In just one year, 2013-2014, there were two government-friendly TV channels launched (the Gupta's ANN7 and the SABC's 24-hour news channel) – a clear trend, media commentators said, ahead of the 2014 general election of the ANC seeking to grow party-friendly news. In addition, by 2014 the Department of International Relations and Co-operation had set up Ubuntu Radio.

The ANC's response to investigations into corruption uncovered by journalists has long been to say the

media is not diversified enough, has a tendency towards negative news, and is ignoring the good stories coming out of service delivery and ANC governments. The following enunciate this ideological view:

“Journalists will be able to share with South Africans the successes of their country in the past 20 years” and “a new channel also provides an opportunity to tell the story of African progress. We are fortunate to be living through a period of Afro-optimism.” President Jacob Zuma on the launch of ANN7.³⁵

“People in this country are sick and tired of negative press...ANN7 presents major opportunities for alternative viewing.” Jimmy Manyi, former government spokesperson and, in 2013, ANN7 talk show host.³⁶

“The media normally focus on the negative publicity. I believe, from the SABC's side, 70% should be positive [news] stories and then you can have 30% negative stories... The reason I am championing this is because if you only talk about the negative, people can't even try to think on their feet. Because what occupies their mind is all this negative stuff.” Hlaudi Motsoeneng, SABC chief operating officer.³⁷

“We want to change the narrative on how Africa is covered. South Africa has a good story to tell, and if we are compared with countries that started with us 19 years ago. Clayson Monyela, Department of International Relations and Co-operation spokesman explaining Ubuntu Radio's raison d'être.

“Newspapers all tell the same story and all the editorials sound similar. There is a pack approach to the news. This like-mindedness may stem from the reality that the print media houses are owned by a few conglomerates that employ a similar type of journalist: conservative thinkers, mostly anti-government propagandistic opinion-makers who must sell to a particular market segment.” Jessie Duarte, deputy general secretary of the ANC in *The Media* magazine.³⁸

The above discourse indicates the intense desire of the ANC, the government and the president, including the public broadcaster, for more sunshine journalism, or a more patriotic core of journalists, to portray the country in a more favourable light. Some even went so far as

to pronounce quotas, as in the case of the SABC chief operating officer. However, head of news for SABC, Jimi Matthews, stated that quotas for sunshine journalism were never discussed with him nor were they imposed in the newsroom.³⁹ There has been no calculation done since the quota announcement about whether 70% of the news was in fact positive. By May 2014, the month of the national election, it was reported that the “good news” channel, Ubuntu, had fizzled out.⁴⁰ Six months after the launch, none of the promised apps had materialised, the 24-hour stream was no longer and the website was stagnant.

The Broadcast Landscape

The national broadcaster, the SABC, dominates the broadcast landscape in both radio and television. However, there are three commercial operators making an impact on the television sector – e.SAT TV, which owns South Africa’s first free-to-air channel e.tv⁴¹ and eNCA; DStv, a pay-TV service operated by MultiChoice, with M-Net and SuperSport as premier channels⁴²; and TopTV, in 2013 the latest entrant to the pay-TV scene, run by On Digital Media (ODM). TopTV floundered in the same year and was renamed StarSat after ODM’s got a cash bail-out from the StarTimes Chinese TV conglomerate.

The SABC has public commercial radio stations such as Metro FM and 5FM and one public commercial TV channel, SABC3 that rely overwhelmingly on advertising revenue, and some revenue from television licences. Caught between the conflicting demands of public service and commercial interest, the SABC has also suffered from management instability, with many senior posts acting appointments for long periods of time, including an acting group COO (made fulltime in 2014) and acting head of news.

A plethora of legislation, and codes of conduct, including the Broadcasting Act, 1999; the Icasa Act, 2000; the Electronic Communications Act, 2005; and the broadcasting complaints code regulates broadcasting.

The Broadcasting Act allows for the board to control the affairs of the SABC but there appears to be ruling-party interference in board appointments that shifts with power battles within the ANC, causing instability. The president appoints board members based on the recommendations of Parliament, following public interviews of candidates. Also controversial is the power of the minister of communications to veto key executive appointments.



The SABC made the news for all the wrong reasons in 2014

SABC Crises 2014

The SABC in 2013-2014 experienced a series of crises: continued leadership vacuums, reports of incompetence, internal power struggles, financial woes, board instability as well as continuing accusations that the public broadcaster was involved in cadre deployment, i.e., employing loyal ANC members.⁴³ The institution has gone through six CEOs in the past eight years. In February 2014 the Public Protector released a report titled *When Governance and Ethics Fail*, a damning indictment of the state broadcaster. The report stated that there was “abuse of power”, “maladministration”, corporate governance deficiencies, and recommended that action be taken against the then acting COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng⁴⁴, who, it said, was irregularly appointed, had misrepresented his qualifications and received three salary increases in one year. His salary had increased from R1.5-million to R2.4-million, a 63% increase that was in violation of the SABC’s own personnel regulations, the report said.⁴⁵

Leadership crisis in 2014: The year began on an unstable footing with a leadership vacuum. (The leadership crisis at the SABC goes back many years

and there have been six boards and six chief executives in the past eight years.)⁴⁶ There was no chief financial officer (CFO), no full-time head of news, an acting COO (Motsoeneng), and then CEO Lulama Mokhobo resigned in February 2014 citing “exhaustion”. She had served about half of her four-year contract. However, it came out that Mokhobo was critical of the “political fault lines tearing at the organisation”,⁴⁷ and she had quit allegedly after the relationship between herself and Motsoeneng had broken down.⁴⁸ Some commentators argued that while she achieved more than her predecessors, she lacked the strength to take on the politically powerful Motsoeneng.⁴⁹

Motsoeneng Timeline:⁵⁰

September 2006: SABC charges Motsoeneng, who was then Lesedi FM’s executive producer and head of news, with racism, dishonesty and promoting women without following due process.

January 2007: Motsoeneng is dismissed.

April 2008: Chief executive Dali Mpofu reinstates Motsoeneng in what appears to be bowing to the Zuma political faction.

January 2012: Mokhobo is appointed as CEO. She places an internal advertisement for the post of COO and Motsoeneng gets the job.

December 2012: Motsoeneng cancels a radio debate on how the media would cover the ANC’s elective conference in Mangaung, averring that any discussion involving the ANC on the SABC had to include an ANC representative.

February 2013: SABC board dismisses Motsoeneng and redeploys him in his previous position as group executive for provinces and stakeholder relations. Veteran journalist/editor Mike Siluma replaces Motsoeneng as acting COO but board chairman Ben Ngubane reinstates him.

March 2013: Parliament dissolves the entire SABC board. Zuma appoints a new board.

April 2013: MPs object to Motsoeneng’s presence during the interim board’s first appearance in Parliament.

October 2013: Motsoeneng cancels The Big Debate talk show (subsequently snapped up by eNCA).

July 2014: He is permanently appointed by new Communications Minister Faith Muthambi.

Some of the big issues at the SABC include:

Incompetence: A February 2014 Pricewaterhouse-Coopers skills audit found that a high number, more than half of the SABC’s senior executives, were unable to make strategic decisions and solve problems. The audit showed that a high number of employees’ qualifications, 577 out of 842, were “not authentic”, “incomplete” or awarded by fly-by-night “tertiary institutions”. There were six fake matric certificates among middle managers and 14 among junior staffers. Another 2361 permanent employees had no post-matric qualifications.⁵¹ According to the report, incompetence was worst at the top and in the broadcast technology division.⁵² In addition, the environment was plagued by the “manipulative abuse of power”.

Unstable Board: The SABC has had new board members every year over the past five to six years. Instability has increased since President Jacob Zuma took office, according to the SOS: Support Public Broadcasting civil-society coalition that is, in its own words, “committed to, and campaigns for, public broadcasting in the public interest”.⁵³

Financial Crises: Large-scale financial losses resulting in government bail-outs have plagued the institution for many years. In 2009 the government rescued the SABC with a R1.4-billion loan guarantee. The financial crises are said to be a result of mismanagement, revenue not keeping pace with rising costs, ballooning consultant costs, staff costs, international programme-acquisitions and handsome golden handshakes. For example, last year former SABC news and current affairs head, Phil Molefe, was given a R2.4-million handshake (in addition to the SABC paying nearly R2.7-million for him to stay at home, and legal fees, estimated to be about R1.9-million to fight him in the South Gauteng High Court and Supreme Court of Appeal).⁵⁴ Communications Minister Yunus Carrim confirmed this. In 2013 it was reported that the SABC had paid back R784-million of the R1-billion it had drawn on the state loan. But even more telling was the Auditor-General’s⁵⁵ report, which found that in 2012-2013 the SABC had recorded irregular expenditure of R106.3-million.⁵⁶ In addition, he report said that there was a recorded R1.58-billion expenditure without supporting documentation during the same financial year.

Executive over-reach: Critics have accused the SABC of favouring the ruling ANC in much the same way that

the broadcaster was accused of favouring the ruling National Party during the apartheid era. It has been accused on a number of occasions of executive or ruling-party political interference⁵⁷. Other complaints ranged from self-censorship to selective news coverage. A few weeks ahead of the national election of 7 May 2014, the *M&G* and *City Press* reported leaks from SABC insiders that editorial staff were warned that state security agents might be tapping their phones. The corporation's chairperson, Zandile Ellen Tshabalala, had "reminded" staff that their phones were being monitored by spies, that they were not allowed to be disloyal by leaking information about the operations of the SABC, and that the public broadcaster was a national key point.⁵⁸ In the same month, April, a TV advertisement for the Democratic Alliance official opposition titled "Ayisafani" was pulled⁵⁹ because of "complaints from the public", the SABC alleged. The SABC withdrew its banning after Icasa ruled that there was no evidence of "complaints" from the public. An *M&G* editorial⁶⁰ opined that journalists at the SABC wanted to practise professional, ethical journalism and present fair and balanced news but their efforts were hindered by those on the board and management who saw the SABC as a mouthpiece of the ruling party.

Civil Society Watchdogs

A vibrant civil-society movement monitors the SABC. The SOS coalition represents trade unions, civil-society organisations, independent film- and TV-sector organisations, academics and freedom-of-expression activists. It aims to create a public broadcasting system dedicated to the broadcasting of quality, diverse, citizen-orientated public programming committed to deepening South Africa's Constitution.⁶¹ In July 2014 SOS, with other civil society organisations, were drawing up legal papers to challenge the appointment of Motsoeneng.

Television and Radio Landscapes

The SABC operates four television channels: SABC 1, focusing on youth entertainment, drama and sport broadcasting in the Nguni languages and English; SABC 2, focusing on nation building with an emphasis on the complexity of the country culturally, historically and traditionally and broadcasting in Sesotho, Afrikaans, XiTsonga, TshiVenda and English; and SABC 3, a full-spectrum channel in English.⁶² The most recent television station, SABC's 24-hour news channel, began operating in August 2013.

DStv, e.tv, and StarSat offer alternative television viewing and diversity. The SABC monopolised TV broadcasting

CRITICS HAVE ACCUSED THE SABC OF FAVOURING THE RULING ANC IN MUCH THE SAME WAY THAT THE BROADCASTER WAS ACCUSED OF FAVOURING THE RULING NATIONAL PARTY DURING THE APARTHEID ERA.

till 1986 when Naspers – also the owners of Media24 – launched the commercial subscription channel M-Net, offering movies, sport, entertainment and lifestyle programmes. The company was listed on the JSE in 1990. MultiChoice, a company in the Naspers stable, was set up in 1993 offering subscription television services.

Free-to-air station e.tv was launched in 1998. Sabido Investments owns e.tv, which in turn is owned by black economic empowerment group Hosken Consolidated Investments and Remgro.

DStv contributes to diversity but it dominates the pay-TV environment – especially live sport with its SuperSport channels – making it difficult for other subscription operators to grow. For instance, e.tv won a licence in 2007 to offer pay-TV but opted instead to sell a 24-hour news channel – eNCA – to DStv. TopTV, which won its subscription licence in the same round of Icasa regulatory hearings in 2007, struggled to get off the ground since launching in 2010. In 2013 it gained approval to broadcast "adult content" as a key differentiator to DStv and, to rescue the business, its founding shareholders agreed to sell 20% of the company to StarTimes, a Chinese firm with pay-TV operations in 10 African countries. (The Electronic Communications Act caps foreign ownership in licensed broadcasting entities at 20%.)

In July 2013 Sabido announced it would launch a new free-to-air satellite TV service called Openview HD while the politically connected Gupta family (and owners of TNA Media, parent company of *The New Age* newspaper) has also sold a 24-hour news channel to DStv, called Africa News Network 7 (ANN7). This was launched in August 2013.

There are seven licensed community television stations in the country: Cape Town TV, Soweto TV, Bay TV, One KZN, Tshwane TV, Bara TV and North West Television. The first to receive a licence to operate was Soweto TV

in 2007, followed by Cape Town TV a year later. In terms of their licence conditions, community TV stations must serve a particular community, be non-profit and must involve members of that community in the selection and production of their programming.⁶³

Icasa granted provisional licences to five new pay-TV operators in April 2014 to Close-T Broadcast Network Holdings; Siyaya – which in August 2014 snapped up the rights to broadcast Bafana Bafana games from the SABC – Kagiso TV; Mindset Media Enterprises; and Mobile TV.

Audience Figures

While the SABC continues to dominate the television landscape, there has been a significant growth in viewership figures for subscription television over the past 10 years.⁶⁴ The number of households that have pay-TV has grown from 13% five years ago to 25% in 2012.

WHILE THE SABC CONTINUES TO DOMINATE THE TELEVISION LANDSCAPE, THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT GROWTH IN VIEWERSHIP FIGURES FOR SUBSCRIPTION TELEVISION OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS.

The fight for audience has intensified over English news, with e.tv stealing viewers from the SABC 3's English news at 7pm. For instance, e.tv's 7pm news slot gets 2.5-million viewers compared with SABC 3's between 900 000 and 1-million viewers, according to the South African Advertising Research Foundation (Saarf).⁶⁵ In the six months ending March 2012, the SABC lost over one million viewers across all three channels in its prime-time news slots, according to Saarf audience ratings.⁶⁶

In August 2012 e.tv's eNews channel was rebranded eNCA (eNews Channel Africa) on DStv in Africa and launched on Sky in Europe. This move was the first step in a 10-year plan to go global with both South African and pan-African news services. The vision was "to become the Al Jazeera of Africa", according to Patrick Conroy, the channel's group head of news.⁶⁷

Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT)

Globally, the broadcasting industry is moving from analogue to digital technology for transmission. The

aim in South Africa is to have more channels and more choice than ever before, including parliamentary services, small business and youth services, and the understanding is migration will assist job creation. The move to the digital sphere will also free up bandwidth for the telecommunications and cellphone operators. The SABC is supposed to be leading the process from analogue to digital broadcasting technology but this seems to have stalled, according to the 2014 PricewaterhouseCoopers report cited earlier.

Implementation of the move towards DTT⁶⁸ has also been slow in this country compared with many other African countries. Nigeria, Botswana, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Mauritius have already launched their DTT services.⁶⁹ It was originally planned that the analogue feeds would be cut off in SA at the end of 2011. This did not happen. Although the set-top boxes (STBs or decoders)⁷⁰ required for the move to digital were tested in 2012, a legal dispute arose over the management of the STBs conditional-access (CA) system. This went to court, which found for e.tv's right to control the CA system together with the SABC. The then Minister of Communications, Dina Pule, said she would not appeal the decision and that both the SABC and e.tv could control the CA system, with Icasa as the regulator.⁷¹ By the beginning of 2013 there were still "vested interests, legal disputes and delays" in the local DTT process: there were problems with the government and Icasa "dithering", dual illumination periods during which both digital and analogue were to run at the same time, and multiplex allocation problems.⁷²

The international deadline for the final switch over is June 2015. In April 2014 SOS's Sekoetlane Phamodi and Kate Skinner told State of the Newsroom that the SABC claimed to "be ready". They had HD studios from which 24-hour news was being broadcast, Phamodi and Skinner explained, and digital play out was already operational since anyone who had a DVB-T2 decoder/STB could receive three channels and the additional testing channel.⁷³ "The major question now is, given the findings of the PwC Skills Audit report which asserts the SABC has a critical shortage of technical staff to be ready for the more widely multi-channel environment DTT promises, what is the SABC's strategy?" Phamodi and Skinner asked. "It's one thing to have the staff to run four channels (including the 24-hour news channel) as we have now. But we also know that the environment is about to get a whole lot more competitive and if an already compromised SABC audience share (as is the case now) is not improved by the development

and launch of a wider range of channel offerings with competitive edge, content and the appropriately skilled people to facilitate digital play out, will the broadcaster be able to survive the new environment?"⁷⁴

Phamodi and Skinner point to these issues:

First, the public has not seen a detailed content strategy or detailed budgets for new digital channels; there appears to be no commitment from National Treasury to fund new channels and public content. The big question is how is the SABC going to fund new content for new channels?

Second, the original co-ordinating structure for DTT (the Digital Dzonga) has been disbanded and nothing has been set up in its place. The Digital Dzonga co-ordinated all key stakeholders including broadcasters, decoder manufacturers and Icasa. The Department of Communications is now supposed to take the lead but there has been little movement in this regard.

Third, set-top box control is still undecided: there is a dispute between the broadcasters on this issue. On the one side is MultiChoice (and now the SABC, which are against CA control) and on the other side is e.tv. The dispute is stalling the manufacture of STBs, which holds up the entire digital migration process.

Fourth, the roll out of a communications campaign to inform the general public about DTT has now been postponed because of a corruption scandal.

Fifth, but a positive milestone: Icasa has set up a Digital TV Content Advisory Group to assist all broadcasters including public, commercial and community to deliver content to ensure the uptake of set-top boxes. The group got off to a slow start but there is potential that some concrete recommendations might come out of this to ensure good new content.

Radio

In South Africa a healthy radio (public, commercial and community) sector has the widest audience reach of any media, according to Saarf. There were 255 radio stations in South Africa, as of March 2014.⁷⁵ Saarf researcher Mpho Mathebula says this figure represents only those radio stations measured by the body, which only looks at those licensed by Icasa. The breakdown of these radio stations is shown in full detail in Appendix 3.

- There are 38 commercial radio stations.
- There are 217 community radio stations.
- SABC stations consists of public broadcasting stations and public commercial stations, e.g., Metro FM and 5FM. SABC has a total of 19 radio stations.
- Jozi is the biggest community station with 519 000 listeners in an average week.

Ukhozi FM (isiZulu) is the biggest radio station in SA, with 7 563 000 listeners, Umhlobo Wenene ((isiXhosa) is second with 4 359 000 listeners and Lesedi (Sesotho) is third with 4 024 000 listeners.⁷⁶ According to the February 2014 RAMS release, Ukhozi commands 20.3% of the total adult audience and Umhlobo Wenene has 11.7%.

Public: Public radio in South Africa is run by the SABC and broadcasts in all 11 official languages (and two Khoisan languages). The largest listenership figures of all radio types (including commercial and community) are the SABC's African language stations.

Community: Community radio stations continue to grow but battle to sustain themselves. There is a chapter in this SoN report covering this sector. According to a recent document, *The Healthy Community Radio Station* (2013), the stations are conceived as critical vehicles for advancing community participation and access to information, particularly among communities that are excluded from the mainstream media.⁷⁷

Commercial: Adding to diversity, three new FM radio station were launched in 2012-2013: Smile 90.4FM (music and talk in English and Afrikaans) in Cape Town, Vuma FM (mostly gospel music and isiZulu) in Durban and Power FM in Gauteng. Power FM, an English commercial talk-radio station launched in June 2013 and has been hailed as a strong competitor to Primedia's Talk Radio 702. Other commercial stations include Metro FM, 5FM, YFM, Jacaranda FM, 94.7 Highveld Stereo, Kaya FM, and Good Hope FM.

At the time of writing, further growth was in the offing: Icasa awarded further commercial licences in secondary markets in February 2014. The two, awarded in the Free State and Eastern Cape, went to consortiums led by MSG Afrika, which is behind Limpopo's successful Capricorn FM and Power FM.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, Times Media Group, historically mainly active in print media, took over MPower, a faltering station in Mpumalanga, and re-launched it as Rise FM. It also took a majority stake in Vuma FM and has begun to develop radio

interests in other parts of Africa. In April 2014, Icasa issued three new licences on medium wave (MW) frequencies: TalkSport and LM Radio were licenced in Gauteng, and Magic 828 in Cape Town. The return of LM to the Gauteng market drew particular interest. One of the oldest stations in Southern Africa, it had spent decades broadcasting pop music into SA from Maputo when it was still Lourenço Marques. Capital Radio 604, which had played an important role as an independent source of news during the 1980s, failed in its bid for the Durban MW licence. However, long-standing neglect of Sentech's MW broadcasting infrastructure seemed set to delay these stations' ability to make use of their licences.⁷⁹ Led by the National Association of Broadcasters, there were preparations for launching a trial of DAB+ (digital audio broadcasting) but it was yet to get under way at the time of writing. However, a trial of an alternative technology, Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM), which makes use of Medium Wave frequencies for digital signals, began in early July 2014, led by Christian broadcaster Radio Pulpit.⁸⁰

Print

In the first quarter of 2014 there were 46 commercial newspapers in South Africa: 21 dailies and 25 weeklies.⁸¹ The majority of the newspapers' copy sales and total circulation had decreased year on year, from April 2013 to April 2014, as tracked by SoN. We used figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in April last year compared with those of April 2014 to track the trends.

The ABC found that total newspaper circulation has declined on average by 5.5% almost yearly since 2008.⁸² Print was suffering from decreasing revenues, and decreasing sales except for the few mentioned above.

Print was also struggling to make the transition to digital first in 2013-2014 (see the next chapter: Digital First Developments), which was most pronounced during the live broadcasting of the Pistorius trial.

As mentioned already, the focus of this media landscape chapter (compared with last year's SoN report) is broadcasting. Therefore not all the print companies' news will be discussed equally here. We have chosen firm that made the most news in 2013-2014: Independent Newspapers that was bought by Sekunjalo Independent Media (SIM) from Irish owners in 2013.

Sekunjalo Saga

Independent Newspapers constitutes the largest group of English-language newspapers in the country and it also owns the isiZulu *Isolezwe* titles. It owns the *The Star*, *Cape Times*, *The Mercury*, *Pretoria News*, *Cape Argus* and the *Daily News* among others. The previous Irish owners, led by Tony O'Reilly, were well-known for bleeding the South African operation dry; not reinvesting but repatriating profits. Dr Iqbal Survé, a medical doctor turned businessman, who claims strong ANC "struggle credentials", formed the Sekunjalo consortium, which included the Public Investment Corporation (PIC), Chinese shareholding, Umkhonto we Sizwe veterans and Mandla Mandela among others.

At the time of the sale, there was criticism over of a lack of transparency about the shareholders and particularly the Chinese stake. There were other questions to which Survé took exception: his lack of experience in the newspaper industry, being seemingly close to the ruling party that raised issues of future editorial independence, and his talk of the need for more positive news. Survé viewed this as motivated by racism, anti-transformation thinking and jealousy, arguing that there was a vendetta against him from those who feared competition (particularly from TMG and the *Mail & Guardian* – the latter he accused of being funded by the CIA).⁸³

Sekunjalo lodged a criminal complaint against the *Sunday Times* (3 December 2013), accusing the paper's owner, Times Media Group (TMG), of a "dirty tricks" campaign to rob his group of revenue and readers. An apology was also demanded of one of Independent Newspapers' own editors and a reporter over a story about a preliminary Public Protector finding that the awarding of a fishery tender by the government to Sekunjalo Marine Services Consortium was improper.⁸⁴

Later in December 2013 the charges were dropped and Sekunjalo said it would go the more conventional route of the Press Council. In December 2013, in the same week that Nelson Mandela died, Survé suspended the editor of the *Cape Times*, Alide Dasnois, after she ran a story on the Public Protector's report that implicated Sekunjalo instead of leading with Nelson Mandela's death. The latter was instead made a wrap-around, which won the *Cape Times* design accolades from *Time* magazine. Survé offered Dasnois "alternative positions" in the company; she refused and he suspended her. It was widely viewed as an act of censorship.⁸⁵ Dasnois took the matter to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration and then to the Labour Court.

The process was still on going at the time of writing in mid-2014. The company held its own disciplinary hearing and fired her in July 2014.

Confusing Protest Action for and against Sekunjalo

There were protests outside Newspaper House in Cape Town over Dasnois's suspension on 17 December 2013. Three organisations were involved. Right2Know (R2K) and the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef) were surprised to be joined in a counter protest by a previously unheard of organisation: the Movement for the Transformation of the Media in SA (MTMSA), whose protesters carried placards shouting: "Fire: All Racist Reporters", and "Fire Tony Weaver".⁸⁶ According to R2K, Dasnois's firing was an "unprecedented threat to independent journalism in South Africa".⁸⁷ The R2K noted that Survé had changed the reasons for shifting Dasnois: firstly, falling circulation, which R2K said did not make sense because other papers in the group had suffered bigger declines; and secondly, inadequate coverage of Mandela's death. No consideration, R2K said, was given to the fact that the newspaper received a *Time* magazine accolade for being one of the world's top front pages for the breaking of the Mandela news. Writing to Survé in the *Cape Argus*,⁹⁷ R2K said:

*The reasons you have provided for your actions appear baseless. Even if your reasons had merit, the speed with which you implemented your decisions flouted all due process and labour law. This suggests that yours was a response to the negative publicity on your part in the tender irregularities alleged by the Public Protector rather than your desire to restructure Independent Newspapers or honour Mandela. As such, the actions of Sekunjalo Holdings, the controlling shareholder of SIM, are a threat to the editorial independence of the 14 titles around the country that fall under Independent Newspapers.*⁸⁸

Meanwhile, the MTMSA had formed, it said, to address a lack of transformation in South African media.⁸⁹ It said it was an umbrella body consisting of organisations such as the South African National Civic Organisation, Youth Progress Forum, churches and faith-based organisations.⁹⁰ On the day it held its protest, journalists covering the action reported that many of the protesters they spoke to were bussed in, did not know what they were protesting against nor who the people on the posters were. When one reporter asked if they knew of

Weaver, three protesters said they did not know who he was and one said he was a "politician".⁹¹ The MTMSA said in a newspaper article:

*"We demand transformation of the media houses and companies so that more black editors, sub-editors, management and staff of colour are appointed, who represent the progressive thinking of the black majority of South Africans, rather than the empowered racially advantaged few... We cannot sit back as the platforms of traditional and online media are used to usher in a new era of white domination."*⁹²

After the Dasnois dismissal and the protests, little has been heard from the MTMSA. The man behind the protests, Wesley Douglas, confirmed he was a member of the ANC.⁹³

Resignations

In January 2014 Chris Whitfield, group executive editor and head of all the Western Cape newspapers for the Independent, announced his "early retirement". He has not spoken publically but it is believed that he was unhappy with the Dasnois firing and Survé's management style. *Cape Times* assistant editor and head of news Janet Heard resigned in March 2014⁹⁴ to go to Media24. Heard had argued for the merits of the Mandela wrap around.⁹⁵ Terry Bell, a labour columnist of 18 years at Independent, was axed and his column was picked up by *City Press*. The editor of the *Sunday Independent*, Moshoeshe Monare, resigned for the deputy editorship of the *M&G*. Other losses included the political editor of the group, Piet Rampedi who left for the *Sunday Times*, as did *Business Report* journalist Ann Crotty. *The Mercury* editor Philani Mgwaba resigned in June. Survé, meanwhile, popped up in his own newspapers' stories, interviews and comment pieces, committing himself to media freedom and transformation.

There was a twist in the tale when on 20 June 2014, Dasnois won the Nat Nakasa award for courage and integrity at a Sanef event in Cape Town. She received a standing ovation from all except Survé. "I can't believe it. It's bulls**t!" he allegedly said before walking out of the event.

On 30 June 2014, Makhudu Sefara, the editor of The Star resigned (a few days after he wrote a robust column on media freedom); he was also named editor of the year at the Standard Bank Sikuvile awards the previous month.⁹⁶

Soon after, there was a slug fest between *The Star* and the *M&G* that started with a story in *The Star* that said that the *M&G* was in financial trouble in a bid to prop up owner Trevor Ncube's Zimbabwean operation.

The *M&G*'s CE, Hoosain Karjeker, denied that there was a cash-flow crisis and Ncube released a statement saying that a "pattern is emerging that every time the *Mail & Guardian* contacts Dr Iqbal Surve, Executive Chairman of Independent News and Media, South Africa (INMSA), or his executives, for a comment on a story they are working on it is turned into an opportunity to attack me or my publications". (The *M&G* had sent questions for a yet-unpublished story to Independent CEO Tony Howard prior to *The Star* story, Karjeker said, to which Howard did not respond.)

Ncube also said in his statement: "Sometime last year Dr Surve called and, among other things, asked that I talk to the *M&G* Investigative Unit, and tell them not to work on stories relating to the acquisition of INMSA. I told him I couldn't do this as I don't tell our journalists what to write and what not to write. He seemed very surprised."

Changes in the Media Landscape

There were major changes for the country's largest news agency, the South African Press Association (Sapa), and the South African Audience Research Foundation (Saarf), the independent body that oversees audience and readership research in SA.

Sapa: Sapa, which was started in 1938 as a not-for-profit company, faced closure or radical change since its four funding members – the "Big Four" print-media houses – started pulling out of the arrangement. At the start of January 2014, TMG resigned as a member and print subscriber but stayed as subscriber for its digital platforms. TMG was later followed by Caxton while Independent Newspaper was set to resign later in 2014, leaving only Media24 as a funding member.

Sapa's board put pressure on the agency to find a new business model, and restructure in keeping with the changing times, said Sapa editor Mark van der Velden,⁹⁷ who has taken over more commercial and managerial responsibilities in the past year (2013-2014).

In July it emerged that Gallo Images – the commercial picture and video service half-owned by Media24 – was looking into taking over Sapa. The recently retired Media24 editor Tim Du Plessis – also Sapa's chairman

– confirmed that Gallo was doing a due diligence as it investigated whether the news agency was a good fit with its business.⁹⁸

Van der Velden told SoN that the changes underlined the reality that the old model of a non-profit media association was at an end in because of changes in the newspaper industry, particularly declines in advertising revenue and circulation, readers going digital, and budgets getting tighter.

Future of Independent Media Research: Saarf and the NAB

In another example of heightened demand for new business models in revenue-pressured times, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) withdrew from the South African Audience Research Foundation (Saarf) in December 2013 to take effect at the end of 2014. This will seriously affect Saarf's revenue model. According to The Media Online⁹⁹, the NAB's decision stemmed from what it called the rejection at a Saarf AGM of a NAB proposal to have "more equitable representation for television and radio broadcast media on the Saarf Board". Executive director of NAB Nadia Bulbulia stated in August 2013 that after December 2014, the broadcasters' funding would go to "a new research structure focusing on its own radio and television audience research as well as an establishment survey with effect from 1 January 2015".¹⁰⁰ She said the decision was also related to the fact that the existing research model did not completely cover the complexity and diversity of the South African television market. NAB wanted to adopt "best international practice" in charting a way forward.

Negotiations between the various parties continued throughout 2014 and by August, this was how things stood:¹⁰¹

- A new TAMS agreement had been signed between the NAB, Saarf and the existing service provider, Nielsen Media Research, to run for the next five years;
- The NAB had put out a tender for the design, development and implementation of a new radio measurement survey (to be called the Radio Audience and Currency Survey or "RACS", to replace "RAMS") and five research companies had been shortlisted in the process; while
- The Amps contract between the NAB and Saarf has been extended to 2015 to provide continuity for the crucial establishment survey while the various

parties negotiate and decide what they wish to do in this regard.

New Newsroom Trend: Native Advertising

In the search for new revenue models, experimentation was taking place in newsrooms – with native advertising a relatively new trend. This is paid-for content, or sponsored content, that merges editorial content with advertising. This experimentation began after the realisation that online advertising was not compensating adequately for the loss in print advertising. Native advertising, it was argued recently by Narisetti,¹⁰² was the latest trend in the media industry's fight for the survival of journalism. The fact remained that journalism continued to be consumed in vast quantities but was not paid for in many cases.

Native advertising means that a sponsor, for example, Mercedes-Benz, will provide a regular “story” about, for example, how President Jacob Zuma arrived at an investors’ forum in a township and how left his Mercedes with the township residents.¹⁰³ *Mail & Guardian* editor-in-chief Chris Roper said his paper would “absolutely” be going the native-advertising experimentation route in its online offerings,¹⁰⁴ following in the footsteps of *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Supporters of native advertising say there is transparency in how it is produced and presented. They also point out that sponsored content is not new because advertorials have long been a feature of print.¹⁰⁵ However, it is worth pointing out that native advertising is not always that easy to spot. Do the readers mind? We don't know yet, and there is no research available in this area at present. What is clear though is that the blurring lines between editorial and advertorial are indicative of how broken the old publishing revenue models are. In an age of fluidity and newsroom experimentation, native advertising is being hailed as an apparently win-win situation for newsrooms under pressure.¹⁰⁶

First Year of the New Press Council

The first year, 2013 to 2014, of the new Press Council (with more inclusion of members from the public and a public advocate) and new Press Code (with greater sanctions against offenders) has been hailed a success but a few worrying trends have emerged. The new co-regulation system came into action after the Press Freedom Commission (PFC), set up by Sanef, spent a year, 2012, researching appropriate press regulations for the country. A wide range of citizens, non-governmental

and governmental, political parties, editors and other bodies made representations. This move was largely in response to the ANC's call for a Media Appeals Tribunal to regulate the press.

Assessment of the Changes, Trends and Patterns in 2014

Faster resolutions: The Public Advocate, in the form of Latiefa Mobarra, according to Ombudsman Johan Retief was a “Godsend, if you believe in God”.¹⁰⁷ The all-round assessment of the Press Council, and the press itself, attests to the fact that Mobarra mediated disputes quickly and got settlements done within weeks rather than months. Previously, it could take up to three months to get to a settlement. The Ombudsman now deals with about one third of the complaints, and the Public Advocate deal with two thirds. “For the first time the system is working on all cylinders,” Retief said.

THE OMBUDSMAN NOW DEALS WITH ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE COMPLAINTS, AND THE PUBLIC ADVOCATE DEAL WITH TWO THIRDS.

Waiver exclusion: The waiver of the right to sue, which was dropped temporarily – for a year – to test the waters might be revisited after a case in 2014 of a woman suing *The Witness* after having won at the Press Council. In addition, *Nosweek* withdrew from the council because it believed the abandonment of the waiver was unfair.

Third-party complaints: An assessment of a new inclusion to the Press Code, that of third-party complaints (i.e., one can make a complaint even if the matter does not affect one directly), is interesting in that, contrary to expectation, there has not been flood of such complaints.

Complaints: There were 530 complaints in the past year, the highest number of complaints the Press Council has ever had. Of these, only 142 went to rulings. This is due to the fact that the Public Advocate settled most complaints amicably, according to the Press Council. Also, many complaints fell outside the jurisdiction of the Press Council, for instance, complaints about advertising or broadcasting, complaints about newspaper deliveries or that an editor wouldn't publish a letter.

Biggest transgressions and transgressors: Yet again the most common problem was not being given the right to reply or to comment. “Or they ask too late, with ten minutes to deadline. This transgression accounts for about 90% of the complaints to the Press Council,” Retief said. The second biggest issue, was “accuracy”: journalists were not doing enough verification of facts. This was related to a third issue, that of secondary sources taken as primary sources. Reporters often copy what other journalists are saying rather than establishing facts for themselves. For example, Julius Malema’s “R16-million tax bill”, was in fact R8-million. In the majority of cases, newspapers give their full co-operation to the Press Council. The *Sunday Times* was most complained about – but it was also the largest circulating newspaper in SA and so this must be seen in this light, the Ombudsman cautioned.

Worrying trends: The new trend of using lawyers as representatives at hearings was worrying, Mobara observed in the first year as Public Advocate. Not everyone can afford the tens of thousands in lawyers’ fees. However, there is a stipulation that only if both parties are in agreement that one or both sides can have legal representatives then this proceeds in the legalistic way. “We prefer not to have lawyers but there are exceptions, for complex cases,” said Mobara. She felt lawyers tended to represent the big companies and so tipped the scales in favour of the journalist or newspaper. The task at hand was to revise some aspects of the Press Code, and to discuss whether social media should be included. From time to time Mobara has had to ask online divisions of newspapers to remove offensive comments if they were, for instance, sexist or racist.

THE MOST COMMON MISTAKES PERSISTED INTO THE PRESS COUNCIL’S NEW ERA: JOURNALISTS NOT ASKING FOR COMMENT OR ASKING TOO LATE – IN OTHER WORDS THE PRESS CODE’S “RIGHT TO REPLY” IS OFTEN FLOUTED.

Wits Journalism convened a seminar on the first assessment of the first year of the Press Council, which included editor representatives, academic, the Press Council, and Appeals Panel in May 2014. Director of the Press Council Joe Thlooe told the seminar that while

questions could be raised about whether it was too early to assess the new Press Council’s structures and Press Code, some tentative trends were nonetheless emerging. The seminar heard that the new system was more efficient than the old and, with the inclusion of a Public Advocate’s position, complaints were being more speedily resolved: the average number of days it took for a complaint to be concluded so far in 2014 was 51 days. In 2013 it took 67 days. In 2012 it was 82 days; and in 2011 it was 111 days.

Another notable trend was that the number of complaints had increased. In 2013 there were 529 complaints. In 2012 there were 285; and in 2011 there were 256. This year, the same pattern was emerging. The increase could be attributed to factors other than journalism standards and ethics being flouted. It could be that there is more faith in, and use of, the system.

Also notable was that “personal” complaints (as opposed to “business” and “politics”) were upheld the most over the past two years. Personal means complaints of a personal nature – some of these personal complaints came from prominent people.

A further interesting trend was that compliance about apologies being run on the front page was at 100%. While the overwhelming conclusion at the seminar was that the media had bought into the system, which is largely a success, some of the old problems that existed in the days of the old Press Code and structure still existed.

Same Old: Some Things have not Changed

The most common mistakes persisted into the Press Council’s new era: journalists not asking for comment or asking too late – in other words the Press Code’s “right to reply” is often flouted. Journalists still tended to contact subjects just before deadline and did not give them adequate time for response. This feeds into inaccurate reporting and unfair reporting, the seminar heard. The overuse of anonymous sources and single sources remained an issue. The problems with not following up and setting the facts straight persisted: articles were generally not run, for example, to say a person’s name was cleared. Headlines were still often out of tandem with the story.

There were “elephants in the room”, issues raised but not resolved. First, the MAT could re-emerge; how does the council deal with digital and the regulation thereof; if indeed this sector warrants regulation, should

it be covered in the Press Code? Second, how about some discussion about how to handle online news, user-generated content and social media – all this is becoming more pressing – a few seminar participants asserted. Third, what about conflicts of interests such as journalists joining political parties, or getting payment for stories; should this be in the code more explicitly, perhaps? Other critical points raised included those by editor-in-chief at *City Press*, Ferial Haffajee, that the Press Council system could be too conservative in its rulings and not leaning enough in favour of free speech. Haffajee felt some of the rulings had an “almost Calvinist respect for authority” and also noted some inconsistencies in findings, as well as “limitations on opinion, again with an almost executive minded definition of dignity and respect”.

B). TRANSFORMATION UPDATES: RACE AND GENDER

For this section, we examined the SABC, e.SAT (holding company for eNCA and e.tv), Mail & Guardian Media LTD and Media24. SoN 2014 also contacted TMG, Independent Newspapers, Caxton and Primedia to request their participation in the race and gender survey. Some declined and some did not respond.

In addition, to track changes from one year to the next, we checked on the number of black editors and women editors to assess if there were improvements since last year’s SoN. Here we found that by a slight number, black editorships increased but the number of women was down.

First, a definition: the starting point on transformation can be taken from the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team’s Report (PDMTTT) on the Transformation of Print and Digital Media. The report stated that transformation was about:

Changing the country and its institutions from an oppressive, exploitative and unrepresentative past into a free and democratic dispensation. In the PDMTTT context, transformation is a process of repositioning print and digital media from being a minority white controlled sector to a truly South African industry that not only resonates with the aspirations of the country but also jealously guards and protects the freedom won at a price beyond measure.¹⁰⁸

The statistics contained in the PDMTTT report are still the most recent ones available for media houses. The report said a transformation charter was not suitable to regulate such an industry but found the following:

- The industry had failed to transform itself in direct areas of ownership, management and control;
- It had failed to transform in areas of skills development and employment equity particularly regarding women and the disabled;
- The industry has done well in “soft areas” such as socioeconomic development, preferential procurement and, in some instances, enterprise development;
- It noted that digital media was a game changer for transformation and could bring communities previously excluded into the national discourse;
- The position of blacks in general and women in particular in the management and control of companies and in boardrooms was “dismal”; and
- One of the key recommendations regarding the above was: companies should commit to having 50% of black board participants and 50% should be women within three years.

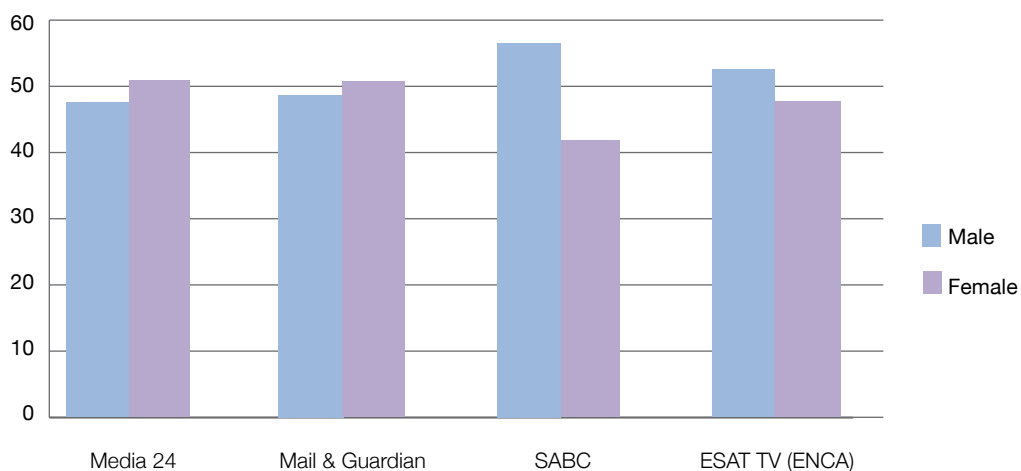
It was notable that the industry was yet to implement one of the most important PMDTT recommendations: to monitor progress. However, it was expected that a report-back would be released in October 2014.

SoN 2014 Survey of Four Media Companies

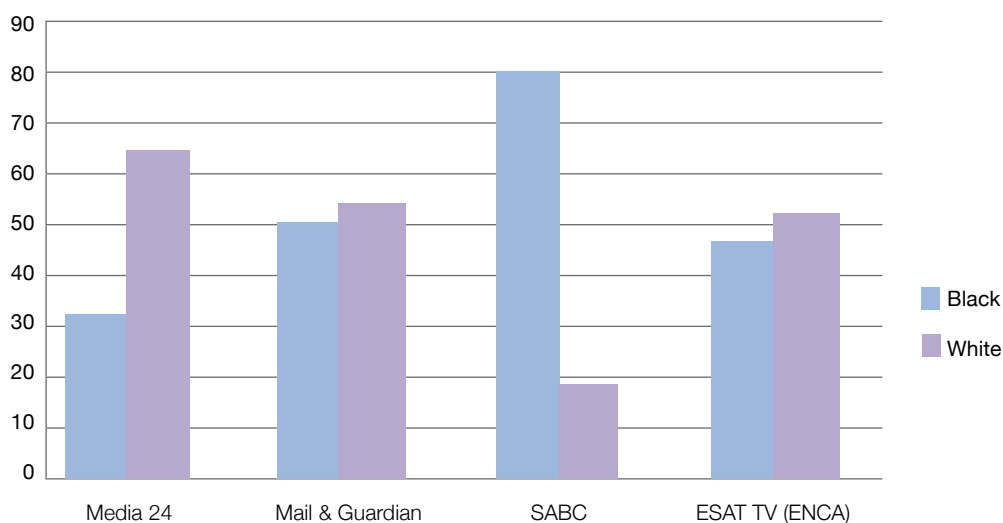
With the PDMTTT report as the background, State of the Newsroom 2014 surveyed four companies: SABC, e.SAT (holding company for e.tv and eNCA), Media24, and M&G Media Ltd. on their race and gender data, and found that transformation progress in the newsrooms in terms of editors/senior editorial managers and journalists¹⁰⁹, blacks and women was uneven across the different companies.

The companies were very different in form and structure. For this reason, there are disparate categories and, therefore, the same features cannot be measured across all. In addition, some companies provided only some of their information. However, there are common threads, for instance, in the category for editorial managers and journalists/editors. The data depicted in the graph, below, shows that a fair diversity of race and gender exists at the *M&G* while Media24 is dominated by white women. The SABC is predominantly black and male while eNCA and e.tv have slightly more white and more male editorial staff members.

Gender percentage of senior editorial managers and journalists in the news room



Race percentage of senior editorial managers and journalists in the newsroom



The companies did not respond to a query on the PDMTT report except Media24 said it was addressing “its shortcomings” in terms of the report. In June 2014, Media24 released improved BEE statistics. The other companies parted with only their newsroom race and gender statistics.

Media24

Media24 announced in June 2014 that it had improved its Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment scorecard from a Level 4 contributor to Level 3. The country’s largest media company provided the

following information. The preferential procurement scores improved from 12 points to 17 points; and the management and control improved from 6 to 8 points. Black ownership increased to 45%, from 44%, and female ownership was at 21%. Media24 supplied a graph to depict their newsrooms’ compositions regarding race and gender.

- The Media24 data depicts a not dissimilar race and gender picture from SoN 2013: white females were the highest single category while black females were the single smallest category.
- With newspaper editors, there is a particularly

small showing for black females – however, this is consistent with the country trend.

- In the magazine industry, there is a large showing for whites: both male and female.
- In the category for editors and newspapers, even though black male editors constituted a good portion, they were still not as many as the white female category and the white male category.

How did Media24 react to the PDMTTT report? GM of human resources, Shelagh Goodwin, said that the company had “reviewed the report in detail” and was “in the process of addressing the shortcomings that are set out in the report”.¹¹⁰

The company asserted that it set employment equity and skills development targets every year and reported on progress to the Media24 board as well as to the Department of Labour. Transformation targets, Goodwin added, were also included in the KPAs and performance contracts of the management team. “Because we recognise that the pace of transformation has been slow, we have this year launched the Media24 Apex Leadership Programme.”

She said that this was a major investment in the identification and accelerated development of mid- to senior-level black managers (especially women). The company was partnering with Duke CE, a provider of executive education internationally, to offer this programme.

Mail & Guardian

The statistics showed the following when you categorise black as African, Indian and coloured. At ownership level it was majority black but foreign because the majority shareholder was Zimbabwean. At board level the *M&G* was weak on female representation – with just one woman and six men. SoN disaggregated data into two sets: top managers and editors in Set One, and editors and journalists in the second set. In the first category, senior level, race wise, the “top managers” and editors, by a slight majority, were white and male. A smaller proportion, nine out of 21 (42%), of editorial managers and editors were black at the *M&G* in 2014.

- A total, of 12 out of 21 (57%) of editorial managers and editors were white. In total 12 out of 21 (57%), or the majority of managers and editors, were male. A total of 9 out of 21 (43%) managers and editors were female. At top management level there was good representation of women, with a 50/50 split

between the genders. Race wise there were six blacks and four whites. At editor level – the majority were white and male. There were eight white editors and three black editors. Gender statistics showed that the majority were male – with seven and four female.

- When the data was aggregated for editorial managers, editors and journalists data, SoN found it was an almost even split by race and gender. A total of 40 out of 81 journalists and editors are black; 41 out of 81 journalists and editors were white. A total of 40 out of 81 journalists and editors are male; 41 out of 81 journalists and editors are female.
- The *M&G* did not respond to the interview question about the PDMTTT report.

SABC

The vast majority of employees at the SABC at the level of admin, finance, management, and news and current affairs, in 2014 was black. In terms of gender, the majority were female in administration, finance and management but not in editorial – where the majority were male. The total number of black people in admin, finance and management was 106 out of 116, or 91%; 10 out of 116 were white, or 9%. A total of 51 out of 116 were male in admin, finance and management, or 43%. The majority were women, 65 out of 116, were female, or 57%. Out of a total of 728 editorial employees, 566 were black, or 78%; 162 were white, or 22%.

THE VAST MAJORITY OF EMPLOYEES AT THE SABC AT THE LEVEL OF ADMIN, FINANCE, MANAGEMENT, AND NEWS AND CURRENT AFFAIRS, IN 2014 WAS BLACK.

Of a total employee composition (admin, management, finance, newsroom) of 975, there were 826 blacks (752 African, 38 coloured and 36 Indian) and 149 whites. Gender wise: there were 546 males and 429 females.

Of a total of 351 managers, there were 91 white and 260 black.

In the newsroom, out of 377 editors and journalists, there were 71 whites and 306 blacks.

Males dominated in the newsroom: there were 210 males and 167 females.

e.SAT

The holding company for e.tv and eNCA, e.SAT, provided the following from a total staff component of 567. There were 438 blacks (African 331; coloured 66; and Indian 41) and 129 whites. 438 out of 567 staff members were black.

Of the total staff complement of 567, 316 were male and 259 were female. With regard to managers in general: whites and blacks were equal and females showed a higher figure of six to four males. There was a slightly higher figure for white editors: out of 17 editors, 9, or 53%, were white; 47%, were black.

e.tv and eNCA's race and gender breakdown for editors and journalists were majority white and female.

A total of 8 out of 17, or 47%, of editors and journalists at e.SAT were black. By a slight majority, 9 out of 17, or 53%, most of the editors were female.

Race and Gender Editors of Newspapers Nationally 2014

For editors of commercial newspapers nationally, the majority of editors were black – but just slightly. A decline of the number of women and black women editors was observed compared with last year's SoN. Was South Africa following recent world trends, as in the WAN report quoted earlier.¹¹¹ For a full list of the names, race and gender of editors see Appendix 2.¹¹²

In 2014, a total of 24 out of 43 editors were black, or 56%; 19 out of 43 were white, or 44%. The graph above depicts a slight increase of black male editors from 2013. This figure is different from the 2013 SoN data, when 55% was white and 45% was black.

In terms of gender, out of 43 editors, 31 were male (72%) and 12 out of 43 were female (28%). Only 6 out of 43 were black women, i.e., 14%.

Newspaper Editor Trends: Race and Gender Trends 2014

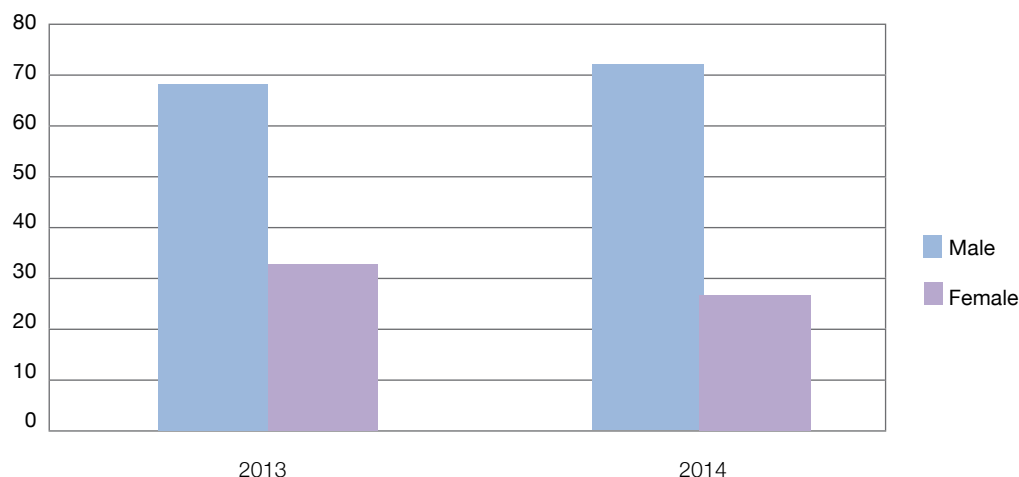
Race: Transformation progress with editors of newspapers nationally is noted since 2013. In 2014, most editors were by a slight majority black. Last year 55% of editors were white and 45% were black.

Gender: In 2013, 29 were male (69%) and 13 were female (31%) but the percentage for women editors had decreased by 2014. White males constituted 13 out of 43 and black males 17 out of 43 – with the latter giving its strongest showing. The smallest showing was the category of black women editors, of newspapers nationally.

New Programme Launch: WIN

South Africa's trends seemed to be in keeping with global press trends. The WAN 2014 report depicted a decrease in the number of women in media leadership – in newsrooms and in management. In South Africa, for

Women and Men Newspaper Editors in 2013 and 2014



instance, only 4% of board members, according to the PDMTTT, were women. A programme was launched in June 2014 to address this issue: the Women in News (WIN) programme, a partnership between Print and Digital Media SA, the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) and Sanef, partnering also with Media24 and Wits Journalism.

The programme aims to equip female media professionals in middle management positions with strategic skills and support networks to take on greater leadership roles within their organisations.¹¹³

C). MEDIA FREEDOM TRENDS

Taking into account the laws that impede journalists' ability to do their jobs, and attacks on journalists while on the job, the conclusion is that media freedom in South Africa appears to be under threat.

Reporters and especially photographers had a rough year, with a proliferation of assaults, incidents of intimidation and harassment recorded – an increase on the previous year. A total of 20 listed incidents have been recorded by Sanef and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), and has been detailed in Appendix 4.

The Protection of State Information Bill (Secrecy Bill), the National Key Points Act, the General Intelligence Laws Amendment Bill and the MAT resolution of the ANC have had negative implications for newsrooms. In different ways, the Bills and the Act impacted on the free flow of information and allowed for surveillance of journalists such as tapping of phones while the MAT served as a future threat.

Secrecy Bill Problems

On 12 November 2013, the National Assembly adopted the revised Secrecy Bill for the second time. It was a more progressive Bill than that of the year before due to civil society – mainly the R2K¹¹⁴ coalition's protests and inputs – but it was still seriously flawed. President Jacob Zuma did not sign the Bill and asked for revisions but the changes to Sections 42 and 45 were largely about grammar and punctuation despite calls by opposition parties' in Parliament for substantial changes. The Bill (in August 2014) was yet to be signed into law. Sanef has consistently appealed to Zuma not to sign the Bill in its current form but to send it to the Constitutional Court for testing. At the time of writing, there was no response from the president. Sanef has consistently argued for



R2K and Sanef have vowed to take the Secrecy Bill to the Constitutional Court should it become law

the inclusion of an adequate public-interest defence clause to protect journalists and whistleblowers.

The flaws in the Bill hinge mostly on vague language when it comes to limiting the right to information. R2K believes that the power to classify information should reside with the state bodies directly charged with national security matters – something the Bill does not specify. According to R2K, these are the biggest problems with the Secrecy Bill¹¹⁵:

- Vagueness, arbitrariness and wideness in relation to possession or communication of information, for example, that a person ought to reasonably know that information would benefit a foreign state thereby affecting national security.
- The law does not distinguish between public servants, on the one hand, and the media and the public on the other in terms of the applicable offenses or the resultant penalties. Further, for members of the public, there are particular concerns attached to the criminalisation of conspiracy or inducement to commit an offence related to unauthorised disclosure.
- The definition of “national security matters” is not consistent with international law, and law in

other countries, because it includes “exposure of economic, scientific or technological secrets”, and because it’s too broad.

- The state bodies entrusted with the power to classify should exercise that power only to the extent it is – and they can show it to be – truly necessary to protect the security of the nation. The Bill must guard against over-classification and facilitate declassification to the greatest extent possible.
- The criminal penalties in the law are too severe, disproportionate and excessive. Each of the Secrecy Bill offences carry a possible or mandatory prison term: up to five years’ imprisonment or a fine for the disclosure and possession of classified information, with permissible penalty linked to the classification level of the information; up to 25 years imprisonment for the unlawful receipt of state information and for hostile activity offences; and 3 to 25 years imprisonment for “espionage and related offenses”, including a mandatory minimum penalty absent “substantial and compelling circumstances”.
- Ordinary people are criminalised for possessing classified information, even if they don’t disclose it, or intend to disclose it. R2K believes that the protection of state secrets is a matter that should concern the state and not be burdened on society as a whole. The state should protect its secrets at source and not criminalise ordinary people for exercising their constitutional rights to access information and speak it freely when the state has failed its task.

R2K BELIEVES THAT THE PROTECTION OF STATE SECRETS IS A MATTER THAT SHOULD CONCERN THE STATE AND NOT BE BURDENED ON SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

- There is still no proper public-interest defence in the Secrecy Bill: any protection of state information regime should allow “escape valves” to balance ordinary people’s rights of access to information and freedom of expression with the state’s national security mandate, in the interest of open and accountable democracy.
- The Bill’s offences and penalties do not sufficiently take into account the public interest in disclosure of certain information in a democratic society.

Surveillance: Big Brother is Watching you

If the General Intelligence Laws Amendment Bill is passed, surveillance by the National Security Agency will become the order of the day, critics have asserted. *Mail & Guardian* Centre for Investigative Journalism (AmaBhungane) managing partner Stefaans Brümmer and advocacy co-ordinator Vinayak Bhardwaj have questioned the justifiable limits of spying and say that if the Bill in its present form is passed, SA could revert to the dark days of apartheid. Whereas governments internationally are justifying “monitoring” for national security reasons, mainly to prevent terrorism, often communication is intercepted which has no relation to terrorism. Brümmer and Bhardwaj have noted with concern that there is no judicial oversight in the Intelligence Bill, adding that “warrant-free interception is already a reality”.¹¹⁶ “Warrant-free interception” can happen at three levels, according to AmaBhungane, which takes issue with how “foreign signals intelligence” is defined and rights to privacy can be infringed upon. First, it will allow the interception of South Africans’ communications while they are overseas. Second, where only one leg of the communication is outside South Africa, the constitutional right to privacy of whoever is on the receiving end in South Africa is violated. Third, even where communication is entirely domestic – a Skype call or a Yahoo email between two individuals on South African soil – the Bill may still regard it as a ‘foreign’ communication.

The essential issue here is that there are insufficient checks and balances in the Bill to protect citizens, including journalists, from being spied on.

The National Key Points Act

This Act prevents publication of security arrangements at strategic installation points called a “national key point”. There are about 182 national key points in SA but there is no clarity on what they are, according to R2K, which is campaigning for a full list to be released. National key points may include: banks, munitions industries, petro chemicals, water, air and electricity industries, data processing, research and technology information systems. The problem for activists and journalists is that the government may declare any building a key point. This happened in 2012 with President Jacob Zuma’s private Nkandla homestead, upgraded with R260-million of taxpayers’ money. AmaBhungane launched a Paia request to get spending details for Nkandla in November 2012 while R2K launched a request for a list of key points. The Public Works Ministry then declared

Nkandla a national key point, and this prevented it from releasing any figures. Freedom-of-information activists argue that one can break the National Key Points Act without knowing. “You could be breaking the law without even knowing it, by staging a protest or by merely photographing it. South Africans clearly have a right to know and it would not undermine national security if we did.”¹¹⁷ Information-rights activists such as R2K, AmaBhungane and the editors’ body, Sanef, welcomed the announcement made by Minister of Police Nathi Mthethwa in May 2013 that there would be a review of the National Key Points Act to align it with the Constitution and other pieces of legislation.¹¹⁸

While these pieces of legislations hinder media freedom, journalists have also been the subjects of violent attacks in the past year, e.g., the burning down to the ground of Karabo community radio station in Sasolburg in September 2013.¹¹⁹

Two armed men stormed into the building and ordered a radio presenter, his two studio guests and a female security guard out of the building into a nearby shed before sprinkling petrol in and around the station and setting it on fire. The attackers did not say why they were destroying the station and no one claimed responsibility.

Karabo board chairperson Sam Mkwanazi said: “The whole building was destroyed. Our hard work of five years was destroyed in two minutes.” This was the first attack resulting in the destruction of a media outlet since 1994. It did not receive much attention in the mainstream media and with the help of Franz Krüger, the head of Wits Journalism Radio Academy, Karabo slowly started to rebuild. Please see the chapter on community radio for a closer look at Karabo.

Attacks on Reporters and Photographers

There was a high number of incidents of violence against journalists and particularly photographers in South Africa in 2013-2014, and according to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), this number is growing around the world. A full list in Appendix 4 includes arson, assault, incidents of intimidation, a charge of trespassing and attempted censorship, for example, the grabbing of a journalist’s phone and erasing photographs to the most violent incident of all: the death of freelance journalist-photographer Michael Tshele (see box, below).

A pattern has emerged of police and VIP protection units becoming violent towards journalists, ostensibly

to protect national state security interests. Another emerging trend is members of the media getting attacked while covering service-delivery protests.

Worldwide in 2013-2014, more than half of those attacked were photographers and camera operators, according to the CPJ’s research, which also showed that the deadliest places for journalists were in countries with large-scale civil unrest: Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The organisation’s latest data in 2014 showed that there were 211 journalists imprisoned around the world, with Eritrea being the biggest jailor of journalists.

IN 2013-2014, MORE THAN HALF OF THOSE ATTACKED WERE PHOTOGRAPHERS AND CAMERA OPERATORS

While journalists in South Africa in 2014 were not in danger to the same extent, there were worrying trends developing. In the past year in South Africa, photojournalists have been targeted most often when covering demonstrations by the police and sometimes by protestors, the CPJ’s Africa programme director, Sue Valentine, observed. “They are targeted because of the power of images – photographs can provide incontrovertible proof of events. Anyone with a camera in their cellphone can be a target of police hostility as we have already seen this year.”¹²⁰ There appears to be little evidence that police are adequately trained to understand the role of the media.

Media-freedom activists have also observed the rising anti-press rhetoric by the ruling party. The most recent incident took place after the results of the national election were announced in May 2014. “You campaigned hard against the ANC and we beat you. We defeated you,” Malusi Gigaba, head of ANC campaigns, told journalists at a press conference on 11 May. Zuma also sneered at the media during election-victory celebrations, proclaiming that journalists focusing on Nkandla had missed out on “the good story to tell” – which was the ANC.

However, media freedom activists and journalists applauded a speech by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa at the annual Nat Nakasa awards ceremony held by Sanef in June. He said that the media must annoy and challenge the government, and must continue to be independent, robust and critical of it.¹²³ But, Ramaphosa urged, the media also needed to be balanced and tell the good stories too.

SHOT DEAD FOR TAKING PICTURES

In January 2014, police shot dead 62-year-old freelance photographer-journalist and community activist Michael Tshele during a service-delivery protest in Mothutlung, Britz, in the North West. The protest was over a water stoppage. Bystanders said Tshele was taking pictures of broken water pipes (the reason why there was no water in the township) when he was shot. Tshele did work for both *Kormorant* newspaper (now owned by Caxton) and *Leseding News*, neither of which had details of his death, Louise Vale, head of the Association for Independent Publishers, told SoN 2014.¹²¹ There are two versions of the shooting: 1). Community members witnessed that Tshele was shot by a police officer because he had a camera and was taking photographs of broken water pipes; and 2). Official sources felt he was probably a victim of the crossfire between protestors and police. Sanef has requested a meeting with National Police Commissioner Riah Phiyega, and called for an urgent investigation. *City Press* reported that Tshele was shot “in cold blood” because he had a camera in his hands. “Bra Mike” was well known by other community activists in the area, according to the newspaper report.¹²² In addition, community members have alleged that the policeman in question was apparently feared and recognised as one of officers who shot at the Marikana miners in August 2012.

“He only had a camera,” community activist Solly Settale said. “There was no stone in his hand. The only threat he posed was that his camera was recording evidence of what the police were doing.”

The policeman allegedly took his gun, aimed and shot at Tshele, according to residents of the area who recognised the “Marikana policeman” after seeing TV clips of him discharging an R4 assault rifle at Marikana mine workers in August 2012. The day after Tshele’s death, community



Image supplied by City Press

activists spotted the policeman inspecting the area, in a walk-about with the police commissioner. Police responded to the allegations thus: they noted the *City Press* report, [by investigative journalist Jacques Pauw]; regretted the loss of life but “let us allow Ipid [Independent Police Investigative Directorate] to do their work...We can’t deal with senseless rumour mongering,” the North West police station said. Sanef said in a statement: “It would be a great shame and an embarrassment to South Africa’s democracy if Tshele was indeed killed for taking pictures of a protest by poor citizens of this country.” By mid-2014 no official report on the investigation had been released.

NOTES

- 1 In the period July 2013–July 2014, Media24 retrenched 446 people, according to the company, while Times Media Group retrenched about 100 people across different departments from 2013 to 2014, according to Tuwani Gumani, general secretary of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa), including 11 photographers in July 2014. Mwasa also provided a list of names of people who were retrenched or pushed out of Independent Newspapers (the 596 figure does not include the following 12 names): some chose to leave but others left under “difficult” controversial conditions. These included Alide Dasnois - editor; Janet Heard - assistant editor; Martine Barker - managing editor; Dave Chambers – Independent Production editor; Makhudu Sefara - editor; Moshoeshoe Monare - editor; Philani Mgwaba - editor; Donwald Pressly - business reporter; Terry Bell - labour columnist; Chris Whitfield - editor-in-chief; Ann Crotty - business reporter; Sybrand Mostert - news editor. In August 2014, Independent Newspapers gave Section 189 notices to 50 production staff saying the company was considering dismissals due to operational requirements. Consultations with the affected production staff were scheduled to take place between 1 August and 30 September 2014.
- 2 Timeslive.co.za (2013) Police illegally tapped journalists phones – report: 18 August.
- 3 See full list of incidents in Appendix 4.
- 4 The broadcasting studios of community radio station Karabo FM in Sasolburg were set alight and burned to the ground in September 2013.
- 5 The MAT is a resolution of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), passed at both Polokwane (December 2007) and Mangaung (December 2012) national policy conferences. It proposes statutory regulation of the media, to be overseen by Parliament.
- 6 There were 67 television stations in 2004; by 2012 there were 180, according to the Government Communications and Information Services (GCIS) Media Landscape 2012: Reflections on South Africa’s Media Environment. If you add ANN7 – launched in 2013 – to the mix it is more than 180.
- 7 See Appendix 1
- 8 The almost merging of editorial with advertorial with the lines more blurred than in the past; the growth in the labelling of “sponsored content”.
- 9 TV advertising spend grew from a base of 35.6% in 2002 to a 46.2% share in 2012. During the same decade total print media gave up 13.7 percentage points while internet ad revenue grew from 0.5% to 2.6% of total share [data courtesy of Nielsen].
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- 14 *The Times* (2013) Nkandla: We won’t betray our duty as watchdogs: 22 November.
- 15 *The Times* (2014) Parties call for Zuma’s head: 20 March.
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- 17 Prinsloo, J (2014) Media Policy and Democracy Project report titled: ‘Nkandlagate’ – a critical textual analysis of the press coverage: 21 January.
- 18 M&G (2014) Doggedness and teamwork were Nkandla’s undoing: 17-24 April.
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- 21 Mkani-Mpolweni was previously a *Daily Dispatch* reporter.
- 22 Austin, once the *Daily Dispatch’s* news editor, was sent back to South Africa to cover the story for the APN NZ Media group of newspapers in New Zealand.
- 23 Grubstreet (2014) News24 Stats for Feb 14, 2014, the day the Pistorius news broke: Web using Effective Measure: (South Africa only) 570 000 Unique Browsers, (Normally average 250k – 280k a day) 4.2 million Page Views (Normally average 1.7 million – 1.9 million a day) Mobile: (Total audience) 385 000 Unique Browsers (Normally average 130k – 140k a day) 2.9 million Page Views (Normally average 1.2 million a day) Apps using Flurry: 282 000 Active Users (Average 190k a day) 1.2 million sessions (Average 650k a day)
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- 26 *The Times* (2014) With respect, Milady has erred in the pictures ruling: 5 March.
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Reeva: www.thoughtleader.co.za: 7 March.
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Landscape, 2012 booklet published by GCIS.
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unbiased media in The Media Online, 14 January 2014.
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no 23 of 2013/2014
- 45 M&G (2013) SABC's Hlaudi hunts down silver linings:
11-17 October.
- 46 M&G (2014) SABC CEO Mokhobo resigns: 3 February.
- 47 M&G (2014) Hlaudi is here to stay, says SABC chair:
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- 48 *Sunday Times* (2014) Behind resignation of SABC's group
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- 49 *The Star* (2014) A litany of shenanigans at SABC, report
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- 50 *The Sunday Independent* (2014) Madonsela to nail
SABC's Hlaudi for lack of qualifications: 9 February.
- 51 *The Times* (2014) SABC 'run by dummies': 5 February.
- 52 Skinner, K (2014), SOS researcher, has noted the
following: non-exec board resignations: 2010 Board –
Barbara Masekela (Aug 2010), Magatho Mello (Sept 2010),
Felleng Sekha (Sept 2010), David Niddrie (Oct 2010), Peter
Harris (30 June 2011), Clifford Motsepe (March 2012),
Patricia Makesha (Feb 2013), Ben Ngubane and Thami
ka Plaatjie (both early March 2013), Lumko Mtimde, John
Danana, Cedric Gina, Desmond Golding, Cawe Mahlali
and Noluthando Gosa (en masse mid 2013), Pippa Green
(a few days later), leaving only Suzanne Vos and Claire
O'Neil on the board by end March 2013. Noluthando Gosa
was put on to the interim board and then on to the new
permanent board that took office in September 2013. By
Nov 2013 she had resigned again. Executive resignations
(CEOs): Solly Mokoetle (employed by interim board 2009
and left with package 2011), Robin Nicholson (acting,
pushed out mid 2011), Phil Molefe (acting, pushed out in
2012 with the appointment of Lulama Mokhobo), Lulama
Mokhobo (resigned Feb 2014).
- 53 *The Sunday Independent* (2013) SABC boss paid R2.4m
golden handshake: 29 September.
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TMO reporter, 10 December 2012; I saw five SABC
CEOs come and go by Kate Skinner, 23 March 2012; The
SABC's de facto censorship by omission approach by Ed
Herbst, 19 December 2012; SABC and the ANC: circles
within circles by Chris Moerdyk, 24 January 2013; and
Trends 2013: what's in store for the SABC by Sekoetlane
Phamodi, 13 January 2013. See also book:
On Air South Africa 2010, a publication by the Open
Society Foundation.
- 58 M&G (2014) Big Brother is watching the SABC: 1
1-16 April.
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17-24 April.
- 60 M&G (2014) SABC political bias will backfire: 17-24 April.
<http://www.supportpublicbroadcasting.co.za/>
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CORPORATE/SABC%20Corporate/Document/
CommissioningBriefs/channelstatements.pdf](http://vcmstatic.sabc.co.za/VCMStaticProdStage/CORPORATE/SABC%20Corporate/Document/CommissioningBriefs/channelstatements.pdf)
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April 2013. [http://www.channel24.co.za/TV/News/SABC-
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id=136](http://www.doc.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=136)
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24 August 2012.
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commercial%20Feb'13%20-%20Feb'14.asp](http://www.saarf.co.za/rams-commercial/2014/rams-commercial%20Feb'13%20-%20Feb'14.asp)
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- 122 *City Press* (2014) Marikana cops in Brits shoot out: 19 January.
- 123 *Sunday Independent* (2014) Media must annoy, challenge us: 22 June.

02 DIGITAL-FIRST DEVELOPMENTS: Experimentation and Promiscuity

DIGITAL FIRST, OR PUTTING DIGITAL OFFERINGS AHEAD OF TRADITIONAL MEDIA, has been uneven and disparate in the 2014 newsroom, and is still not showing real signs of revenue generation.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the state of newsrooms' moves to digital first, through an extraction of some quantitative data, and to discuss some of the problems. Our research shows that the path is tentative and experimental, newsrooms are not yet digital first, and all are struggling with workable business models.

However, since the last SoN, in 2013, there has been a flurry of experimentation as the pace in multimedia/combo journalism strategies and integration with traditional media accelerated. News organisations made valiant attempts to keep up with audiences, which were becoming increasingly promiscuous and platform agnostic.¹

A digital-first strategy entails that digitally-delivered news takes precedence over traditional media such as print. It is based on the realisation that audiences are no longer passive recipients of news but engage with it and even help to generate the content. These are healthy trends, however disruptive they may be for those producing the news, according to Dan Gillmor.²

The digital-first strategy has also thrown up serious business dilemmas, for instance, how to make online consumers of news and advertisers pay so that journalism remains financially viable. On the other hand, there is a view that news should be free and revenue should come from other sources.



Mobile news consumption increased in 2014

The background in SA to the emergence of digital first has been a steady decrease in newspaper circulation and dwindling print advertising, a decline of about 5% year on year. See Appendix 1 for circulation numbers from 2013-2014 for SA's newspapers.

We asked digital managers how they negotiated the new-media/digital world, and about the latest thinking around paywalls and business models. The participants were: Media24, Mail & Guardian, Eyewitness News, Independent Newspapers, Times Media Group (TMG), Daily Maverick and the SABC. The following tables and graphs depict the digital developments of the companies – to be discussed in the interviews section, later in the chapter. The Interactive Advertising Bureau

(IAB)/Effective Measure provided the data for “local” (i.e., South Africa and not including other countries) unique browsers³ and local page views across all devices in February 2014.

Publishers of News/Media	Local Unique Browsers (Feb 2014)
24.com (News24, Sport24, Fin24 etc)	6,261,833
Times Media LIVE	2,734,872
Media24 News (newspaper title sites)	2,377,283
Independent Online	1,947,841
Mail & Guardian Online	907,649
South African Broadcasting Corporation	770,606
The Daily Maverick	186,555

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Publishers of News/Media	Local Page Views (Feb 2014)
24.com	113,888,173
Media24 News	41,754,773
Times Media LIVE	34,572,418
Independent Online	21,339,613
Mail & Guardian Online	6,297,240
South African Broadcasting Corporation	4,738,168
Daily Maverick	931,373

Source: IAB/Effective Measure

The International Situation

According to *The New Wave*, a research report (2012) led by Wits Journalism research associate Indra de Lanerolle, two in three South Africans will have Internet access by 2016. And for a related and interesting trend in the US, the Poynter’s report, *Core Skills for the Future of Journalism*, shows that educators, students and independent journalists rated digital skills as much more important than the professionals themselves. Another report suggests that the use of digital tools and adoption of data journalism is less widespread than is commonly believed.⁴ The increased uses of the Internet, digitised data and media, social media and citizen journalism are all game changers for the ways in which journalists work. This was amplified by a conference held in January this year hosted by Wits Journalism called *The Future of News* at which experts – local researcher Jos Kuper, former executive editor of the *Seattle Times*, David Boardman, and business strategist for News Corp, Raju Nariseti, provided the following insights:

- There was more consumption of news today than ever in SA although young people were receiving and consuming it differently.
- The youth were particularly high consumers of news, and they were more than platform agnostic; they were “platform promiscuous”.
- Contrary to assumptions that young people fritter time away on social media, they were using Twitter and Facebook to access news. In addition, one of their favourite news apps in SA was News24.
- Barriers had to be broken down between news and the business side of news.
- There had to be an expansion in the multimedia side of news organisations.
- Audiences had to be brought into the newsroom for more engagement and public participation; partnerships were important, for instance, with bloggers.
- Every platform needs a different way of telling the same story on multiple platforms. This helped the *Seattle Times* come back from the brink when it was near closure.
- In trying to get someone to pay for quality journalism, one international speaker punted more openness to native advertising (sponsored material made to look like editorial) and there should be greater flexibility in dealing with the separation of editorial and advertorial. Others viewed this as a short-term solution since it was unlikely to work for advertisers. (Today *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* are exploring this option.)
- Paywalls have worked for some news organisations, e.g., *The New York Times* but not for most. There was no one silver bullet when it came to paywalls and different news organisations have to find the one that works best for them.

Internationally, one of the most successful digital models is that of *The New York Times*, which the Nieman Journalism Lab said was doing an “above average job” of managing the print-to-digital transition.⁵ Digital paid subscription grew by 18% year on year.

Digital Developments in the SA newsroom

We contacted the major commercial media companies (as well as the SABC) and asked: What is your digital-first strategy? How is it working? What are the challenges? What kind of paywall model will you experiment with? Please provide the statistics – site visits, mobile-audience size, subscriber growth/shrinkage, online products? Have there been increases in your mobile offerings from 2013? If so, what are they?

The groups were at different levels of digital-first developments, with nuanced differences regarding their strategies and paywalls. No one was completely digital first yet, while many strived to be. Daily Maverick, however, has always been digital-only. Here below, we measured the contribution of mobile news to total unique browsers, in terms of the difference/increase from 2013 to 2014, in the month of March.

was News24 (app), followed by SABCNews.com (mobi), Daily Maverick, M&G Online and Timeslive.

- M&G online showed the greatest increase in mobile devices from 2013 to 2014, followed by Daily Maverick, News24, and then Independent Online.

Digital-First Strategies and Developments in the SA newsroom

The digital managers of the companies were interviewed about their digital developments, strategies, and challenges. Two sets of statistics were surveyed. One, we display, for interest a set of unique browser and page-view statistics from IAB/Effective Measure over the month of February 2014, and two, an aggregation of data about mobile news growth in the month of March 2014 from the digital managers themselves.

Contribution of Mobile to Total Unique Browsers: March 2013 and March 2014

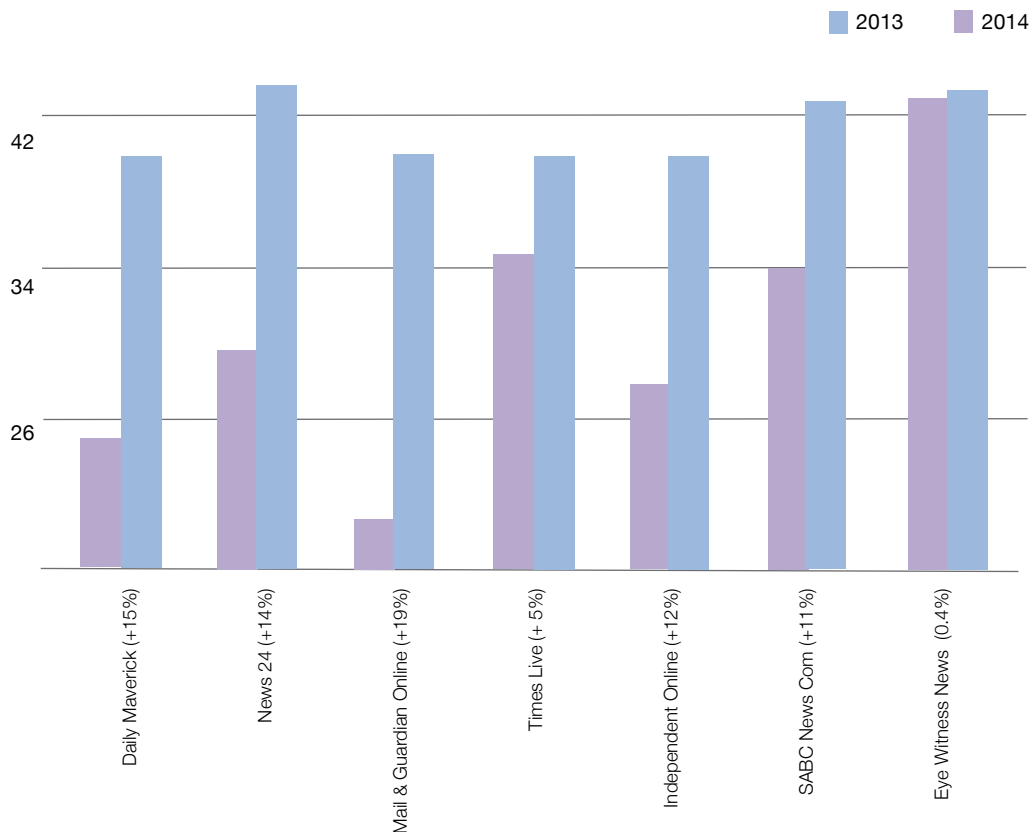
According to SoN's research, mobile made up about 40% of unique browsers to the news sites surveyed in 2014. This suggests the sites could consider forms of mobile micropayment for content in the future, said Jude Mathurine, previously head of the New Media Lab at Rhodes University and now a senior lecturer at Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

- All six news organisations showed a dramatic percentage increase in mobile traffic from 2013 to 2014.
- The news organisation with the greatest proportion of consumers on their sites via their mobile apps

Times Media Group

TMG's digital strategy was not a "digital first" one, said Derek Abdinor⁶, GM for digital, but was rather, "a hybrid model". Digital, he stated, was allowed to grow but never at the expense of print, which still had large

Contributions of mobile to total unique browsers: (March 2013 and March 2014)



revenues. “Our social media strategy is to drive traffic back to our desktop sites, where the magic is made. We have grown our social media from about 200K likes/follows to over 800K in a year.” The company is seeing the fruits of the strategy because print grew circulation while their digital network – Times Media Live – “has grown to the second largest media owning online network in the country, and the only such unit that is profitable”, according to Abdinor. A network is a group of sites that carries advertising managed out of one central place, he explained. “Google Ad Sense is a network, but they don’t own media. We own media (Timeslive, BDLive, etc.) and sell advertising across this network. We are second in size compared to 24.com, also a media-owning network. Digital network is correct, but with the qualifier ‘media-owning’.”

Paywalls: Abdinor said: “Paywalls are a nascent science, one needs to experiment.” TMG was experimenting with two paywalls: for BDLive there was a metered wall (users must register and you hit the paywall after a certain number of stories) and a hard paywall (*Sunday Times*). There was another in the pipeline (undisclosed for now).

Challenges: Abdinor’s view is that traditional media face certain challenges that digital does not. So, in essence, digital was growing rapidly and the core business was often not agile enough to respond to this. Abdinor would not disclose subscriber growth.

Publisher: Times Media LIVE (includes Timeslive, BDLive, Sowetanlive)
Unique browsers: 2 734 872
Page views: 34 572 418

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

BDLive (TMG’s business news site)

Head of BDLive’s operations, Steve Matthewson, who has since moved to *The Guardian* in the UK, said that, for him, the key term in digital development was “content-led strategy”⁷. This, he said, began with the notion that producing high quality, critical and independent journalism comes at a cost. The strategy is based on a). Recovering that cost by attaching a particular value to that content, wherever or however it is used; and b). By aggregating a very particular audience for their advertising and giving them targeted access, at a premium, to that audience.



Platform agnosticism means that people want news on different platforms

Matthewson said: “We are digital-first in the sense that anything of relevance to our market in the public domain gets covered first for our digital platforms (principally our flagship website BDLive and, where necessary, our realtime financial news service). The speed with which we deal with stories like this depends very much on the story itself.”

For instance, stories that are less time-bound typically move online at the same time as they are placed on a print page. A lot of the content (news, opinion, several columns, multimedia, photo galleries) is prepared exclusively for the digital audience. Digital platforms are considered in most of the planning. “Bar our print layout specialists, virtually everyone on the floor contributes in some way or another to originating or preparing content for our digital platforms.”

Paywalls: BDLive has a leaky paywall, which was instituted in May 2013. At the beginning of 2014, there was experimentation with employing a sampling model with readers who were given a quota of free stories and told to register. Once you have gone over your free quota, you are required to become a subscriber if you want more. “Although we’ve seen an enormous uptake in registrations and consistent growth in traffic every year, the challenge right now is to push more of the core readers towards a subscription through a more personalised reading experience, more relevant content, more aggressive social activity and various bundled and non-bundled offers. We’re experimenting with content recommendation software [analysing a user’s online activity and suggesting content based on

this information...] to keep readers on the site longer and we've already seen a big drop in our bounce rate," Matthewson said. In the short term, this means reducing the quota of free, premium articles and content, although a lot of content (blogs, multimedia, etc.) remain unmetered. In the long term, BDLive is likely to offer more "bundled options" across print and online, and will probably experiment with other paywall mechanisms and incentives, particularly those that offer greater insight into readers, their news needs and behaviours.



More revenue comes from print than online

Challenges: Many consumers stop at the 15 articles per month and prefer not to subscribe. Matthewson said BDLive was not completely digital first. "If by digital first, one means planning principally around online platforms, then we probably aren't there yet. We are not quite at the level, say of the *Financial Times*, from which we have borrowed much over the years." He observed that business people in South Africa were now getting used to paying for content, and so far there has been "modest success with selling digital subscriptions" to corporates and individuals despite little or no real marketing.

The challenges are enormous and range from properly resourcing such an operation. On the one hand, Matthewson said, there is demand for original, quality content from an increasingly discerning market. On the other, traditional sources of revenue are under pressure.⁸

The most remarkable feature of the past year has been the enormous, completely disproportionate rate of growth in mobile traffic, Matthewson said. This was both traffic from mobile/tablet users in general and with

the use of native apps [developed for a specific device/operating system, e.g., iOS for Apple devices, Android for Samsung]. "It is easily, in line with global trends, over 40% plus in that space."

News site: BDLive
Unique browsers: 673 403
Page views: 2 443 082

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Mail & Guardian online

Editor-in-chief at the *M&G*, Chris Roper, who was previously online editor, leads the digital strategy. Digital first, for him, simply "requires us to think of news in terms of our digital platforms first".⁹ From that, information flows to other platforms, he said. In conjunction with digital first is also "social first", he pointed out, and this "implied that we are happy to break stories on social media, and then follow up on digital or other platforms. We think of social as another publishing platform, with its own time demands."

M&G chief technology officer Alistair Fairweather, who has since left M&G, said that the number of browsers to M&G publisher sites had grown by 50% in one year – from 2013 to 2014. Just like BDLive, M&G's mobile offerings performed well, according to the statistics. More than half a million readers visited the mobisite in December 2013 – 250% more than the same period in 2012. Fairweather said: "As a percentage of overall traffic we're at just over 40% mobile now. Note I'm not including tablets as mobile. If I do, the percentage is 49%."

Paywall: M&G does not have a paywall but neither Roper nor Fairweather ruled it out as a future option. "While we're keeping an eye on trends in paid-for-content, and building a subscriptions platform that could handle this if necessary, the M&G is not implementing a paywall in the near future," Roper said. "For the moment we're concentrating on tablet edition sales. We review this every month, though, and we'll reconsider when it makes business sense."

Challenges: Roper said implementing digital first required "a massive restructuring of how we work, for something as simple as more frequent diary meetings, to changing where people sit, to redoing everyone's job descriptions, to redesigning our digital and print offerings. So it's a work in progress, but we're getting there". Then there are "the usual", he said, i.e., retraining

staff, readjusting revenue strategies, and “making sure we follow our audience to different platforms, but don’t leave them behind”.

Further, the M&G’s tablet and Kindle products have had “quite a tough year” according to Fairweather.¹⁰ This was due to changes in the way Apple charged customers and featured content in its app stores, making it difficult to grow and sustain subscribers. “As such the numbers are essentially flat at the moment - i.e. unchanged from last year.”

Publisher: M&G Online
Unique Browsers: 907 649
Page views: 6 297 240

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: 2014

Daily Maverick

Launched in October 2009 as online-only by Branko Brkic, Phillip de Wet and Styli Charalambous, the Daily Maverick (DM) news and analysis website drew audiences from the start but has wrestled with revenue challenges. It had about “200 beta testers when it launched, who were our first visitors and by the end of the first month 25 000 people had visited the site”, publisher Charalambous said.¹¹ The initial staff complement was six people and they raised R1-million in start-up capital. DM has consistently grown its readership by over 100% every year since it started.

According to Charalambous: “Digital-only gave us the opportunity to carve out a niche in the news sector; it was far cheaper than trying to start up a new print title. It meant we could focus the majority of our cash resources on producing high quality, original content rather than wasting on overheads.” By focusing on high quality, feature-length content, DM was able to differentiate from many other digital publishers which relied on wire copy.

Social media again provided a great marketing opportunity at very little financial cost for DM. “I won’t say it’s free because you need to dedicate time and effort to understand what works best, but a lot of our readership growth has come from social media. Twitter and Facebook have been instrumental in generating referral traffic for us and helping us build our brand.”

“We’re reaching over 30 000 people per day when you combine our newsletter and web traffic, which

is comparable to some newspapers that have been around for decades, and have budgets in massive multiples of ours,” he said.

Being able to dedicate 70% of every rand they spend to producing content was “awesome”, Charalambous said, and provided DM with the ability to compete with much bigger rivals that are bogged down by traditional processes and costs.

Paywall: DM does not have a paywall but like the M&G, did not rule it out in the future. “We’re committed to growing our audience to reach as many people as possible. Paywalls don’t fit a growth strategy, they’re essentially a defensive strategy for paper publishers who want to try save their print operations,” Charalambous said. The solution in the digital space is not going to come by charging readers, he felt, but solving the problem on the advertising side. The common thinking in digital publishing, Charalambous observed, was to pack in as many adverts on a web page to try maximise revenue per page impression. “This causes irritation to the reader, and makes them less effective, which in turn drives down the prices. We’ll never win that way. Publishers also need to evolve their business models.”

Mobile traffic to the site, in 2014, made up about 35% of readership.

“... PAYWALLS DON’T FIT A GROWTH STRATEGY, THEY’RE ESSENTIALLY A DEFENSIVE STRATEGY FOR PAPER PUBLISHERS WHO WANT TO TRY SAVE THEIR PRINT OPERATIONS,”

Challenges: DM does not make enough from online advertising. “We’re years behind developed markets like the US and UK, mainly because of the larger publishers who have been unwilling to embrace digital wholeheartedly,” Charalambous said. “Obviously poor Internet penetration (in SA) in the early years didn’t help, but if you look for the digital offerings of some of our biggest news titles, you’ll be surprised to find some don’t exist and others are poorly designed and maintained. Luckily, we’re seeing signs that the tide is turning. With print circulations declining by almost 10% across the board, year on year, advertisers are starting to look at digital more seriously and with bigger budgets.”

Charalambous said he believed that the days of generating revenue from just subscriptions and advertising were over. “We all need to find other ways to make ends meet because competing against Google and Facebook for ad spend is only going to result in pain for publishers. We’re looking to content syndication and events to help us achieve our goals. The problem with most of our campaigns at the moment is that they are ad hoc, so in some months we generate enough revenue and in others we don’t. It’s still quite challenging.”

Publisher: Daily Maverick
Unique Browsers: 186 555
Page Views: 931 373

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Eyewitness News (news service of Primedia radio stations such as Talk Radio 702, 567 Cape Talk)

In recent years Eyewitness News’ (EWN) publishing/broadcasting strategy has morphed to include digital platforms, said Sheldon Morais, EWN online editor. “Fusing radio broadcasting and digital publishing means we can continue to disseminate information in real-time, on all our platforms, without having to choose between anyone.”¹²

EWN developed different content types (video reports, feature stories, galleries) and “updated” its publishing strategy to suit news on different platforms. Morais explained: “Radio & digital media complement each other really well and we work to leverage those opportunities. We continue to adapt the strategy.”

Paywall: EWN has no paywall at present.

Challenges: In the digital age there was always the fear that another media organisation or even an ordinary member of the public might scoop you, Morais reflected, so there might be a tendency to get the information out as quickly possible. However, EWN had taken a decision to stick to “core journalistic tenets” of fact-checking, right of reply and corroborating.

News site: Eyewitness News
Unique Browsers: 234 217
Page Views: 1 092 607

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

SABC

The country’s public broadcaster, the SABC, is also moving towards becoming a “content provider” on a variety of platforms, in keeping with new-media convergence trends. The requirement, according to Izak Minnaar, editor of digital news, was to reach audiences via the most appropriate and convenient channels and platforms. The SABC News Division – with its radio, TV and online services – has begun a multiplatform approach, adding to its 24-hours news service social media, online news, live streaming and podcasting, and mobile. It is “a work in progress to change mind sets, re-engineer production processes, adjust newsroom workflows and train journalists”, Minnaar said.

Paywall: There was no paywall in place. The SABC news website (www.sabc.co.za/news) is the biggest SABC website and features in the top 10 SA news websites. By March 2014, page views peaked at just over 3-million from 484 000 unique browsers. Video views on the SABC News YouTube channel shot up to more than 1.3-million during December 2013 (three times the normal monthly views), driven by live streaming and other content related to the death of former president Nelson Mandela. The proportion of traffic from mobile had increased by about 10 percentage points from 2013 to 2014. In 2013 mobile made up about 34% of all digital traffic and in 2014, it was 43%.

Challenges: The digital strategy means the SABC was wrestling with many new demands, for example, to:

- Provide a continuous stream of stories, instead of working towards scheduled deadlines, and extend live coverage of breaking and developing news across platforms.
- Cater for publication in various versions and formats for real-time and scheduled services, tailored for community, provincial, national, continental and global audiences.
- Incorporate social media and multimedia deliverables into the responsibilities of journalists who previously only focused on one medium.
- Introduce mobile tools and skills to speed up content gathering and story delivery on the move and incorporate online, social media and data-journalism tools in basic training for journalists.
- Merge online and social-media elements into radio and TV broadcasts.
- Extend multilingual content to as many platforms as possible.

“The SABC is eager to exploit the possibilities offered by new technologies and will continue to invest in and try out new tools and systems as they become available – and at the same time invest in developing a new generation of multiskilled journalists,” according to Minnaar.

Publisher: SABC
Unique Browsers: 770 606
Page Views: 4 738 168

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Independent Newspapers

The company could not provide much detail on digital developments because it was in the middle of a planning phase, Independent’s digital manager, Alastair Otter, said. Nonetheless, he was able to describe the broad strategy as “Digital First, Print Best”. “As a primarily print organisation, the company has been challenged by its new owners to become a digital-first media company,”¹³ he said.

The mobile-specific offering was very limited at this stage but it was a focus area for Independent in 2014, according to Otter. Mobile visits in January 2014 accounted for 31% of overall traffic.

Paywall: Otter said: “It is always a consideration but right now it is not an option. In the breaking-news environment in which exclusivity lasts just minutes and news is largely commodified, there is limited benefit in a paywall, we believe. At a later stage we may relook at this around portions of high-value content.”

Challenges: Going forward with a digital-first strategy would mean “the primary challenges will be creating a strong digital operation that doesn’t undermine print titles but complements them,” Otter said. There will also be significant “challenges in retooling and reskilling the operation to work in a digital-first mode”.

Publisher: Independent Online (covering IOL and title sites)
Unique Browsers: 1 947 841
Page Views: 21 339 613

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Media24

Regarded as a digital frontrunner in SA, Media24 said in 2013¹⁴ that it was immersed in a “mobile first” strategy. Sebastian Stent, head of digital at Media24, said the company was continuing with its strategy of charging subscriptions while non-subscribers got 20 free stories a month before the paywall went up.¹⁵

The company used the Oscar Pistorius trial as an opportunity to focus on multimedia, infographics and interactive content, with live streaming from the courtroom, daily video broadcasts from *Beeld*’s studio and a daily blog of tweets and other information from the court conveyed in real time, Stent said. The focus for the year ahead was very much on mobile-first publishing, he said, “with all our main titles designed primarily for smartphone consumers”. The company was optimising their news website for mobile “whilst our main market titles like *Daily Sun* and *Son* operate on a phone-first principle; so that our readers can consume the news on even low-end internet-enabled devices,” Stent explained.

Social media was a priority for Media24 titles, he said, while YouTube was also seen as a social channel for the brands, and the Afrikaans titles continued to push hard to create stories distributed through YouTube.

In 2013, 30% of all traffic came from mobile devices, and in 2014, it was 44%.

Paywall: The preferred model was the leaky paywall championed by *The New York Times*, where there are mechanisms for tightening controls over access, and these are used to stimulate increased engagement and encourage readers to go from occasional to regular readers. Payment for stand-alone editorial products, Stent said, was also considered but not prioritised. “The main priority is for our readers to continue to grow their loyalty and commitment to our brands, and an understanding of the value that our titles provide; in terms of insight, opinion, analysis and investigation of the top stories of the day.”

Paywalls were seen as a risky prospect when Media24’s paywalled sites were launched in April 2013, and it was assumed there would be a reduction in the number of daily active unique users, Stent said. Targets for subscribers were also seen as ambitious. “We were able to achieve these subscription targets ahead of time, and create a large pool of registrations which we can convert at a later date. At the same time our

numbers rebounded from an initial slump when we put up the paywall, and now sit at a higher level than before the paywall was put in place.” Actual numbers were not provided.

Challenges: There was still a gap between print and digital, Stent said. “Editorial mandates within the print structure prohibit direct-to-web distribution of stories often. However, all of our editors have been working hard to redress this imbalance, and ensure that there is a strong digital-first culture within our newsrooms.” In addition, Stent pointed to “suspicion” from customers about paying for anything online. To mitigate this, Media24 would be engaging on a much more personal level with customers, using call-centre and subscription teams to directly interact with prospective subscribers, and encourage them to take advantage of digital subscriptions offers.

Publisher: 24.com (covering News24, Fin24, sport24, Wheels24, etc.)

Unique Browsers: 6 261 833

Page Views: 113 888 173

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

Publisher: Media24 News (covering title sites such as Beeld, Die Burger, City Press)

Unique Browsers: 2 377 283

Page Views: 41 754 773

Source: IAB/Effective Measure: February 2014

COMMENT AND ANALYSIS: DIGITAL DEVELOPMENTS

One Size Doesn't Fit All

The top digital news publisher – measuring page views and unique browsers – was 24.com by a long way. In terms of page views, 24.com was followed by Media24 News and Times Media LIVE while Times Media LIVE was second in terms of unique browser and Media24 News third.

The approach to the digital-first move, paywalls, revenue generation, content strategies and adaptation for mobile consumption is disparate but there is evidence of experimentation and acceleration.

Mathurine points out that analysis of the digital progress of South Africa's largest media players risks oversimplifying complex challenges confronting very different organisations. Dinesh Balliah, online lecturer at Wits Journalism, finds that despite the disparities, it is possible to identify broad similarities in approach to digital first.

News publishers have learnt that “digital first” doesn't necessarily mean publish everything as it breaks, said Mathurine. Unless the breaking news is incredibly compelling, synchronisation with user-cycles based on intelligence mined from analytics is of critical import.

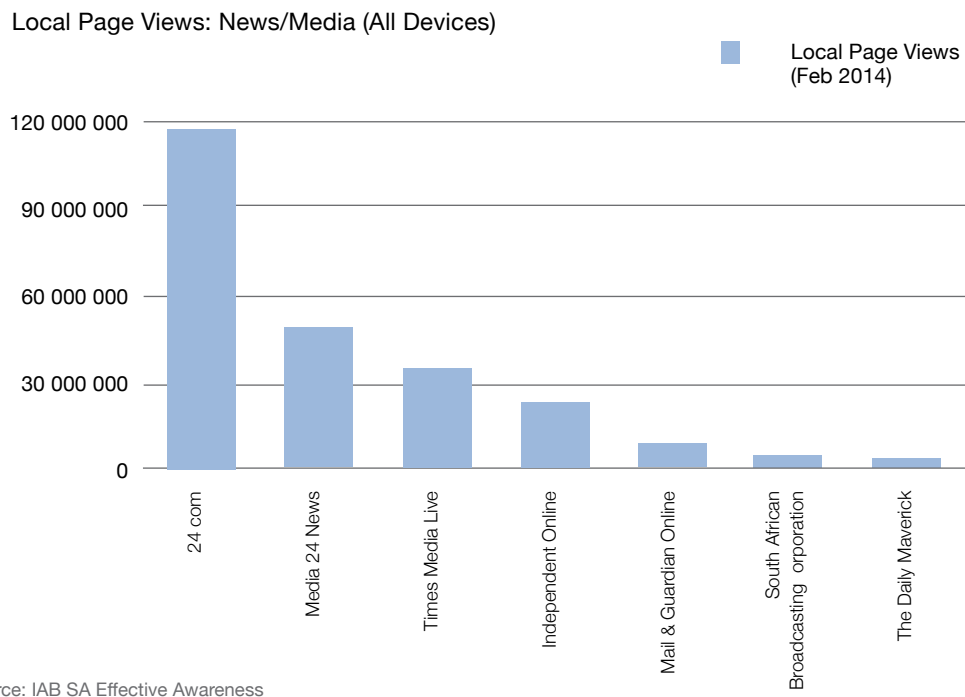
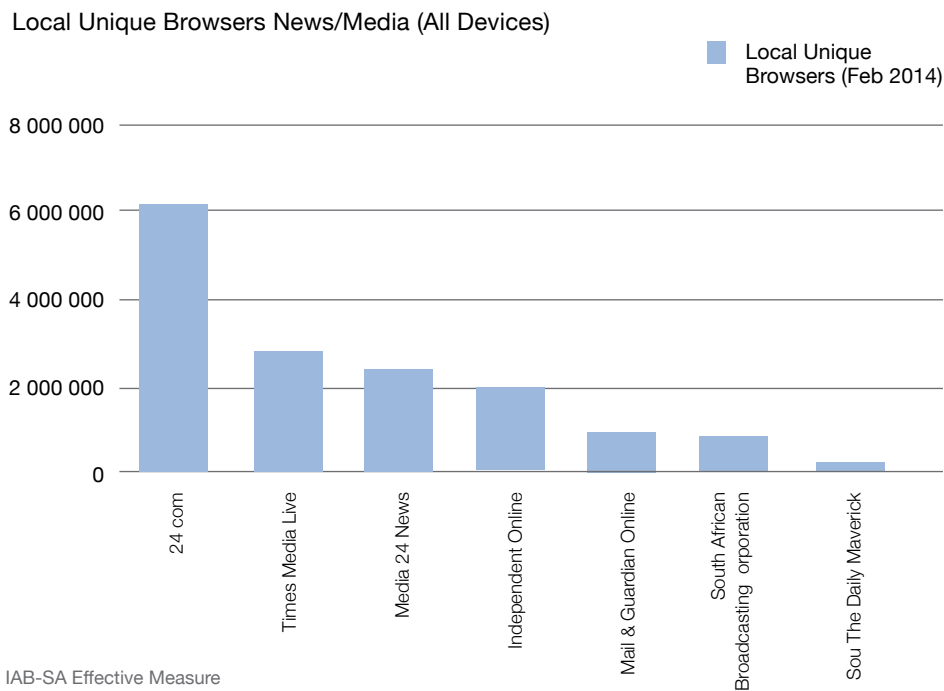
There need to be different digital-first strategies, according to Mathurine, who points to the Mail & Guardian Online which “leads the way here and continues to invest in quality multimedia, data journalism and expert-moderated, user-generated content to grow loyal relationships with communities.”

Differences in approach should be welcomed, said Mathurine. IOL and News24 both, for instance, use the aggregator model but News24's competitive online advantage lies in the fact that it has spun off specialist sections like Women24, Sport24, Wheels24, Fin24 as microsites with their own individual URLs and identities. These appeal to both broad audiences and special-interest niches while the separate site URLs cross-linking to each other will improve overall SEO.

Paywalls

Most of the news organisations taking part in this research did not have paywalls but were cautious not to rule them out as a future possibility.

It has always been the case in SA that print media derives more than half of its income directly from advertising but that ad spend has always been cyclical and subject to the economic climate. Now add “declining attention spans and circulations”, plus a thinner slice of the ad cake to this, and Mathurine points to the crux of the economic conundrum: “The trend in advertising is ‘360 degrees’. This means investing more in digital campaigns (digital ads are infinitely more measurable, customisable and can be linked directly to acquisitions and market engagement) to reach high desirable LSMs. This may happen at the expense of traditional analogue advertising.” With revenue from cover price under threat, (the Audit Bureau of Circulations has found that SA newspaper circulation has declined on average by 5.5% almost yearly since 2008), media organisations



have focused on various digital-subscription models to recoup lost sales revenue.

Last year, Media24 shuttered its Afrikaans news portal, Nuus24, and threw a paywall around its *Beeld*, *Die Burger* and *Volksblad* news websites. *Beeld* announced

that it would charge users who accessed more than 20 articles a month for the privilege of reading online.

TMG's *Business Day* set the target at 15 articles a month for BDlive. Leaky paywalls like BDlive's require users to sign up for a particular number of free stories a

month to avoid radical declines in online audience while retaining potential secondary revenue streams from online advertising.

So what's the problem?

Mathurine said: "Too few users qualify as heavy return visitors under a 'leaky' paywall." Data from SoN participants in 2014 suggest that most titles receive just fewer than ten pages viewed per unique browser per month. However, paywalls are not the only solution to the problem of monetising online news, he added. Digital news managers can also experiment with online ads, revenue partnerships, transactions, e- and m-commerce to maximise secondary revenue streams.

According to Balliah: "The jury remains out on paywalls until we have more conclusive information about their performance in the local context." However, even in the international context, one should be aware of declaring successes too quickly. She pointed to the leaked *New York Times* innovation report (in May 2014 to BuzzFeed) that painted a grim picture of a newsroom struggling to adjust to the digital world.

MOBILE USERS NOW CONSTITUTE MORE THAN 40% OF MOST NEWS ORGANISATIONS' DIGITAL AUDIENCES.

South Africa's online communities are growing in size, scale and complexity, demanding closer inspection of online titles' traditional mass media (one-size-fits-all) approach to online journalism. Mobile is certainly an area to watch, given that the IAB reports that half of SA's unique browsers access the Internet via mobile. The SoN research in this chapter found that most traditional media organisations have grown annual mobile audiences by an average 14%. Mobile users now constitute more than 40% of most news organisations' digital audiences.

Payment also remains a challenge. While one or two news organisations, for instance Mail & Guardian support and develop unique content for tablet editions, mobile-content development remains passive and tends toward "shovelware" whether on stand-alone mobisites, mobile responsive sites or apps, according to Mathurine.

A notable exception was the News24 Election app – developed specially for the May national poll for Android and iOS and with direct access to the Independent Electoral Commission's election results database.

"While app downloads are up (*Business Day* reported over 70 000 downloads, News24 reported over 1 million app users a month) there is no data to suggest any news publishers are making significant revenue from premium user subscriptions from free apps – meaning that even though the application/platform is free, we cannot assume that the paid for content available via the app is actually purchased," said Mathurine.

The trends below are extracted from this chapter's quantitative data in 2014 together with the interviews from digital managers of news media companies and academic digital analysts.

KEY TRENDS

- Digital-first journalism in South Africa is a cautious undertaking, with a hefty dose of experimentation in response to a platform-agonistic culture.
- Some organisations are maintaining a hybrid approach to online journalism, keeping both the leaky and hard-paywall options open while others prefer no paywall at all – for now.
- In terms of publishers of news media: 24.com (News24, Sport24, Fin24 etc) was the leader with 6, 261, 833 local unique browsers followed by Times Media Live with 2, 734, 872 according to statistics from IAB/Effective Measure. The same pattern followed for local page views.
- There are no fixed model(s) for paywalls but many are experimenting with the leaky paywall. However, few consumers are taking the step towards subscription once the free offering is used up.
- Most research participants surveyed here, (e.g., SABC, Daily Maverick, M&G, Independent) had no paywall – but all pointed out it might become an option in the future.
- Of those who did have paywalls, digital managers were reluctant to disclose subscriber numbers and revenue.

- All news organisations surveyed appeared to have made significant progress with mobile, with an average increase of about 40%, from 2013 to 2014, of total online traffic being mobile.
- The thinking emerging (locally and internationally) is that different news organisations need different digital-first and paywall strategies – it is not a case of “one size fits all”.
- The bottom line is that online is not bringing in sufficiently sustainable revenue. Finding solutions to monetise content is one of the biggest headaches facing publishers. In this way the local digital first situation mimics the international.

NOTES

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- 1 Promiscuous here means that audiences are hopping from one news brand and platform to another, showing no particular loyalty; they like to get their news from different news organisations, through different mediums and devices from mobile, tablet, print and broadcast.
- 2 Gillmor, D (2003). We Media: how audiences are shaping the future of news and information.
- 3 Unique Browsers: A device visiting a website identified by a cookie. A unique browser can be the same person but counted as three because he or she has visited the site via a PC, tablet and cellphone in one day.
- 4 Finberg, H (2014) Why Newsrooms don't embrace digital tools. 14 May: <http://www.poynter.org/latest-news/media-wire/251872/why-newsrooms-dont-embrace-digital-tools/>
- 5 Niemanlab.org (2014) New numbers from the New York Times: a gold star for managing the digital transition: 24 April.
- 6 Abdinor, D (2014) Email Interview: 3 March.
- 7 Matthewson, S (2014) Email interview: 25 February.
- 8 We reported in State of the Newsroom, 2013 that BDFM lost a considerable chunk of advertising in 2013 when the JSE changed its rules regarding the publication of company notices.
- 9 Roper, C (2014) Email interview: 20 February 2014
- 10 Fairweather, A (2014) Email interview: 30 January.
- 11 Charalambous, S (2014) Email interview, 14 February.
- 12 Morais, S (2014) Email interview: 12 May.
- 13 Otter, A (2014) Email interview: 19 February.
- 14 To State of the Newsroom 2014.
- 15 Stent, S (2014) Email interview: 31 March.

03 SOCIAL MEDIA TRENDS

THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IS NOW INTRINSIC TO NEWSROOM PRACTICES ALL OVER THE WORLD, as emerging research on the topic shows.¹ But this has thrown up all kinds of issues from the blurring of professional and personal lines to questions about whether it is a free-for-all space that should not be touched by regulation. This chapter attempts to find and present the social-media trends in the South African newsroom of 2013-2014, to unravel some of the contentions, discuss the impact, and ascertain if there is an increased use of social media in the newsroom.

The use of social media has increased in the following ways, this research will show: as a source of news, as another outlet or “platform” for reporters, to project reporters’ personal brands, and for newsrooms to market their stories and brands.

Newsroom changes take place against broader societal shifts. In terms of the social-media landscape, Facebook has become the biggest social network in South Africa, seeing its strongest growth yet in the past year – and overtaking Mxit for the first time. This was one of the key findings of the SA *Social Media Landscape 2014* study, released by World Wide Worx and Fuseware.² The study showed that Facebook has 9.4-million active users in South Africa, up from 6.8-million users a year ago. Twitter saw the highest percentage growth among the major social networks, from 2.4-million to 5.5-million – a 129% growth in 12 months. The most significant finding, aside from the growth itself, was the extent to which social networks are being used on phones in South Africa, according to Arthur Goldstuck, MD of technology-market researchers World Wide Worx. “No



Social media, particularly Twitter, as taken centre stage in the newsroom

less than 87% of Facebook users and 85% of Twitter users are accessing these tools on their phones.”

However, it has also become apparent that, with the increased use of social media and the explosion of freedom of expression in this space, comes the opportunity for governments to monitor and spy on their citizens.

Social Media Usage, Big Brother Surveillance

Parallel to the broad societal shift in communicating on social networks is a more sinister development: big-brother surveillance in South Africa and globally. The WAN-IFRA *Trends in Newsrooms 2014* report said in June this year that the “Snowden effect dominated” and that this issue was now the Number One trend, i.e., the need to shield investigative journalism in the age of surveillance and maintain digital as a space “for free expression and innovation”.³ The issue is pertinent in South Africa, with recent revelations that South Africa is one of six countries (Egypt, India, Qatar, Romania and Turkey) where it is illegal for cellphone operators to admit when their customers’ data (sms’s or emails, for instance) are being intercepted – and there has been a 170% increase in the rate of interceptions.⁴

Bearing this broad political background in mind, we examine social media in the South African newsroom. The vast majority of editors interviewed extoll the benefits of social media in their newsrooms while some also cited numerous unresolved problems – particularly that of the blurring of personal and professional lines, and lack of certainty about regulation. Should they be regulating the space themselves, before the government steps in with an overly heavy hand?

The SoN research data was gathered and compiled through two social-media surveys of editors by the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef)⁵ in 2013, and in collaboration with State of the Newsroom, in 2014. In the first survey of 2013 we found out from editors to what extent journalists were using social media, and if training and policies were in place, among others things. In the second survey, in 2014, we probed further to ask if journalists had become more active or less, if there were legal problems and any lawsuits, among other questions.

By 2014 we found that journalists at different media institutions appear to be very active on social networks – especially Twitter – and it seems to be growing. In 2013, SoN found that most newsrooms were busy with social-media policy guidelines, except for the *Mail & Guardian*, which already had one in place (and is published on its website). By 2014 all those surveyed had these in place while discussions around the area of regulation persisted. Some editors were not completely sure if the policies were comprehensive enough to guide reporters on social-media use. At its June 2014 AGM, Sanef took a decision to investigate formulating a “cross-platform regulatory mechanism” to enhance the credibility of news, especially on digital and social media. This mechanism should cover social media, digital-news coverage and user-generated content, Sanef said.

The voluntary association, the Digital Media and Marketing Association (DMMA) – now called the Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB) SA – regulates about 126 online publishers through a code of conduct. The body arbitrates and resolves minor complaints between online publishers and users. In 2014, there were ongoing discussions between the Press Council and IAB about whether to regulate social media and, if so, how.⁶ The matter was unresolved and surfaced again at a seminar on a review of the First Year of the Press Council, hosted by Wits Journalism in May 2014.

The research methodology for this chapter is multi-

dimensional. We used a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods: two sets of survey material, 2013 and 2014, panel-discussion recordings and interviews as well as incorporating some analysis from independent legal experts, to get a full picture of social-media trends in the newsroom. In addition, we also look at the activity of SA news organisations' corporate Twitter accounts from July 2014. This chapter does not perform any content analysis of tweets, as the following chapter drills into such dynamics to establish what journalists are tweeting about.

Background: Discussion Points from the Sanef Social Media Panel Discussion

In August 2013, Sanef held a panel discussion⁷ about social media, its problems, and possible regulation. Some of the points which emerged include:

- Using social media is good for audience engagement but in-house rules are required to maintain consistency in the way news organisations interact with followers.
- 100% of the editors in the survey said they encouraged social-media use in their newsrooms.
- Social-media postings by a media house should be subject to normal newsroom editorial processes.
- Newsrooms should see social media as additional feedback and engagement channels with their audiences – on an institutional and personal level – and should manage what goes out on social media professionally.
- The blurring of the line between the personal and professional on journalists' personal profiles can be problematic. There is a risk that those outside the newsrooms might not differentiate between personal tweets of journalists and the media organisations themselves, despite disclaimers.
- There is a need to adjust the Press Code (and similar codes for other media) to make provision for social-media content.

With this background and context in mind, we present our findings from the Sanef Survey, which includes responses from 2013 and 2014. In total there were 18 respondents: Aakash Bramdeo (the *Post*)⁸, Brendan Boyle⁹ (*Daily Dispatch*), Kate Henry (*The Citizen*), Liesl Pretorius (*City Press*), Timothy Spira and Mapi Mhlangu (eNCA), Kyle Venkess (*The Witness*), Tanya Pampalone (*Mail & Guardian*), Judy Sandison (SABC News KwaZulu-Natal), Izak Minnaar (head of SABC Digital News), Heather Robertson (*The Herald*), Val Bojé (*Pretoria News*), Moshoeshoe Monare¹⁰ (*The Sunday*

Independent), Thembela Khamango and Fienie Grobler (Sapa), Andrew Koopman (*Son*), Adele Hamilton (24.com), and Chris Roper (*Mail & Guardian*). Before expanding on the survey results, and the interviews, it is worth looking at some of the different organisations' Twitter activity at a particular point in time (data extracted from Twittercounter.com: July 2014).

TWITTER ACTIVITY (JULY 2014)

The following table taken from Twittercounter.com, for the month of July, ending 25 July, gives a fair idea of the Twitter activity of the different media companies. However, it must be noted that the table, below, depicts the corporate Twitter accounts. Individual accounts of newsroom staff members contribute enormously to news organisations' profiles on Twitter, e.g., Eyewitness News reporter Barry Bateman had 215 000 followers and 37 000 tweets to his name by July 2014 while *City Press* editor Ferial Haffajee had 114 00 followers and 13 600 tweets.

- The top six news organisations, i.e., those with the highest number of followers, which is considered a key feature of influence, were in this order: eNCA

(260 065), *City Press* (258 438), *Mail & Guardian* (239 211), SABCNewsOnline (228 580), EWN (222 044) and Timeslive (212 736).

SURVEY: SOCIAL MEDIA TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSROOMS

With this data in mind, we move on to our survey material conducted in both 2013 and 2014 in which 12 newsrooms/editors participated. The 2013 questions were:

- To what extent are journalists using social media in the newsroom?
- What platforms are being used?
- Are reporters encouraged to use social media?
- Do you have a social-media strategy?
- Do you have a social-media policy?
- How are new reporters briefed about the policy?
- What are the main problems with social media?
- Have you had threatened legal action?
- Have you disciplined a staff member for use of social media?
- Do you train journalists in social media?
- Can you share any anecdotes on social-media usage?

Name of media organisation	Twitter Handles	Followers July, 2014	Average new followers per day
Daily Dispatch	Dispatch_DD	7 149	8
Post	IOL	99 651	131
Citizen	TheCitizen_News	7 266	10
City Press	City_Press	258 438	465
eNCA	eNCAnews	260 065	519
The Witness	WitnessKZN	28 846	17
Mail & Guardian	mailandguardian	239 211	351
SABC News	SABCNewsOnline	228 580	354
The Times	TimesLIVE	212 736	342
Pretoria News	pretorianews	3 814	7
Sunday Independent	SundayIndy	9 801	12
The Star	TheStar_news	60 182	87
Business Day	BDliveSA	54 047	59
Daily Sun	dailysunsa	32 432	38
Beeld	Beeld_Nuus	73 698	82
Rapport	RapportSA	35 963	32
Sunday Times	SundayTimesZA	49161	88
EWN (Eyewitness News)	ewnupdates	222 044	419

Source: <http://twittercounter.com/> 25 July 2014

The questions for the 2014 survey, in which six editors participated, included:

- In the last 12 months, have you put policies and/or standard operating procedures in place to guide social-media output by your teams?
- Are your reporters becoming more active users, or less?
- What are the challenges for reporters incorporating social media, particularly Twitter, in their daily working lives?
- Did you encounter (legal/public) challenges to content distributed on social media?
- Is there anything you would like to add about how the use of social media is developing in your newsroom?

The findings from both 2013 and 2014 surveys are combined and broken up into themes: professional social-media use; social-media strategies, policies and training; the blurring of professional and personal; legal and disciplinary issues; policies and regulation.



Sharing on social media – adding a tablet to the conversation

PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL-MEDIA USE

Journalists who tended to use a combination of Twitter and Facebook as their networks of choice came from *The Witness*, *Mail & Guardian*, SABC KZN, *The Times*, *Pretoria News*, *The Sunday Independent*. At other media institutions, journalists focused only on one network, such as Twitter (*The Citizen*, *City Press* and eNCA), or Facebook (*Daily Dispatch* and *Post*). Additional social-media networks in use included the photo-sharing network, Instagram (*Mail & Guardian*), and YouTube (*City Press*).

In only one of the 12 newsrooms surveyed in 2013, namely Sapa, was social media *not* used by journalists in a professional manner. According to Thembele Khamango and Fienie Grobler from Sapa, it did not make sense for a news agency to break its stories on social media before their clients could publish them.¹¹

Besides Sapa, all of the newsrooms used social networks to break news stories and share links to news stories, gather information for crowdsourcing, and to promote their personal and professional brands.

Increased Use, Benefits and Developments in Social Media

The majority of editors felt that there was a growth of Twitter's place in the newsroom, and that the benefits far outweighed the downside. They spoke of boosted audiences, interaction, crowdsourcing, and enhancing brands – both personal and professional.

The Witness has seen rapid growth in its Twitter presence, Venkates said, from less than 800 followers in July 2012 to about 26 600 in July 2014.

The *Post* used Facebook to interact with its audience, Bramdeo said, and the paper published some of this feedback in the print edition. Social networks were also helping to generate news stories while the downside was that it meant you “open yourself up to petty criticism”.

Adele Hamilton said that journalists at *24.com* were very active users of social media and were becoming more so. “We tend to be early adopters of new social-media channels, so there is always a process of understanding and experimenting when we move into new environments.”

For *City Press*, social media had been “largely beneficial”, according to Pretorius. It had, she said, helped them change the perception that it was a “Sunday-only brand”.

Henry from *The Citizen* agreed that as the title had become more active on social media, it had started to broaden its “reach and make others more aware of our presence”. “It is a slow process but in time we hope to become a name in the social-media sphere.”

The *Pretoria News* had grown a new audience on Facebook with a profile that differed from the readership of the paper, said Val Bojé, adding that the newsroom had picked up one or two stories there.

eNCA’s Timothy Spira had noticed that while problems with accuracy had arisen “we break news faster, listen, respond, interact quicker, and have far more meaningful discussions. We can correct mistakes, doing it quickly and publically.” The website has covered big news events, such as the Marikana massacre, the ANC conference at Mangaung and Oscar Pistorius since activating its presence on Twitter and Facebook. “Community engagement and crowd sourcing has increased. Brand recognition and engagement among the ‘millennial’ crowd has increased,” he said.

Mapi Mhlangu from eNCA observed that the channel’s television and online teams were using Twitter far more often in the breaking news cycle. “Our use of social analytics is helping us become far more aware of audiences’ wants and needs.”

Judy Sandison from SABC News KZN said social media definitely boosted audience to the main website and to

their main radio current-affairs shows. Izak Minnaar said that as social media was becoming part of the journalists’ “daily deliverables”, they used it to tweet stories, promote programme content and engage with the audience.

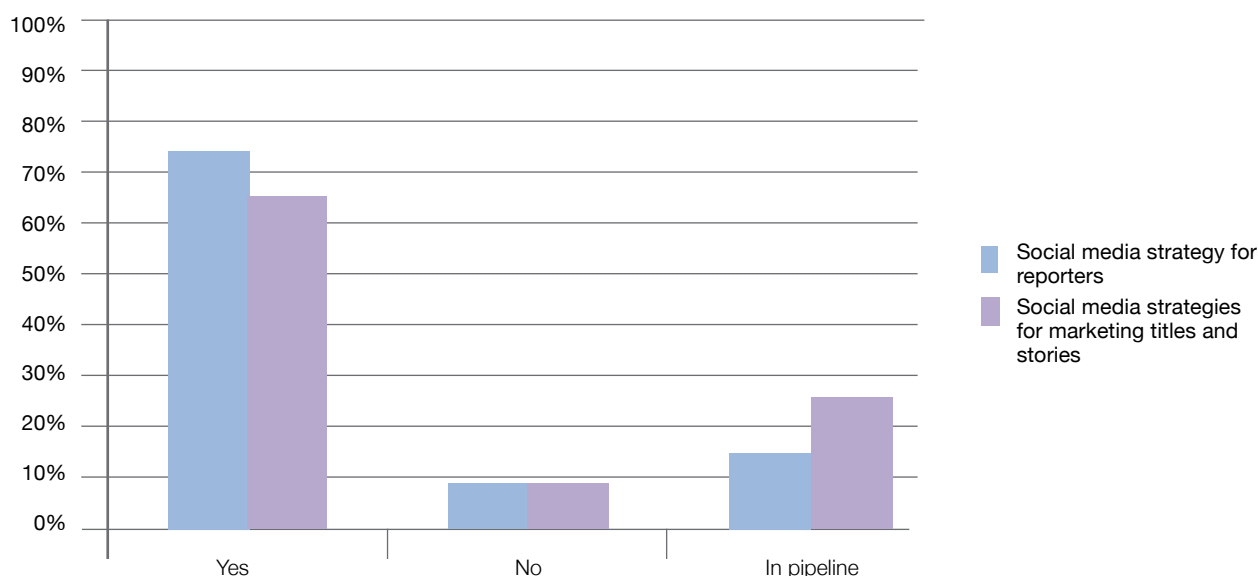
Meanwhile, Chris Roper of the *M&G* said that while some of his reporters were becoming more active, others were becoming less so. “They tailor their output to the demands of their particular areas.”

SOCIAL MEDIA STRATEGIES, POLICIES AND TRAINING

- **Strategy:** All the newsrooms either had a social-media strategy, i.e., to market their stories and project their brand,¹² or were in the process of creating one.
- **Policy:** Most of the newsrooms surveyed had policies in place governing social media and the use thereof in editorial. In many instances, staff members signed a copy of the institution’s social-media policy. Efforts were also being made to encourage their use by putting them online and to tell newly hired journalists about them.

At the *Post*, for instance, journalists received a copy of the social-media policy before they were given access to the Internet.

Social media strategies



According to Spira, online GM at eNCA, his department implemented a social-media policy that monitors, moderates and guides reporters/anchors/executive producers/field producers, both for the TV channel and online. eNCA director of news, Mhlangu, explained further: “We recently updated our Social Media Policy to include our online arm of the business (www.enca.com). We first released our Social Media Policy in 2012, updated in April 2013 and again in February 2014. We have a Social Media SOP (Standard Operating Procedures) that is currently being updated for release to the online department.”

Moshoeshoe Monare from *The Sunday Independent* said that the newspaper was still in a pilot stage with policy implementation. Continuing discussions with staff, training and planning around social media were further guiding the use of social media at Independent Newspapers, the parent company of *The Sunday Independent*.

According to Pretorius, new staff members at *City Press* had been put through a training session on the legal aspects of social-media use shortly before this survey was done.

The *Pretoria News* (also owned by Independent Newspapers) did have a policy but struggled at times to monitor all staff members, according to Bojé. She said, however, that the *Pretoria News* was a small newspaper and they trusted their journalists to keep within the bounds of the policy.

UNFORTUNATELY, THERE HAD BEEN CASES WHERE UNINFORMED, ANGRY COMMENTS FROM STAFF MEMBERS HAD HARMED THE REPUTATION OF THE TITLE.

Henry from *The Citizen* said it had a policy document that dealt mostly with what *not* to do on social media. Both sub-editors and editors monitored social networks and intervened if necessary. Unfortunately, there had been cases where uninformed, angry comments from staff members had harmed the reputation of the title. “This is why news reporters are urged never to tweet in anger without knowing all the facts.”

The bulk of the newsrooms had by 2014 already instituted some form of training for social-media use.

SOCIAL MEDIA POLICIES

Mail & Guardian Policy

The *Mail & Guardian's* (M&G's) policy was already in place “over two years ago,” editor-in-chief Chris Roper told SoN.¹³ The M&G, as confirmed by other research, was the first newspaper in SA to have a social-media policy in place.¹⁴ Since then most other traditional media houses have followed with the same basic principles. Here are extracts from the M&G policy (see Appendix 6 for the full document):

Authenticity: When sourcing material on social media include your name and, when appropriate, your company name and your title. Do not misrepresent yourself on social media. Be upfront about being from the M&G. Do not use subterfuge to obtain information, and do not use underhand technical methods (such as subverting security protocols on websites) to obtain information. The internet is home to much disinformation and false data. Be very aware of this, and make sure you are thoroughly conversant with your subject and source before accepting the validity of information received online.

Attribution: Information on social media is still owned, despite the illusion of a liminal free-for-all. Always attribute your source, be it a person or a platform. Readers ascribe different values to different sources, so they need to know, for example, when something comes from a user on Twitter as opposed to physical investigation.

Authority: The bedrock of our authority as a publication is our impartiality. Your profiles, retweets, likes and postings can reveal your political and ideological affiliations. Be very sure that your audience either understands that you are professional enough to put those aside in the workspace, or that those affiliations will not be construed as having an effect on your ability to do objective journalism.

Separation of private and professional: If you have a private social media account (Facebook, Twitter and the like), you are advised to declare your professional affiliation, and include the following disclaimer: “The views expressed here are strictly personal, and do not represent the views of my employer, the *Mail & Guardian*.” Be aware that people will still elide the two, so make sure you say nothing that will damage the *Mail & Guardian's* name.

Publishing: Should you break stories on social media? The general rule is, if you don't do it, someone else will. You don't want to scoop our other relevant platforms,

but social media platforms are as important in terms of building a news reputation. Where possible, we would prefer to break news with a link to a solid piece of content on our other platforms, but there will be many occasions where you'll have to pre-empt our news desks.

Other Newsrooms' Policies

At the *Post* all new employees were required to sign the social-media policy that was instituted in 2012.

Die Son subscribed to the general policies for social media set by its parent company, Media24. According to Pretorius from *City Press*, the Media24 policy had been updated in the past 12 months.¹⁵ (*City Press* is also owned by Media24.)

Izak Minnaar, head of SABC Digital News, emphasised the need for editors and executive producers at the SABC to ensure editorial accountability for social-media output – just as they would take responsibility for broadcast content. According to him, production workflows were adjusted to bring social media into the normal editorial vetting processes. Staff were also trained or coached to make sure they delivered a sustainable, professional service. “In essence,” he said, “to move social media output from the hands of a few enthusiasts into the normal content production processes.”

While these policies were in place, there were still many grey areas for journalists and they could land themselves and the companies they represented in trouble. The editors were frank in their responses to what problems had emerged in recent times. Interestingly, the problems were less about legal issues than about ethical and freedom-of-speech/hate-speech issues.

BLURRING OF THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL

Editors described a variety of and a disparate list of challenges they faced when dealing with social-media use in their newsrooms. It included too much personal time spent on social media, a blurring of lines between the personal and professional, use of hate speech by some journalists, difficulties with multi-tasking, a lack of understanding among some journalists about the need to use social media (and how to use it), as well as the impression that there was a general lack of control with respect to use of the networks.

eNCA's Mhlangu argued that with the advent of social media, reporters “have had to multi-task more than



The use of social media has increased exponentially

before. Some are still struggling to move between the two platforms (TV and social). Some also believe that social media is not a part of their skill set. We are gradually winning the teams over, by reiterating that social media is another way to build brand awareness (personal and professional).”

Pretorius from *City Press* said the immediacy of social media made it easy to forget that it was a form of publication. “Managing the personal and public on social networks can be tricky.”

Heather Robertson, editor of *The Herald*, said there had been problems of unverified information being put out, and sometimes libellous comments, on social media.

Monare at *The Sunday Independent* found it difficult to control and evaluate the impact of social media.

For social networks to work properly, it required “its own team”, said Bojé of the *Pretoria News*. Without a dedicated team to manage the title's social networks, “it falls to a few dedicated individuals”, she said. “So we can't use it to its full extent.”

At *The Witness* not all staff members were able to grasp the power of social media as a journalism tool, said online editor Kyle Venktes. “But this is a common problem among print journalists who still have to make the transition and accept social media as a great tip-off and tracking tool as well as a marketing tool for their stories.”

Henry from *The Citizen* said: “Many news reporters are ‘wallflowers’. They choose to watch rather than engage (on social media). It has been explained to them that in order to have a social-media presence, they need to be part of it.” To counter this, *The Citizen* has instituted a “tweet quota” to try and drive more active engagement. It is required of every reporter to tweet several times a day. “The idea is the more they get used to doing it, the more it will become second nature,” said Henry.

eNCA was working towards changing the mind set of some staff that social media was “extra work”, said Spira.

LEGAL AND DISCIPLINARY ISSUES

Out of all the editors participating in both the 2013 and 2014 surveys, three of their journalists had received threats of legal action as a result of something published on a social network. Roper, from the *M&G*, is being sued for defamation by controversial columnist David Bullard following a number of tweets and online columns published by the *Mail & Guardian* about a Twitter spat Bullard had with freelance journalist Michelle Solomon about rape.

Bramdeo said that while no legal action had been instituted against the *Post* he had had to ask two journalists to remove posts from their social-network accounts. Mhlangu from eNCA said the channel had experienced “reporters speaking out of turn (cavalier comments, homophobic statements). We have dealt with these issues via our social media policy”. Six institutions (out of 11 that responded) had at some stage disciplined editorial staff for something published on social media.¹⁶

POLICIES AND REGULATION

The arena of social media cannot be separated from the digital news space and the issue of whether the Press Code should be applied to newsrooms’ social-media output was discussed at a Review of the First Year of the Press Code seminar hosted by Wits Journalism in May 2014.¹⁷ The main point was that this needs to be put on the agenda for editors, the Press Council and Sanef. The understanding was that the social media and digital news space is a completely unregulated one.

Media lawyers Tamsyn de Beer and Emma Sadleir were invited by SoN 2014 to comment on the issue and they

argued that, in fact, content published on social media is treated in the same way in the eyes of the law as that published in print or online. “The notion, therefore, that social media is ‘unregulated’ is a fallacy.”

Their argument proceeds that before there can be any discussion on regulating social media, there needs to be greater awareness and education about existing laws – those relating to defamation, privacy, hate speech, intellectual property, and protection of personal information – as well as industry regulations and private codes of conduct. These have equal application online.

De Beer and Sadleir do, however, also say that the question of whether social media is effectively regulated is a separate issue.

Clearly, modes of communication have changed, seen in the way that news is often broken on Twitter first and how high profile court cases such as that of Oscar Pistorius are covered on social networks. These changes have moved ahead of the law and codes of ethics. In this new matrix of engagements, there are gaps through which more and more unmediated news is passing. It means more freedom of expression for some but for others the terrain is uncomfortable because of the fundamental break with the past.

Given the research here and the interviews with editors, it appears that there is, however, no need for a separate set of regulations or laws for social media.

In a more general sense, there is still the feeling that something is missing. This is clear from the qualitative component of the research, from the discussions at the recent review of the Press Council’s first year held at Wits University in May 2014, and from De Beer and Sadleir.

“What is needed is greater clarity and guidance – not only for journalists using social media, but also for everyday users – from the National Prosecuting Authority, as well as institutions such as the South African Human Rights Commission and the Press Council, as to when they will intervene in social media communications,” they say.

Indeed, this clarity and guidance in the form of a discussion has not yet happened among industry players although SA’s news organisations do have their own policy guidelines and most mirror each other’s.

Whereas some argue for a case-by-case approach to the matter, others say there needs to be some broad

parameters/guidelines and codes for all, not just individual news organisations.

The research in this chapter suggests that journalists on social media are, by and large, sticking to the Press Code and the broad ethics and value systems of their news organisations – or there would be evidence of more law suits. But perhaps, this is a simplistic conclusion. There may be other reasons for a lack of law suits, e.g., lack of awareness among members of the public about the laws governing social media.

The question, given the broader political context, is: are more free spaces not better than fewer? This relatively free social-media space is to be carefully considered (and perhaps not tampered with at all) as the state moves to close in on freedom of information with the Protection of State Information Bill and as big brother surveillance, as discussed in Chapter 1, increases.

KEY TRENDS

- Most of editors surveyed said the use of social media had increased in their newsrooms, in most cases exponentially, and the survey showed that 100% of the Sanef survey participants said they encouraged social-media use.
- Editors were finding it difficult to get all of their journalists on board and make them understand the value of social media. However, they also complained about time being wasted on social media.
- From the qualitative component of this research, editors seemed to want some “management” of how social media was used but none specified how they envisioned this playing out.
- There was a general lack of certainty about how to navigate the new-media space, for instance, opinions were almost evenly split on whether journalists should declare in their profiles whether they were using an account for personal or professional purposes.
- All newsrooms surveyed in this research had policies in place for social media but a smaller portion (75%) had a strategy for the marketing of their titles via social networks. Newsrooms also reported that they were updating policies often, in tandem with new developments.
- The biggest problem with social media use was the blurring of professional and personal lines. Editors in this research emphasised consistently that journalists were bound by the ethos, culture and value systems of their news organisations when tweeting on their personal accounts. Editors were also aware that audiences could confuse the organisation’s view with that of the journalist.
- There was very little legal action over tweets. Only one editor (the *M&G’s* Roper) faced a lawsuit over Twitter activity while three of the newsrooms surveyed in 2013 revealed that they had received legal threats as a result of reporters’ use of social media but that these had blown over — a small number considering the hundreds of thousands of tweets that go out daily.
- Out of 11 institutions that responded to the question about legal action, only six had instituted disciplinary action against journalists for something they had posted on social media. This also strikes one as quite a small number.
- Discussion about possible regulation is increasing, as witnessed at the Sanef AGM in June 2014, where there appeared to be general agreement by editors that some “cross platform” self-regulatory mechanism should be investigated — this would include all digital spaces.

NOTES

- 1 Mark Deuze, Chris Paterson, Dumisani Moyo, et al. See also recent research by Jordaan, M (2013) "Poke me I'm a Journalist: the impact of Facebook and Twitter on Newsrooms routines and cultures at two South African weeklies", *Ecquid Novi African Journalism Studies*, Taylor and Francis. See also Verweij, P and Van Noort, E (2014), "Journalists' Twitter Networks, public debates and relationships in South Africa", *Digital Journalism*, Taylor and Francis.
- 2 Goldstuck, A (2014). Social Media Landscape: March 2014.
- 3 WAN-IFRA (2014) World Press Trends in the Newsrooms: the Snowden Effect dominates. blog.wan-iffra.org/2014/06/10/the-snowden-effect-dominates-2014s-trends-in-newsrooms
- 4 *Daily Maverick* (2014) Rica in South Africa: How big is big brother?: 17 June.
- 5 Sanef Education and Training (E&T) and Online Editors committees, especially head of the social-media task team, Izak Minnaar (editor of digital news at the *SABC*). The editors' body conducted a social-media survey of its members in 2013. In 2014, Wits Journalism in further collaboration with University of Pretoria researcher Marenet Jordaan updated the research through interviews.
- 6 Retief, J (2014) interview: 3 February.
- 7 With input from media and electronic communications lawyer Justine Limpitlaw, and Jude Mathurine, at the time head of the New Media Lab at Rhodes University's journalism school.
- 8 Bramdeo moved to the *Sunday Tribune* in April 2014.
- 9 Boyle left the *Daily Dispatch* for the *Sunday Times* soon after he participated in this survey.
- 10 Monare left the editorship of *The Sunday Independent* to become deputy editor of the *M&G* in February 2014.
- 11 A wire agency by its nature would not want to pre-empt the product it is selling to clients by releasing it on social media to non-clients.
- 12 Sapa did not have one because it did not use social media.
- 13 Roper, C (2014) Email interview: 12 March.
- 14 Daniels, G (2013) Digital First chapter in the publication: State of the Newsroom, SA 2013: Disruptions and Transitions.
- 15 Pretorius, L (2014) Email interview: 11 March.
- 16 A well-reported incident took place at the *Mail & Guardian* in June 2011 when an intern posted anti-Semitic comments (in his personal capacity) on a Facebook page. Ngoaka Matsha was immediately suspended by the editor at the time, Nic Dawes. After a disciplinary hearing he was ordered to do research to understand the Holocaust. For more information, visit: <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-06-16-mg-intern-suspended-for-facebook-holocaust-comment>
- 17 The major new trends of the first year of the new Press Council were discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

04 JOURNALISM AND TWITTER IN THE NEWSROOM

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER WE SHOWED HOW THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA, ESPECIALLY TWITTER, has become an integral part of newsroom practices in South Africa in 2014. Inspired by the speed, popularity and convenience of Twitter,¹ journalists have made the social network a professional tool for breaking, generating and verifying news.

In this chapter we dig deeper to look at the nature of newsrooms' activity on the social network by analysing the Twitter feeds of some prominent journalists. The field research was conducted by honours student researchers at Wits Journalism.

There are various international studies on journalism and social media, particularly, Twitter,² but fewer local studies³. One of the most recent studies,⁴ by Peter Verweij and Elvira van Noort, focused on South African journalists' use of Twitter through a quantitative study of about 500 people. Their findings included that Twitter was characterised by "openness and pluralism", enhancing the role of journalists in public debates and democratic decision-making and that Twitter was used for crowdsourcing, breaking news, balances and checks and the cultivation of sources.

There were fundamental changes brought about through the use of the social network, Verweij and Van Noort noted. What has now emerged is the "individualised position of the journalist" whereas previously identity was based on the news organisation that employed you. In essence, journalists were now "brands unto themselves". The researchers also found that the role of the journalist had now extended to commentary while



Often journalists claim interaction/engagement with citizens on Twitter but this may be overstated.

news was decentralised. In addition, Twitter networks and activity in South Africa was not that different from that in the UK and the Netherlands, where previous studies were done.

At the time of writing, Twitter had about 5.5-million users in South Africa⁵ and about 140-million globally. Tweeting journalists in South Africa were estimated to be about 2 500⁶.

It is noteworthy, however, that not all these local journalists were using Twitter with the same levels of impact and success, according to veteran journalist and social-media trainer Ray Joseph. He observed⁷: "Most South African journos who think they are good at Twitter are actually good at tweeting." Joseph, who interacts with journalists, both those employed in newsrooms and freelancers, said "few are using it as the powerful journalism tool it is". This is evident in an inability to use lists, hashtags, for research, crowdsourcing information and ideas, as well as not knowing how to verify content and Twitter accounts.

Most journalists in print newsrooms still saw Twitter as something for the online department to handle and few



Some editors felt that there was some time wasting on social media but the majority encouraged its use.

newsdesks were on Twitter on a regular basis, he said. “I get frustrated because I often run into editors and news editors who don’t get it, so don’t see the merit in spending money” to teach reporters to use it properly.

He has come across examples of reporters being forbidden to tweet a story before it has run in the paper. “It’s as if they’re saying it hasn’t been reported until we run it in the paper — even though others, including civilians, might be live-tweeting the breaking news.”

However, there are journalists who understand Twitter’s worth and are using it properly, Joseph said, “but we are far behind the UK and the US where journos are more sussed about Twitter and use it in their day-to-day workflow”.

The analysis in this chapter focuses on journalists who are very active on Twitter. This enabled us to do both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the nature of conversations involving prominent journalists on Twitter. It offers insight into the existing use of Twitter by journalists, and could also serve as a tool for further training and development.

Methodologically, the selection of news organisations and journalists was deliberate, also known as purposeful or selective sampling.

We chose two newspapers and one radio newsroom. It can, therefore, not be considered as representative of the entire South African media landscape. The results are suggestive of trends rather than definitive.

The three newsrooms — *Mail & Guardian (M&G)*, *City Press* and Eyewitness News (EWN) — were chosen because they are considered to be front-runners in the transition from traditional platforms to incorporating digital media, online journalism and the concomitant social-media strategies.

At the time that this research was conducted, there was high usage of Twitter among journalists in all three newsrooms. Both the *M&G* editor-in-chief, Chris Roper,⁹ and EWN editor-in-chief, Katy Katopodis,⁹ said 100% of their journalists used Twitter in their work. At *City Press*, head of digital, Liesl Pretorius, said about 90% of journalists used the social network.¹⁰

We selected the Twitter accounts of three journalists, including editors, from each of the newsrooms. They were selected on the basis of their reputations for being highly active on social media. In this way, we knew we could get a significant sample of tweets to analyse. The journalists’ were:

- EWN
 - Katy Katopodis (editor-in-chief)
 - Mandy Wiener (journalist)
 - Barry Bateman (journalist)
- *Mail & Guardian*
 - Chris Roper¹¹ (online editor at the time of analysis)
 - Ben Kelly (special projects editor)
 - Mmanaledi Mataboge (senior political journalist)
- *City Press*
 - Carien du Plessis (senior political journalist)
 - Natasha Joseph (news editor)
 - Adriaan Basson¹² (deputy editor at the time of analysis).

The research combined quantitative (statistical and content analysis) and qualitative (interviews) methodologies. This provided us with the opportunity to give context and meaning to the data gathered.

The data was collected via the Twitter Application Programming Interface (API), which provided information such as content of the tweet, favourites, the number of tweets, retweets and hyperlinks.

A total of 200 tweets per journalist was sought over a two-week period in August 2013. Where we could not reach 200 tweets over the chosen period, we went back a week or so. In some cases, 200 tweets came before the two-week period was up. This research must, therefore, be considered a snapshot at a particular point in time.

A total of approximately 1 800 tweets were analysed.

The tweets were coded on two levels: firstly the “domain” that the tweet falls in, and secondly — if deemed to be work-related — according to the “purpose” of the tweet.

The domain tries to determine whether the content is work-related or personal. Practically, this classification could be difficult to apply uniformly. The following guidelines were decided on as a process rule of determining the domain:

- All references to news covered by the news organisation’s account, any retweets or response to that account or to current affairs that was in the journalist’s area of reporting was considered to fall under “Work/News”.
- Any content that was a commentary on current affairs, colleagues or competitors was deemed “Work/News”.
- Promotion of the journalists’ own work (such as books) was deemed “Work/News” and was further classified as self-promotion.

- All content from corporate accounts was deemed to be “Work/News”.
- “Work” tweets were further broken down: those that were intended and used to spread news were categorised as “broadcast” tweets while tweets that were deliberately intended to invite opinion and debate were categorised as “soliciting engagement”.
- Any content that has no relevance to the job or reporting, such as personal life, food, pets, family, friends, etc., was deemed to be of a personal nature.

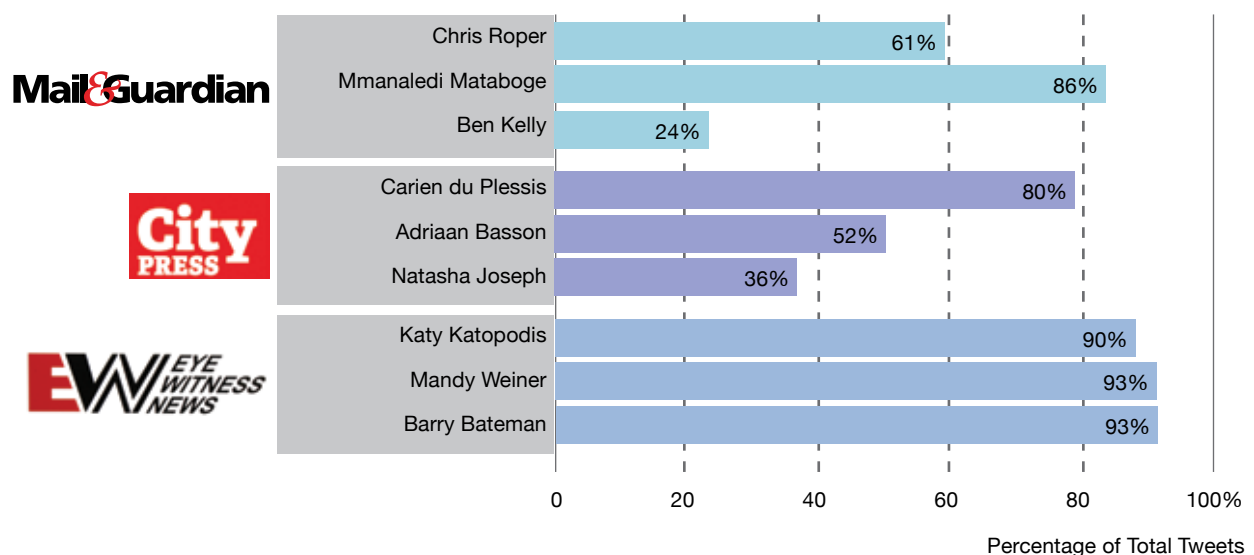
DRILLING INTO THE DIFFERENT NEWSROOMS AND INDIVIDUAL TWITTER ACCOUNTS

Eyewitness News

Katy Katopodis said she believed the immediacy of Twitter had changed the newsroom flow completely. “Twitter has simply changed the way journos act and work ... It’s changed the function of news; it is so much more immediate and quicker and accessible.”

Using the example of Zwelinzima Vavi, general secretary of Cosatu who tweeted his thoughts on the sex scandal plaguing him, Katopodis said: “It’s an account which is verified and the news was unfolding right in front of you.”

Percentages of Tweets that are Work Tweets



Mandy Wiener also felt Twitter had completely changed the game of gathering news. It made it easier to get tip-offs, there were eyewitnesses everywhere and journalists had more access to more people. On the flipside, journalists were now competing with ordinary members of the public for scoops.

Wiener said EWN broke news on their traditional medium (radio) and Twitter simultaneously.

“The news is getting out there so fast ... That’s where news consumption is going ... as a journalist, you have to keep up,” said Bateman, adding that Twitter had many uses for journalists. “You multi-task like you cannot believe. I often use my tweets as my notes.”

@EWNupdates

At the time the data was aggregated (14 September 2013), @EWNupdates had 104 100 followers, 82 400 tweets and was following 4 149 accounts.

journalistic rules apply”. According to Morais, the main rule (also for using personal accounts) was: “If you wouldn’t say it on any other public platform, you have no place saying it on Twitter.”

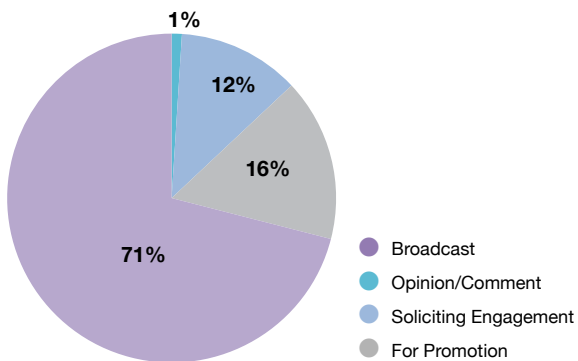
“Our journalists are public figures,” he said. “Twitter is a public platform where anyone can follow you and anyone can see what you say. Therefore, we see it as an extension of our radio platform.”

@KatyKatopodis

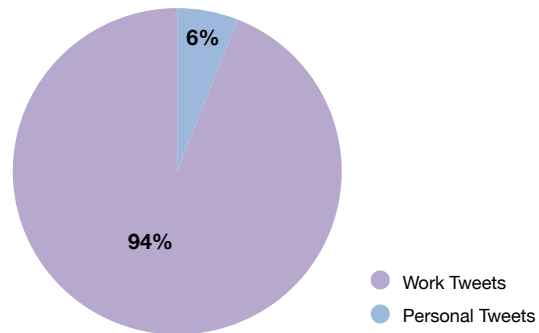
Katy Katopodis had 24 000 followers, sent 7 181 tweets, and was following 680 others, as of 14 September 2013. We analysed 200 tweets, posted between 10 July and 30 August 2013.

Katopodis¹⁴ estimated that she spent 15 to 20 minutes per hour on Twitter if a big story was breaking. Her top three uses of Twitter were: information dissemination, sharing stories that were breaking or sharing interesting

EWN – Corporate Account Tweet Classification



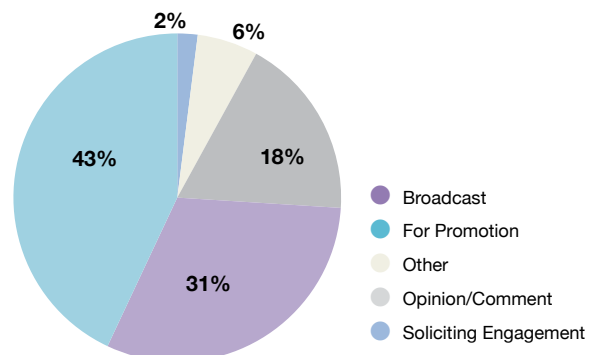
EWN – Katy Katopodis Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



EWN online editor Sheldon Morais,¹³ who manages all the social-media accounts and policy, explained that the company views Twitter as an extension of its radio reporting. The official account, @EWNupdates, was “about engaging with people” and fostering a “community of people who were interested in news”. In addition, the account was the news team’s “mouthpiece”, a way for journalists to get their stories out.

The social-media policy, Morais explained, was like a “style guide”, with do’s and don’ts for journalists. There were technical rules such as how to tweet on the official EWN accounts, to which all reporters have access. The rules include: “don’t use sms speak”; “use correct spelling and grammar” and be mindful that “proper

EWN – Katy Katopodis Work Tweet Classification



articles she enjoyed and then responding to people and keeping the interaction going. The analysis of her tweets supported this, except for the fact that the data showed up a low percentage for “soliciting engagement”. In addition, she agreed with the finding on “promotion” for the corporation: “I can’t separate my Twitter self from my role as editor-in-chief of EWN.”

She noted that during the period used for the content analysis, she had been overseas, yet it was important “to keep momentum going” as Twitter, for her, was about accessibility. “I tweet when I have something to say and not because I feel pressured to do so.”

@MandyWiener

Mandy Wiener had 71 300 followers, had disseminated 2 500 tweets and was following 1 500 other accounts by 14 September 2013. Between 12 August and 30 August, Wiener posted the 200 tweets, which we extracted for analysis.

Wiener¹⁵ also estimated that she spent between 15 and 20 minutes an hour on Twitter. She looked at and read her Twitter feed more than she tweeted, she said. “If I am in the office I monitor it all the time; if I am out the office, I do have border-line addiction. I will check it very regularly.” There is also some level of self-censorship with Wiener’s activity. “I do feel restricted by Twitter in some senses. I often don’t tweet what I would like to ... we’ve seen what has happened to people who tweet things that are offensive or defamatory. It’s not a very forgiving platform.”

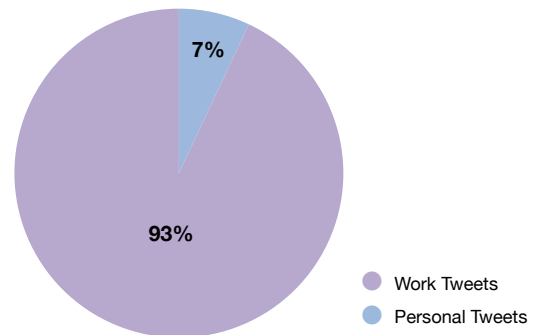
For her, tweeting was an art and a skill. “I could spend hours thinking about it. I always imagine I am standing in a stadium, with 70 000 or however many followers I have and telling them what I am about to tweet. If I am OK with that, then I will go ahead. I have very often written a tweet and deleted it.”

Her top three uses of Twitter were “to inform; crowdsource ... as people we’re in touch with can give us leads and inform us, and to give opinion”.

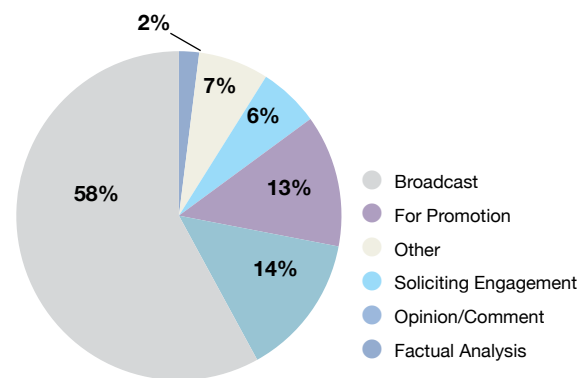
Wiener used direct messages (DMs) to get “tip-offs” and to access newsmakers: “I can DM them and ask for their opinion, an interview or comment using messages. It’s a great tool.”

She also uses Twitter as a news-aggregation tool: “I follow people who I think will inform me.” These included news agencies, official organisations, and “a lot of journalists; it’s very full of news, my feed”.

EWN – Mandy Wiener
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



EWN – Mandy Wiener
Work Tweet Classification



@barrybateman

A new term, called “Batenomics”, was coined for the way Barry Bateman gained Twitter followers during the bail application of Paralympian Oscar Pistorius, who shot and killed his girlfriend in February 2013. In a short period of time, his followers jumped from 9 000 to 139 000.

Bateman¹⁶ believes he gained such a large following during the Pistorius bail hearing because he “interacted with people”. “I became a source. There’s a lot of ignorance and there’s the finer details of the story that they don’t understand and I always made myself available to answer.”

On 14 September 2013, Bateman had 130 100 followers, a decrease from February 2013 and probably because some people “unfollowed” him after the initial Pistorius news subsided. (Note that Bateman’s

following started growing again during the murder trial and in August 2014 was at 219 000 followers.)

HE ALSO SAID HE BELIEVED IT WAS “RIDICULOUS” FOR PEOPLE TO SAY THAT AS A JOURNALIST EXPRESSING HIMSELF ON TWITTER, HE WAS TOO SUBJECTIVE.

By 14 September 2013, Bateman had disseminated 22 900 tweets and was following 10 896 others. During the two-week period in August, Bateman posted 399 tweets.

He put interacting second on his list of uses for this network. He also said he used it to relay information,

and as a “source of getting information, research and getting ideas from people”.

Bateman estimated that he spent 10 minutes an hour on Twitter. However, when he was out on a story such as covering court, it could be up to eight hours.

He did not use DMs often, he said, but when he did, it was to “to get info that I wouldn’t want to speak about publically”.

He also said he believed it was “ridiculous” for people to say that as a journalist expressing himself on Twitter, he was too subjective. “I get a lot of flack if I express an opinion.” According to Bateman, as long as you apply the Press Code principles, of fair comment, it was “perfectly acceptable”.

Mail & Guardian

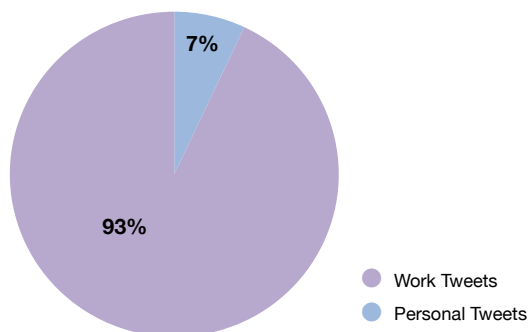
Journalists at the *Mail & Guardian* embraced Twitter with encouragement from Chris Roper, editor-in-chief. He agreed that Twitter had increased the speed of getting news out there but has tried to prevent his news team from sacrificing their values in favour of being first. Breaking news was not the most important factor at the paper, but context, quality and analysis were, he said.

I’m interested in people reading the Mail & Guardian because they want the Mail & Guardian’s take or analysis on something. So, for example, I’ve said to my online editors if you break a story before News24, then you get a demerit. You need to be at least 10 minutes slower than News24.

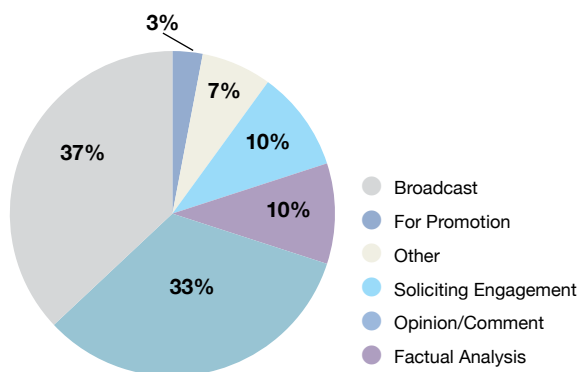
With the focus on quality and not speed, journalists also felt less inclined to break the editorial flow and self-broadcast news. Furthermore, the brand identity promoted by the newspaper, plus its history of being a weekly instead of a daily (except for a short spell in 1990), meant that Twitter was used to promote content on other platforms rather than be the platform of choice for dissemination of news.

The *M&G* journalists saw Twitter as an important tool for sourcing and verification. It enabled journalists to access people anywhere in the world, as long as they have an Internet-enabled mobile phone. Senior political journalist Mmanaledi Mataboge used it often, to access people who normally wouldn’t respond or would take hours before they were available for a telephonic or face-to-face comment. Twitter allowed respondents the ability to craft their response, and she noted that it

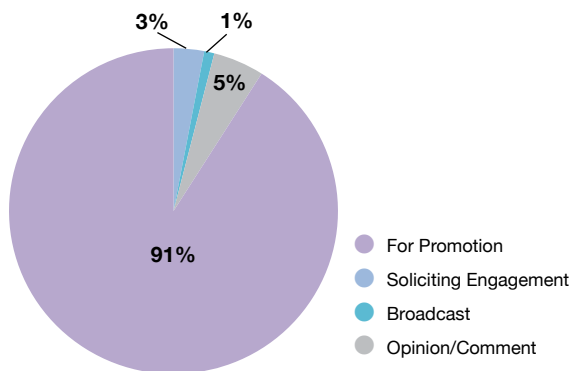
EWN – Barry Bateman
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



EWN – Barry Bateman
Work Tweet Classification



M&G – Corporate Account Tweet Classification



allowed her to get responses from people who normally wouldn't want to talk to her. Roper has also had leads and tip-offs via Twitter, and saw it as an important new channel for people to contact journalists.

@mailandguardian

The *Mail & Guardian's* official Twitter account tweeted on average around 39 updates a day and had about 137 000 followers at the time of survey.

@ChrisRoper

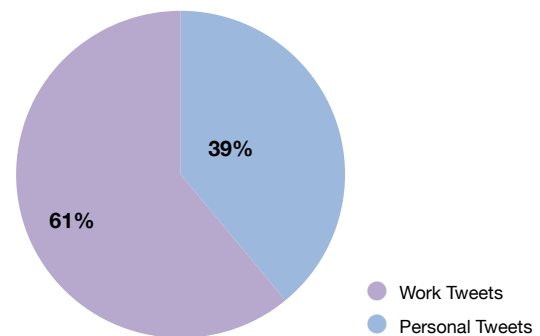
Chris Roper had 18 694 followers at the time of analysis. Averaging 12.1 tweets a day, he sent a total of 230 tweets over the period analysed (12 August 2013 to 30 August 2013).

Roper was quick to point out that he did not really consider himself a journalist "in the traditional sense of the word". He believed his Twitter use was more conversational and opinion-driven rather than about news. While he used DMs for potential sources, this happened infrequently.

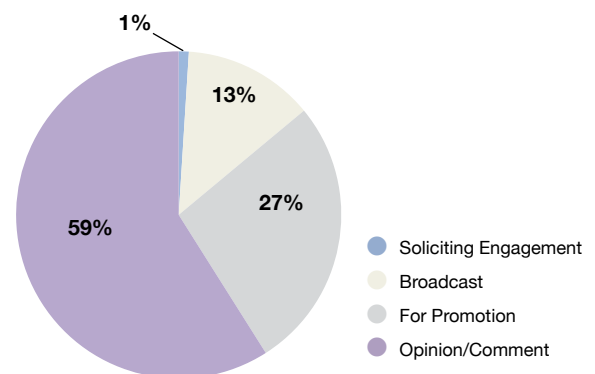
Roper used Twitter on his phone, used lists and monitored various hashtags and trends using TweetDeck. However, for him the point of social media was "that you get your content filtered and curated by people you trust". His personal policy was that he would retweet or broadcast any content that was relevant to his audience. "If you're on Twitter, you're part of a community, and you do what's best for that community and that means sharing everything." He also broadcasts content from the *Mail & Guardian* because he believes in the work of his journalists.

While he has considered having a separate, protected personal account, he said he did tweet about his

M&G – Chris Roper
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



M&G – Chris Roper
Work Tweet Classification



personal life. He opined that his work was an integral part of who he was, and so he tweeted across his life interests.

@benedictkelly

Benedict Kelly had 1 770 followers at the time of analysis and averaged about 2.2 tweets per day.

Kelly said he didn't use Twitter as a primary work tool. "I use Twitter mostly to keep up with news and what's trending." He was not as "addicted" to Twitter as some other people were, he asserted.

He did not use lists or social-media management tools and he read his newsfeed randomly when he felt like it. "To me, my Twitter feed is like watching the river go by." He also preferred the native Twitter applications because they automatically updated with new content, rather than requiring user interaction to refresh the feeds.

For him, Twitter could play an important role for sourcing – especially for professional people. “I’ve had to look some people up on Twitter, and you can get an idea of who they are by their Twitter feed.” He disliked the fact that corporate accounts seemed to simply retweet journalists’ live tweets. “I already follow both so now I’ve got the same content twice.”

@MmanalediM

At the time of analysis, Mataboge had 3 341 followers. She was one of the most prolific Twitter users from the *Mail & Guardian*, sending an average of 17.5 tweets a day. She has been quoted as saying she is “always glued to her cellphone”.

Mataboge explained that coming from the print generation, she was “initially forced” to use Twitter. “You don’t know how I was dragged to Twitter by Verashni Pillay [currently associate editor of the *Mail & Guardian*]

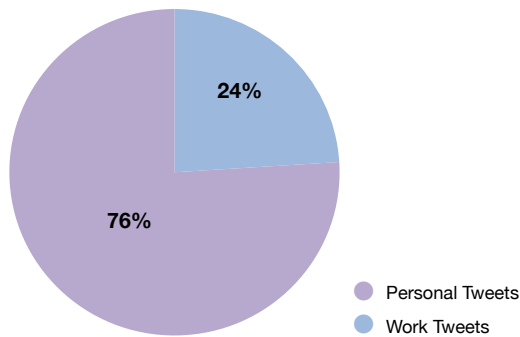
and the online people because I didn’t want to Tweet.” Now she sees it as an important tool in the news-production process. “I use Twitter to establish new contacts, to be able to get breaking news from across the country and to engage in discussions to understand what readers think.”

She said the platform allowed her to cover a story that was breaking in multiple geographic locations without needing a large media crew, e.g., the Tlokwe by-elections, where three wards had three polling stations each.

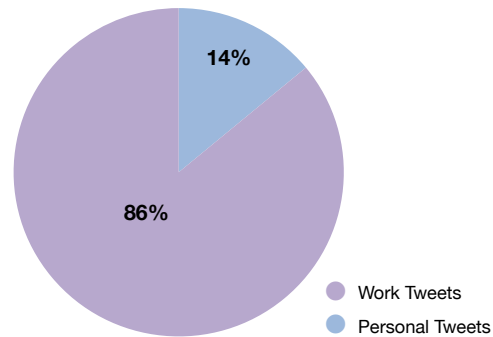
Twitter also allowed her to gain insight into how other news organisations were breaking stories, she said, adding that it was also a valuable sourcing and verification tool.

She found DMs useful for getting interviews because some people “prefer to avoid phone calls”.

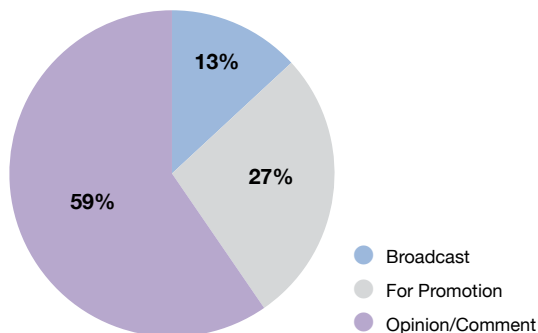
M&G – Ben Kelly
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



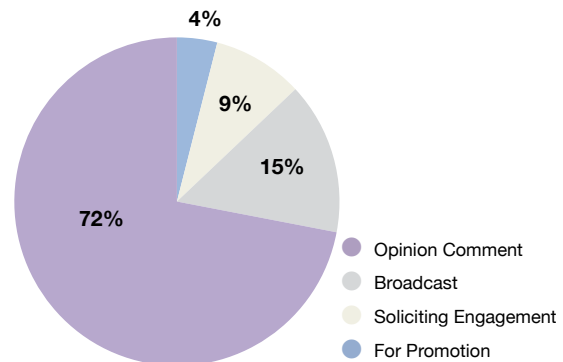
M&G – Mmanaledi Mataboge
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



M&G – Ben Kelly
Work Tweet Classification



M&G – Mmanaledi Mataboge
Work Tweet Classification



“Direct Messaging has helped me to trace people whose contacts I did not have. For example, I was able to track down a Congolese rebel leader through Twitter DM.”

Mataboge agreed with Roper about holding back on breaking stories on Twitter; to instead take the time to get a high-quality story through to the *Mail & Guardian* newsroom: “We want to give the reader an understanding of the story so we might publish an hour later, but we make sure our story is of perfect quality.”

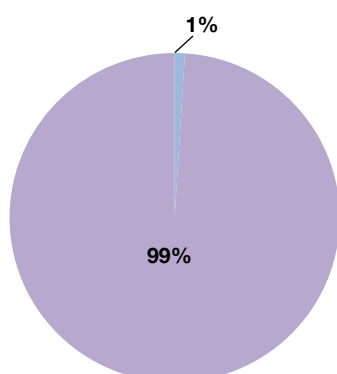
For her, the need for brevity on Twitter also made it difficult to include someone’s quotes without them being edited – at the risk of removing its true meaning and impact.

City Press

At *City Press* two out of the three journalists felt that while Twitter was a wonderful tool that had become part of the daily routine, it had also added to their work load. The editor, Ferial Haffajee, encouraged tweeting but believed Twitter had slowed down the filing of news stories for the web and had changed the traditional way of gathering information. According to this newspaper’s journalists, Twitter had connected them to people to whom they would not otherwise have had access. One journalist suggested that it got her reading material she might not have usually read.

It appeared as though verification of source material from social media was still important at *City Press*, with journalists following up by applying the usual journalistic checks and balances – calling sources directly, calling those referred to and doing independent research to verify the news.

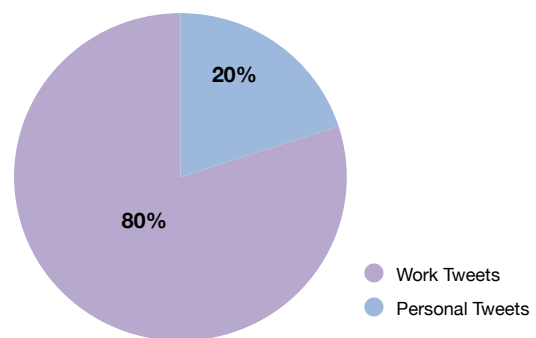
City Press – Corporate Account Tweet Classification



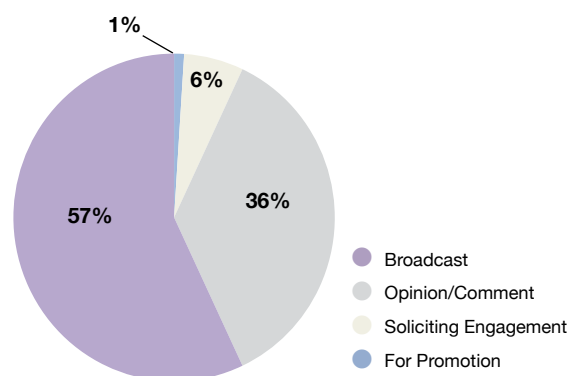
@City Press

All of the 1 399 tweets from the *City Press* corporate account during the time of analysis, were work related. Over the three-week period the corporate account sent an average of 73 tweets per day. The journalists indicated that the corporate account tweeted all the stories that went into the paper and on the web and it retweeted news from their own timelines. Senior political journalist Carien du Plessis said there was an “open relationship” between the corporate and journalists’ accounts but they were not linked.

City Press – Carien du Plessis
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



City Press – Carien du Plessis
Work Tweet Classification



@ Carien du Plessis

Over the same period, Carien Du Plessis put out a total of 797 tweets.

For Du Plessis, Twitter was part of her “work”, which meant that it had added to her “work burden”. She believed it had slowed down the filing of news stories for the web, although “strictly speaking we should be

tweeting with the one hand and filing with the other”. Du Plessis added that – just as with making money from digital – nobody had yet come up with a winning recipe.

She would sometimes tweet links to her own or other stories she thought “interesting, important or quirky”. When attending press conferences, she spent the duration of the press conference on Twitter. This could be anything from one to four hours. “Other than that, I scan Twitter during the day, probably spending a total of 30 minutes on it. On days off I spend considerably less time on Twitter, sometimes nothing.”

Du Plessis said she tried to ask herself before tweeting: “Am I sober? Is this what I believe to be accurate at the time? Is it libel, defamation, or anything that could expose me to overstepping a legal or ethical boundary? Am I tweeting this out of unreasonable/petty anger? Will it make me sound like a certain person on Twitter who I don’t want to sound like... Will the tweet cause the trolls to come running?”

She also verified information – such as tip-offs about events – by phoning before broadcasting via Twitter.

@TashJoeZA

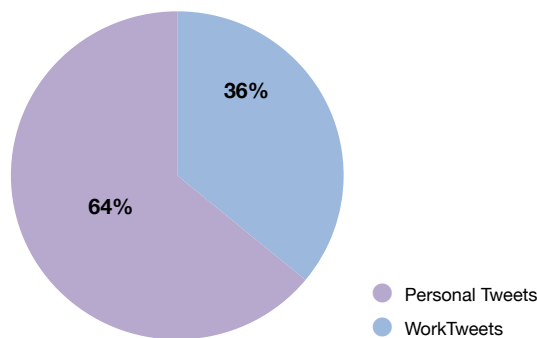
It took Natasha Joseph, news editor at *City Press*, more than two weeks to reach 200 tweets. She also had quite a high number of personal tweets compared with other journalists under analysis.

Joseph spent about two hours (per day) on average on Twitter – “more on a Saturday when I am watching it for on-day breaking news”. She added: “I use Twitter for story gathering, networking and engaging with not just our readers but any number of fascinating people I follow and who follow me.”

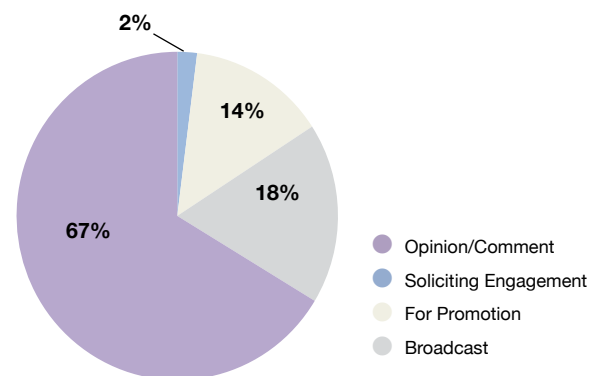
Joseph retweeted the *City Press* account regularly and always directed traffic to it when there was a big story breaking. “As news editor, I rarely write. But I usually do retweet anything I write, and *City Press* retweets me too.”

She did not feel restricted nor did she censor herself on Twitter, she said. However, she did re-read her tweets to ensure they were grammatically correct and contained no spelling errors. “I try never to be offensive or rude.” She did not mind tweeting personal information and tried to balance professional and personal life, she said. According to her, journalists were encouraged to tweet by the editor of *City Press*, Ferial Haffajee, who understood that Twitter helped modern journalists build

EWN – Natasha Joseph
Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



EWN – Natasha Joseph
Work Tweet Classification



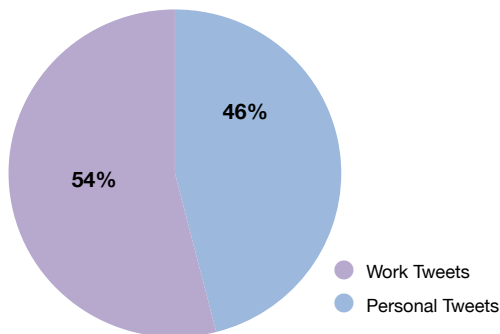
and maintain a public profile. Joseph also verified her stories first before tweeting. “Usual journalistic checks and balances apply – calling source directly, calling those referred to and independent research.”

@Adriaan Basson

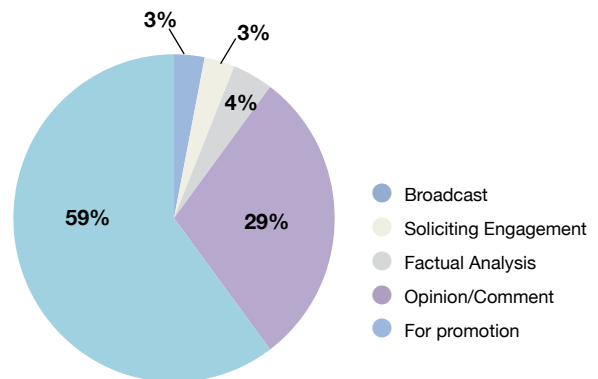
Adriaan Basson had a tweet count of 200 for just over a two-week period.

Basson said Twitter was now part of his life and intrinsic to the newsroom and news production processes. “Journalists who are not on Twitter are not that relevant anymore. It has become the fourth platform after print, the web and apps.” His top three uses for Twitter as a journalist were: “To get tip-offs for stories; to engage in interesting and stimulating current affairs debates, and to interact with my readers and get a sense of their interests and views.” He used direct messaging to engage in private conversations.

City Press – Adriaan Basson
 Tweet Classification – Work vs Personal



City Press – Adriaan Basson
 Work Tweet Classification



KEY TRENDS

- While Twitter had become ubiquitous in newsrooms and was regarded as an indispensable professional tool, there is no homogeneity of views about its use.
- The journalists’ accounts under analysis showed the main reasons for Twitter use was work-related, more than 80% of cases, for instance, tweeting news, sharing opinion and interacting with audiences. However, the latter came in at less than expected.
- The journalists spent, on average, at least 15 to 20 minutes per hour on Twitter – much more if they were live-tweeting events. In the three newsrooms surveyed, two said 100% of their journalists used Twitter and the other said 90% did. There was also evidence of tweeting journalists being dismissive of non-tweeters.
- All those interviewed said Twitter had become part of their everyday lives but some expressed difficulty with the multi-tasking that came with it.
- Most journalists agreed that Twitter has fundamentally changed work flow and news processes in the newsroom. However, at the *Mail & Guardian* the approach was slightly different, with the emphasis on quality and analysis rather than speed.
- Some journalists said that Twitter had increased their work load.
- Most journalists were very careful about what they tweeted, often reconsidering and re-checking their tweets before sending them out.
- The difference between EWN and the other news organisation – in scale and emphasis on work – was striking. This could relate to the fact that radio – with its 24-hours demand for hourly and sometimes half-hourly news bulletins – and Twitter seemed to be a more natural fit than print and Twitter.
- Journalists did not appear to indulge in much self-promotion but were involved in promoting their work although it was difficult to separate the two issues.
- The link between the journalists’ and corporate accounts was not very productive; the corporate accounts did not seem to do more than retweet the journalist’s stories.
- While Twitter allowed journalists to find new sources, the journalists were at pains to stress that traditional verification techniques (such as phoning someone) were still necessary.
- One must exercise some caution with the qualitative data presented here: editors often claimed journalists used the medium for “interaction”, “engagement” and “crowdsourcing” but this could be overstated. This is a topic to investigate in another State of the Newsroom.

NOTES

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- 1 Silber, G. 2013. "We, the Tweeple" in *The South African Media Landscape 2012*, GCIS.
- 2 Bruno, R, N., 2011. "Tweet First, Verify Later: How Real-Time Information is Changing the Coverage of Worldwide Crisis Events", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford; Hermida, A. S. C. L. and. R. Z., 2012. "Sourcing the Arab Spring: A Case Study of Andy Carvin's Sources During the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions", Austin, TX: Paper presented at the International Symposium on Online Journalism; Newman, N, 2009. "*The rise of social media and its impact on mainstream journalism*", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford.
- 3 Jordaan, M. 2012, *Social Media in the newspaper newsroom: The professional use of Facebook and Twitter at Rapport & the Mail & Guardian*, Stellenbosch; Stassen, W. 2010. "Your news in 140 characters: Exploring the role of social media in journalism", *Global Media Journal: African Edition*, 4 (1).
- 4 Verweij and Van Noort. 2013. Journalists' Twitter networks, public debates and relationships in SA, *Digital Journalism*, Routledge.
- 5 Goldstuck, A. (2013). Email communication: 22 November.
- 6 Wronski. 2013. We must caution that while the term "journalist" was used to extract data, it is arguable who can be termed "journalist", with many social commentators including themselves to this category.
- 7 Joseph, R (2014). Email interview: 23 February.
- 8 Roper (2013) Email interview: 4 December.
- 9 Katopodis, K (2013) Email interview 25 November.
- 10 Pretorius, L (2013) Email interview: 29 November.
- 11 Roper became *M&G* editor-in-chief after the analysis was concluded.
- 12 Basson moved to *Beeld* as editor in September 2013.
- 13 Morais, S (2013) email interview: 6 September.
- 14 Katopodis, K, interview, 5 September 2013.
- 15 Weiner, M (2013) interview: 4 September.
- 16 Bateman, B, interview, 7 September 2013.

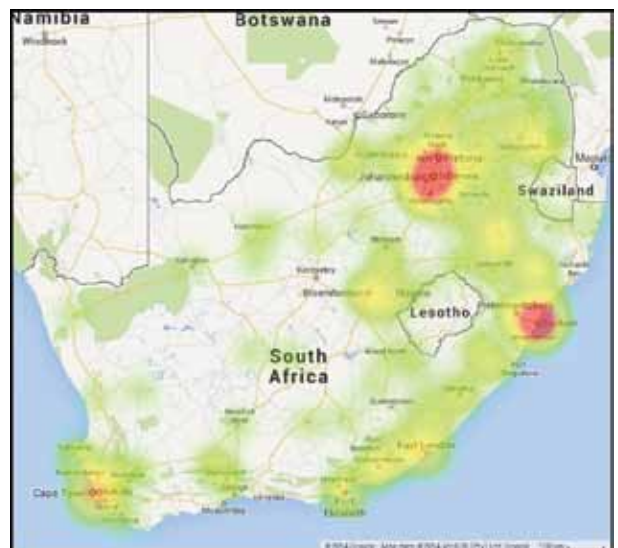
05 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS: Diversities and Difficulties

THE COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER SECTOR HAS BEEN QUIETLY GATHERING STRENGTH AS A FORCE FOR DIVERSITY. However, it continues to face difficulties especially in the area of sustainability.

Figures from the Association of Independent Publishers (AIP) figures show that small independent publishers not linked to the “Big Four” companies (Media24, Independent Newspapers, Times Media Group and Caxton) in ownership or distribution, print nearly 8-million copies monthly. The AIP is the most active and largest umbrella body in the sector.

In 2006 the AIP had 110 members; it now has more than 250, according to executive director Louise Vale. She describes the sector as a “moveable feast”, is astonished at its growth, does not know how many of the papers survive but says it is on a hand-to-mouth basis in most cases. Vale points to the turn out – about 130 (organisations and publications) – at the AIP’s biggest conference to date, held in September 2013 in Kempton Park, as an indication of the interest in the community media sector. Astonishment aside, the sector generates an annual profit in the region of R250m to R350m, according to the AIP, and is responsible for between 4 000 and 5 000 jobs. From a total of more than 250 publications in August 2013, 97 titles (42.9%) were published in indigenous languages.

The Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA)¹ defines community media as any media project that is owned and controlled by a community where any financial surplus generated is reinvested in the media project. “Community” means a geographically founded



Heat map by Anina Mumm

community or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest. We have used this definition together with that of the AIP’s working definition of community newspapers: publications that are independent of the “Big Four” in content, publishing and distribution. Geographically, the newspapers are spread across the country. The biggest cities – Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town – publish the most community newspapers, by and large following the commercial newspapers trend. See Appendix 5 for a full list of community newspapers which are members of the AIP and which are not connected to the corporate media houses.

The community newspapers in this heat map do not include knock-and-drops owned by corporates but

are the “real independents” as described by the AIP above. The colour code: red, the highest concentration; orange, the second-highest concentration; green, the third-highest and yellow, the least. This interactive map <http://ow.ly/szbSA> pinpoints the location of each paper and the red dots are linked to more information about the newspapers.

This chapter is an exploratory study of the community newspaper sector: first, in broad terms, we list what the challenges are; then second, we scrutinise its contribution to diversity, for instance, by looking at diversity of voices in stories and quantifying: Are they local (citizen voices emanating from the community) rather than national voices? Are the papers of this sector imitations of the mainstream papers or are they firmly rooted in their communities? We also look at race and gender diversity, and citizen participation.

The Report on Transformation of Print and Digital Media noted: “Community and small commercial publishers are key to the transformation of the print and digital media space.”² To this end, the task team³ made recommendations such as possible partnerships with major commercial media groups, where facilities could be shared, and issues of mistrust such as alleged anti-competitive behaviour could be dealt with. The report did not, however, focus on the community media sector but rather the mainstream media from the Big Four conglomerates.

CHALLENGES IN THE COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS’ SECTOR

Before getting to the findings of the SoN research project, it is worth listing some of the challenges in the sector that emerged from the AIP’s Kempton Park conference, titled: *The Future Starts now: role of the independent media in the current South African context*. Panellists and members from the floor raised the following points, in summary:

- The sector urgently needed expert knowledge about financial models for economic sustainability.
- Skills were lacking in financial management, technical systems, management, and adequate knowledge about distribution systems.
- Rampant poaching of journalists by mainstream media was taking place and hampered progress.
- Language issues, i.e., mother tongue or indigenous languages were not utilised enough. In addition, indigenous languages should be developed to

capture the nuances of issues in the contemporary world.

- Barriers to enter the sector included unfair competition from mainstream media.
- Unfair competition by big companies regarding the monopoly of distribution networks, routes and advertising market share.
- The sector needed greater funding from the MDDA, and partnerships with the mainstream commercial print companies.
- Community media needed greater support from advertisers, both commercial and government, at different levels of local, provincial and national advertising.
- Community media needed to be able to access cost-effective, original, relevant content and images, training in design skills, and on-going journalism training.
- The sector also needed access to up-to-date market research, and access to lucrative urban markets.

METHODOLOGY

Fourteen community newspapers were purposively, as opposed to randomly, chosen by SoN to represent a cross-section of geographical areas and languages. The research was conducted deploying the content analysis method using a coding technique. This constituted the quantitative component of the research. In addition, the qualitative method, using interviews with editors and journalists to understand their context, mission and problems, helped to contextualise the quantitative data. Three researchers conducted a content analysis of two copies each of 14 different titles (equalling 28 editions), times an average of about five news stories per edition, producing a total sample size of about 140 stories.

The research project took place during the month of August 2013, which coincided with Women’s Month, when awareness about gender issues including violence against women is traditionally highlighted in SA. The main areas of research into diversity included: local versus national voices in stories; local issues versus national issues; and gender and race representation.

The newspapers chosen cut across a number of languages and regions, for example, besides English, our sample contained stories in other official languages: Tshivenda, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and isiZulu and regions covered included Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Limpopo, Western Cape and Northern Cape. The

papers we focused on were small and independent. Some were given away for free and some were sold for a small cover price but the most important determinant was they were not linked to the big conglomerates in ownership or distribution networks. The majority were published every two weeks, but some published once a month and some weekly.

The list of the papers, the language in which they publish, geographic location, and publishing frequency, is as follows:

- *Zithethele*: isiXhosa and English, Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape, published fortnightly.
- *Grocott's Mail*: English, Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, published weekly.
- *Inner City Gazette*: English, Johannesburg, published fortnightly.
- *Alex Pioneer*: English, Alexandra, Johannesburg, fortnightly.
- *Kwela Xpress*: English, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, fortnightly.
- *Galaxy*: English, Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, monthly.
- *Skawara News*: isiXhosa, Cofimvaba, Eastern Cape, fortnightly.
- *Muslim Views*: English, Athlone, Cape Town, monthly.
- *KZN Community Newspaper*: isiZulu/some English, Durban, published fortnightly.
- *Ngoho News*: Tshivenda, Thohoyandou, Limpopo, fortnightly.
- *Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu*: isiZulu, Durban, fortnightly.
- *Ikamva Lase Gcuwa*: isiXhosa and English, Butterworth Eastern Cape, monthly.
- *Die Horison*: Predominantly Afrikaans, Siyanda, Northern Cape, monthly.
- *Cosmo City Chronicle*: English, Johannesburg, fortnightly.

LOCAL VOICES VERSUS NON LOCAL VOICES

Local voices quoted directly and indirectly in the newspapers' stories were categorised as all those that were not official, for example, not those of the police or municipality or political party, nationally prominent and well-known individuals and celebrity voices. In this way, we were trying to establish what kind of channel for expression a local community in South Africa has and, thus, what measure of diversity community papers bring to media in this country. (Mainstream newspapers are



Most of the voices in community papers were local

frequently accused of giving voice mainly to prominent figures and higher LSM groups in urban areas.) We physically counted "voices" that appeared in stories, partly because of doubt about what kind of local voices and local original content there is in community papers, and make tentative findings about the origin of stories.

We used a coding structure and took local to mean all those voices of people from within the community the newspaper serviced. For instance, *Galaxy* services South African Indians in Allandale, Northdale, Bombay Heights, Orient Heights, and Raisethorpe in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. We took local voices to mean those people who are a part of the community – a shop owner, housewife, hairdresser, street sweeper, community worker, a child at a local school and a church volunteer involved in feeding schemes – and not representing the authorities. Therefore, if a police officer or a mayor came from Allandale, they were not counted as local.

We defined "local content" for the purposes of this research to simply mean all the content that appeared in the newspaper, which originated from the community the newspaper served. For example, if the content came from a press release from the Sapa press agency or Cosatu or the ANC or DA national office, or if it was a story lifted from a commercial "mainstream" newspaper, it was not regarded as local content.

CONCLUSIONS: LOCAL VOICES AND LOCAL CONTENT

This count of local voices versus non-local voices across the 14 newspapers:

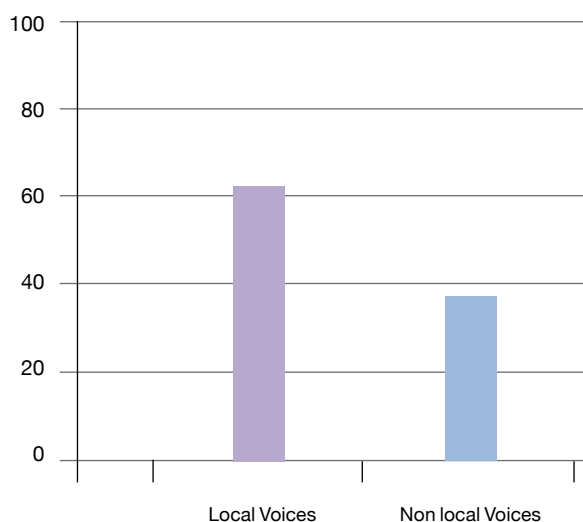
The majority of voices and content (61%) in the 14 community newspapers and more than 140 stories analysed were sourced from the community itself rather than from press releases, officialdom and prominent

figures. This suggests that the community newspaper sector is contributing to diversity of news coverage in this country and providing a voice to those perhaps marginalised from mainstream newspapers.

The majority of voices across the 14 newspapers were black and male. Women were not well represented, except at *Zithethele*, which was surprising considering the sample was done during Women's Month.

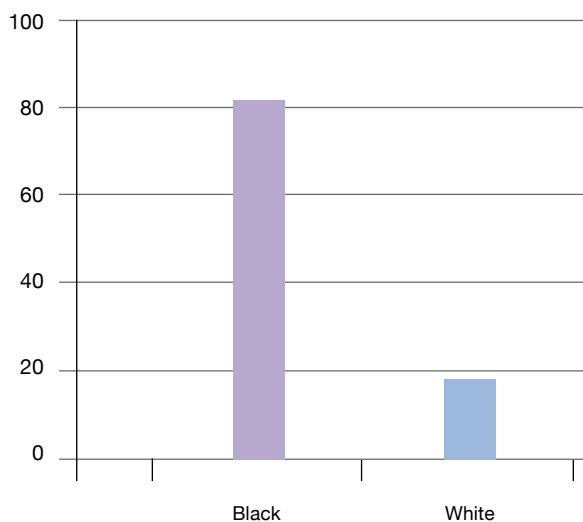
Diversity: Local Voices

	Local Voices	Non local voices
Grocott's Mail	73	9
Inner City Gazette	15	25
Galaxy	9	9
Skawara News	19	1
Ikamva Lase Gcuwa	20	13
Cosmo City Chronicle	2	11
Muslim Views	15	23
KZN Community Newspaper	3	11
Die Horison	7	8
Ngoho News	13	3
Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu	8	12
Alex Pioneer	36	1
Zithethele	29	3
Kwela Xpress	17	42
Total	266	171
Percentages	61%	39%



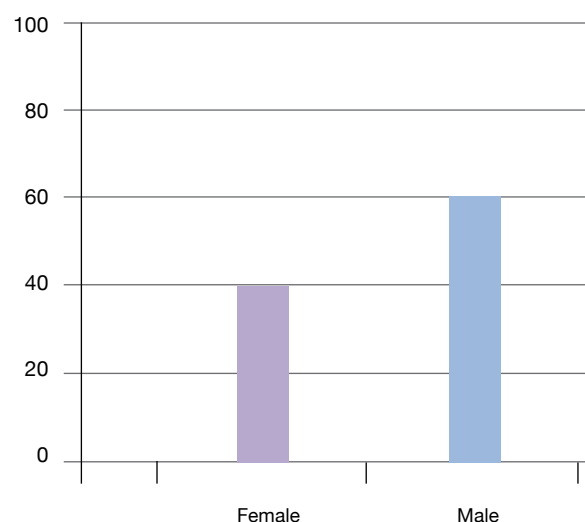
Diversity: Race

	Black	White
Grocott's Mail	45	14
Inner City Gazette	12	3
Galaxy	9	2
Skawara News	28	5
Ikamva Lase Gcuwa	30	3
Cosmo City Chronicle	9	4
Muslim Views	29	9
KZN Community Newspaper	12	2
Die Horison	10	5
Ngoho News	16	
Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu	21	0
Alex Pioneer	15	0
Zithethele	8	2
Kwela Xpress	14	12
Total	258	61
Percentage	81%	19%



Diversity: Gender

	Female	Male
Grocott's Mail	23	35
Inner City Gazette	3	12
Galaxy	5	6
Skawara News	16	17
Ikamva Lase Gcuwa	11	22
Cosmo City Chronicle	10	3
Muslim Views	17	21
KZN Community Newspaper	5	9
Die Horison	5	10
Ngoho News	7	9
Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu	4	17
Alex Pioneer	6	9
Zithethele	8	5
Kwela Xpress	8	18
Total	128	193
Percentage	40%	60%



DRILLING INTO THE INDIVIDUAL TITLES

Kwela Xpress: The Johannesburg-based fortnightly *Kwela Xpress* positions itself as the voice of choice for public transport users in trains, buses and at taxi ranks. *Kwela Xpress* differs from other community newspapers in that it covers rail commuter news throughout the country but still calls itself a “community paper” because the community, in this case, is the public transport users.

Even though black voices are in the majority in the newspaper as the consumers of public transport, white voices are also present – mainly representing the authorities. Black and male voices dominate, at about 60%.

Inner City Gazette: Produced fortnightly by Green Apple, this paper gives Johannesburg’s inner-city residents information on the big issues in their community, politics and the world. The primary target audiences are residents and the business community of the inner city. Mimicking mainstream media, it covers everything from business and entertainment to crime and national sports.

Most of the people quoted in the newspaper were not local. While local black males were quoted in some stories, female voices made up a small percentage in contrast to the fact that the editions were printed during Women’s Month.

Zithethele: An English and isiXhosa language newspaper that is distributed in the Nelson Mandela Bay area every two weeks, *Zithethele* is published by The Media Workshop, a media production and training company based in Port Elizabeth. *Zithethele*, which means “Speak your Mind”, is the brainchild of Denise Roodt. The paper was started in 2010 as a voice for the black community and a training vehicle for journalism learners. The Media Workshop is an accredited journalism training provider. *Zithethele* covers community-based news such as work done by non-governmental and community-based organisations, politics, crime and municipal news. The main thrust of its coverage is what is happening in the black townships, i.e., news.

Local voices were at 100% while the largest portion of *Zithethele*’s stories, 71%, emanate from stories originating from the townships. Twenty-nine percent was non-local content, made up mostly of press releases, some from organisation such as Vodacom, etc., where no locals were quoted. It was able to strike the elusive gender balance in its reporting and was one of the few newspapers with a majority of black women voices. Of the 13 voices counted, eight were female.

Alex Pioneer: In 2006, founding editor and publisher N’wa Hlungwani spotted a gap in the media landscape of Alexandra in Johannesburg. Hlungwani did a successful case study for a newspaper servicing the

township in 2007 and, with support from the MDDA, the *Alex Pioneer* was launched in November 2008. It covers issues such as crime, business, politics and municipality politics around service delivery. Three offshoot publications followed in 2012, namely the *Pioneer Express*, *Pioneer North* and *Pioneer Mirror*. These titles cover areas such as Lombardy East/West, Bramley, Marlboro, Ivory Park and Klipfontein View.

There were 100% black voices and they were 100% local. There were fewer female voices than those of men.

Galaxy: In 1979 Madan Ramjathan established the monthly *Galaxy* newspaper – at the time the only other newspaper in Pietermaritzburg other than the *Natal Witness*. A former teacher, Ramjathan had no formal training as a journalist but started a paper he felt could serve the Indians of Pietermaritzburg in the townships and suburbs of Northdale, Bombay Heights, Allandale, Orient Heights and Raisethorpe. Since the newspaper's launch the newsroom has been in his home. Ramjathan initially started out with a single-page newspaper that had a page of news and an advert on the back. It had a print run of 1 000 copies. Now, 33 years later, *Galaxy* has a print run of 16 000 copies of between eight and 12 pages and is distributed once a month through its own knock-and-drop operation.



Community newspapers make a significant contribution to the diversity of voices

From a sample of 18 stories, nine (50%) of the stories addressed local issues; five (28%) were national stories without a local angle, and four (22%) were international. A total of 13 (72%) of the stories were generated from the community, three (17%) of stories include advertorials on businesses within the community and health information and news.

Muslim Views: South Africa's oldest Muslim newspaper dating back to 1960, it was founded by editor Imam Abdullah Haron, an anti-apartheid activist who was killed by the South African security police in 1969. *Muslim Views* boasts a proud history of resistance in the Western Cape against the apartheid regime. Among its milestones is its survival of banning orders on no less than 21 editions of the paper prior to 1994. Farid Sayed has been the editor since 1986 and the paper has operated in Athlone in Cape Town since 1990. The newspaper employs a managing editor, sub-editor, senior writer, a pool of freelancers and columnists, and an admin and sales representative. *Muslim Views* employs specialist reporters for, among other things, sport and education coverage and has a print run of 25 000 copies of between 32 and 40 pages on a monthly basis. Distribution is outsourced and papers are delivered to mosques across the Cape Peninsula and the Boland. A limited number of copies are also distributed to cafés, supermarkets and bookshops. In Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, independent agents distribute the newspaper. There are bumper editions of the newspaper during Ramadan and other Muslim festivals, usually between 72 and 80 pages. The newspaper is written in English and serves the Muslim community of all races, mainly coloured people in the Western Cape.

From the sample of 40 stories, 22 (or 55%) out of the 40 dealt with local community issues while five stories (or 12%) were national with a local angle and 13 stories (or 33%) were international. Sayed pointed out that some of the international stories – such as Palestine/Israel conflict – are run specifically because the readers want and expect this news coverage. A total of 28 (or 70%) of 40 stories were generated from the community. A total of 21 (55%) out of the 38 voices were male.

KZN Community Newspaper: This paper was started in 1998 by Sheila Mhlongo, who felt that there was a need to give a voice to the poorer communities in Durban and surrounding communities. Initially self-financed, it was run from Mhlongo's home in Umlazi but in 2006, it moved to offices in the CBD. Mhlongo continues to oversee the day-to-day operations and the newspaper

employs three journalists, a sales representative and a secretary. Most of the articles are written in isiZulu and every fortnight, 10 000 copies are distributed (no cover price) through libraries, on street corners and at taxi ranks. Some of the core communities that benefit from the newspaper include Umlazi, Inanda, Ntuzuma and Mpumalanga townships near Durban.

Of the 20 stories analysed, 50% addressed local issues while the remaining 50% were more national stories without a local angle. A total of 11 (79%) out of the 14 voices quoted were official voices, and the remaining voices were citizens. There was often only one source of information in stories.

Only five (36%) were female voices even though the paper did cover issues relating to Women's Month prominently. One of the editions featured a page on the "Top Women in Government in KwaZulu-Natal".

Grocott's Mail: The oldest surviving independent newspaper in South Africa, *Grocott's Mail* was founded in 1870 by incorporating the *Grahamstown Journal*, which was started in 1831. It was bought by Rhodes University in 2003 and this year the weekly was integrated more closely into the university's journalism school with the newsroom becoming the training ground for students. It sells about 2 300 papers every week for a R5 cover price and must survive on advertising revenue rather than on university subsidies.

A high proportion of the voices counted – 73 out of 81 (90%) – were local while most were male and black.

Skawara News: Based in Cofimvaba in the rural Transkei of the Eastern Cape, this paper was started by Wandile Fana in 2007. *Skawara News* was originally published using a black and white risograph (a high speed digital printing system) donated by the Eastern Cape Communication Forum. In 2012, it moved to Rising Sun Printers in KwaZulu-Natal. The newspaper has a print run of 2 500 to 5 000 copies and comprises 16 pages on a weekly basis. It has a cover price of R3 and is distributed via street vendors. The street vendors receive R1.50 for every copy sold and some of them make as much as R600 per week. The newspaper is written in isiXhosa.

From the sample of 20 stories, 19 (95%) focused on local community issues while one story was national. However, the latter did have a local angle. A total of 16 (80%) of the 20 stories were sourced from the community while two stories (10%) were press releases

that were relevant to the community and the remaining two stories (10%) were advertorials.

Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu: An isiZulu-language paper based in the Umbumbulu region of KwaZulu-Natal, *Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu* is published twice a month with a distribution of 10 000. The newspaper was started in 2008 and its editorial offices is in the Durban CBD. The publication's founder and editor, Mbali Dhlomo, is also a board member of the AIP. The newspaper has two full-time staff members – Dhlomo and a news editor Nomusa Mabaso – and uses freelance writers.

A total of nine of the 21 articles analysed were local stories (43%) while issues of national interest dominated in 12 of the 21 newspaper reports (57%). Thirty-eight percent contained local voices and 12 out of the 21 reports (62%) had national or official voices.

THE OLDEST SURVIVING INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER IN SOUTH AFRICA, GROCOTT'S MAIL WAS FOUNDED IN 1870 BY INCORPORATING THE GRAHAMSTOWN JOURNAL, WHICH WAS STARTED IN 1831.

Ngofo News: This is a TshiVenda-language newspaper in Limpopo and it was started in 2008 with offices in Thohoyandou. It publishes twice a month, with a circulation of 10 000 sold for R3.50 each. The newspaper has four journalists and an editor, Phumudzo Makharamedzha. Three of the journalists are women.

All 16 articles (100%) analysed were local reports. A total of 13 of the 16 (81%) contained local voices while three of the 16 (19%) voices were those of government officials.

Die Horison: Based in Siyanda in the Upington region of the Northern Cape, this title is predominantly Afrikaans and was started in 2011 by editor John Cloete. It has a circulation of 16 000 and has three staff members. It is a 16-page monthly publication and distributed for free.

Out of 15 reports, 10 contained local content (67%) while the remaining five (33%) were national stories. Seven of the 15 (47%) contained local voices.

Ikamva Lase Gcuwa: This paper is an isiXhosa and English-language newspaper based in Butterworth in the Eastern Cape that was started in 2008 by a local entrepreneur, whose intention was to have a newspaper that would be able to advertise his businesses to the local community. He still owns the newspaper and it is distributed in the surrounding rural areas of Dutywa, Centane, Tsomo and as far as Mthatha by Caxton. The owner of the newspaper covers all of the costs, including seven staff members (two are journalists). According to editor Sivuyile Mbatha, the newspaper focuses on issues of local development, news and sport. *Ikamva* is a part of the Eastern Cape Communications Forum, which is a non-profit organisation working with 40 Eastern Cape independent community media outlets to help strengthen the sector and improve the standard of journalism skills in the region.

Of the 33 articles analysed, the study found 28 addressing local community issues (85%) and five reports were national (15%). A total of 20 of the 33 articles contained local community voices (61%) and 13 (39%) were government figures. A total of 73% of the voices and stories were local.

Cosmo City Chronicle: Started in 2008 by Nsabasi Publishing, this paper focuses on the Cosmo City region in Johannesburg, reaching nearby areas such as North Riding, Kya Sands and Diepsloot. It distributes 10 000 free copies twice a month and is eight pages. Maxwell Dube – the newspaper's business director who also acts as the editor – said the target market is business owners in the region.

Out of 13 articles analysed, 11 (85%) contained national or official voices. Two voices (15%) captured in the sampled reports were local.

INTERESTINGLY, USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA TO ENGAGE WITH READERS WAS CLEARLY INCREASING DESPITE A LACK OF TECHNOLOGY RESOURCES AND STAFF MEMBERS WHO CAN TIME OUT OF THE NEWS CYCLE TO MANAGE SOCIAL NETWORKS.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

All the newspapers asserted that citizens participated in generating news, in feeding news to their papers, and giving feedback to editors. Both editors and journalists said that the issues covered in their newspapers were local issues that directly affected their communities. The data analysis showed that most times this was the case, but sometimes it was not.

The interviews – done in 2013 (note: some of the details below, especially regarding the papers' use of social media may have changed) – exude a sense of idealism from editors on this score. Not one said that he or she felt that more engagement with citizens was needed.

Interestingly, use of social media to engage with readers was clearly increasing despite a lack of technology resources and staff members who can time out of the news cycle to manage social networks.

The *Kwela Xpress* gets feedback via letters to the editor, email, its Facebook page and other social platforms, and engagement with the public is quite strong. *Kwela Xpress* journalist Vusi Nzapheza said he got story tip-offs from people who called the newspaper and he also responded to media invitations to attend press conferences and/or events. He said the newspaper did not have a policy on diversity of sources but it subscribed to the credo that a newspaper should be a platform for as many views as possible.

Grocott's Mail's editor Steven Lang – who has since left the paper – said: "We attempt to be fair and make an effort to be as balanced as possible when reporting on the town (Grahamstown)." There was a high level of citizen participation, he said, enabled through social-media platforms and by sending text messages to discuss issues that affected the town.

Zithethele reporter Vuyokazi Nkanjeni said she sourced most of her story ideas from conversations while travelling to and from work in taxis.

At *Galaxy*, journalist Clinton Pillay said that while the newspaper was fed with news from the community, it also got press releases and pictures from various organisations. In addition, *Galaxy* interviewed small business leaders who have contributed to the community for many years. Pillay who did different jobs at the newspaper, from reporter to sub-editor, said: "I am not a trained journalist and don't have much experience as a writer. I often rewrite press releases and short stories so that they read nicely for the newspaper.

We don't receive any official training because we don't have the necessary budgets to do so."

Muslim Views editor Farid Sayed said that there was "high engagement with the public" at his paper as citizens wrote stories, which were often published. They also sent letters to the editor and posted comments on *Muslim Views*' Facebook page.

Ikamva Lase Gcuwa had an unusual citizen-journalism feature on its Page 8 called "Municipality Overview", in which members of the community were asked to give views on performance of their ward councilors in the light of poor government service delivery.

Skawara News editor Odwa Mbalo said that courts, council meetings, community meetings, public and private events, churches and even funerals were excellent places to generate stories. In addition, government workers, police, street vendors, shop owners and the general public fed news tips on a daily basis to the newspaper. "Skawara News promotes citizen participation and invites all readers to join the digital age, report their issues via social media and to also visit their offices and chat to a journalist who can possibly assist them," Mbalo said.

Ngoho News's editorial staff said they encouraged interaction with the newspaper through the paper's website and Facebook page while the names, pictures and phone numbers of the journalists were printed in the newspaper.

By contrast, *Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu* did not run letters from its readers, had no website or social network platforms like Facebook or Twitter. However, the office landline and email address was on the front page of the newspaper.

Cosmo City Chronicle did have a website but also did not run letters and did not use social media to engage with readers.

DIFFICULTIES AND STRUGGLES

The majority of editors and journalists cited the following as major obstacles: financial constraints; low pay; the doubling up of roles such as publisher, editor and sub-editor, and in some cases distributor too; delivery issues and competition with the big commercial press; losing good journalists to the mainstream media; and lack of resources such as basics like transport and computers.



Community papers suffer from sustainability issues

Kwela Xpress's Nzapheza said the paper really struggled with a lack of resources and had to turn away some stories because reporters did not have the transport to get there.

KZN Community Newspaper's Mhlongo said one of the major challenges was businesses' reluctance to advertise in the smaller community newspaper and highlighted lack of resources such as computers, cameras and vehicles for journalists. The reporters at the paper used public transport to cover stories.

Muslim Views's Sayed said he could not employ any more journalists because of financial constraints and also complained about limited access to corporate and government advertising: "We generate enough advertising to break even," he said. "There are two bumper editions per annum which make up for the months when revenue falls below the break-even margin."

Skawara News also highlighted transport as an issue for reporters. Because many journalists don't own their own vehicles, they have to walk or use taxis to get around. Fana said competing with the major newspapers for government advertising was very difficult and that there was a tendency among officials to close all the advertising doors of local government if they were not happy with what the paper was writing about.

Intuthuko yase Mbumbulu's Dhlomo said there was a downside to getting MDDA funding, which comes through quarterly but is sometimes delayed. "The big challenge at times has been printing on time because funds from the MDDA are sometimes not sustainable... We have a cordial relationship with local government. Generally, the newspaper has good relations with the office of the Premier in KwaZulu-Natal in matters, including issues of getting government advertising spend for the newspaper."

Ngoho News's Makhamedzha said skills was a major issue, and believed that regular training would improve the standard of journalism in the newsroom and enhance reporters' understanding of their role as community journalists.

In terms of dealing with local government, Makhamedzha felt that some officials viewed *Ngoho News* as "anti-African National Congress". He added: "The government figures think you are against them when you ask questions, and at times you get taken off the e-mailing list and do not get invited to some events. But we are journalists. The good thing is that there is no interference with us doing our duties, and this does not lead to us being intimidated in our editorial content."

Die Horison's Cloete was also concerned about the quality of journalism. "There are poorly written reports and mistakes in copy. I welcome assistance and ideas that will help make the publication look better."

Ikamva Lase Gcuwa's Mbatha said intimidation of journalists from authority figures was a problem, with one of the paper's reporters being threatened by a police station commander after an article about the poor treatment of people filing reports at the station. "But we were merely doing our job," Mbatha said. "That particular case has died down, but it's one of many when we have to deal with government figures, which think that we are against them when we ask critical questions concerning people's grievances." Reporter Zusuke Mtirara noted the challenges of being a female journalist. In 2013, for instance, she tried to cover a meeting about the high rate of initiate deaths. "Because I'm a female, and this is a male traditional issue, I was asked to excuse myself and not be present when the matter was being discussed at the gathering. There are other situations where some male figures, for instance, local chiefs may not respect you or want to discuss certain issues with you simply because you are female."

KEY TRENDS

- * The majority of voices and content in community newspapers was local, both over 60%.
- * The community newspapers are spread throughout the country but follow the commercial newspapers' trend of being concentrated in the big cities.
- * Community newspapers appear to be making a significant contribution to diversity of SA news coverage in terms of content, plurality of voices, and serving their communities' interests.
- * The main motivation for being involved in a community newspaper appears to be idealism (to make South Africa a better place, to give people access to information, to inform and serve the public, to be independent) rather than to make a profit, even though many cited that this would indeed be most welcome.
- * Most of newspapers said they wished they could make money, could do with more staff members while one or two of them said they were doing "fine".
- * Local voices and local content: of the 14 newspapers and more than 140 stories analysed, the majority (61%) were sourced from the community itself rather than from press releases, officialdom and prominent figures.
- * Regarding race and gender, male voices were the loudest, or the most prominent, at 58%. Black voices were in the majority, 77%, reflecting that the majority of the newspapers were based in traditionally black areas.
- * *Die Horison* in the Northern Cape seemed to be the only community newspaper that served three different race groups – coloured, white and black. Most served one particular race group.
- * A surprise finding considering it was Women's Month: there was no distinct focus on the main issue of the month, i.e., violence against women and children nor were women's voices in the majority.
- * Another surprise finding, given the lack of technological resources, was that most of the titles engaged citizens through social networks such as Facebook. The majority of newspapers were assertive about the importance of citizen participation and readers' engagement in news and what goes into the pages of the newspapers.
- * The size of the newsroom operations varied from, in many cases, a two-person operation (doubling up functions of publisher/editor, news editor/journalist, ad seller and distributor) to, in some cases, about 10 staff members. Print runs varied considerably – from a few hundred to 100 000.

- * Most were operating on thin financial resources and struggling with low pay and poor equipment, transportation issues and a lack of advertising revenue.
- * Some asserted their independence from political parties and were wary of interference that could come from too close a relationship with parties while a few deliberately steered clear away from politics or controversial stories.

NOTES

- 1 The Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) was set up by an Act of Parliament in 2002, to create an enabling environment for media to develop, to encourage diversity of content and media, and to develop and support community media efforts.
- 2 The Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (2013) Report on the Transformation of Print and Digital Media, September. Publisher: Print and Digital Media South Africa. Auckland Park, Johannesburg.
- 3 Print and Digital Media SA set up the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) in September 2012 to investigate transformation of the print media.

06 COMMUNITY RADIO: Power Plays and Pressures

By Jayshree Pather

A CENTRAL TENET OF COMMUNITY RADIO IS THAT OF COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL. The Windhoek Declaration of 2001 defines it in these terms: “Community broadcasting is broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit.”

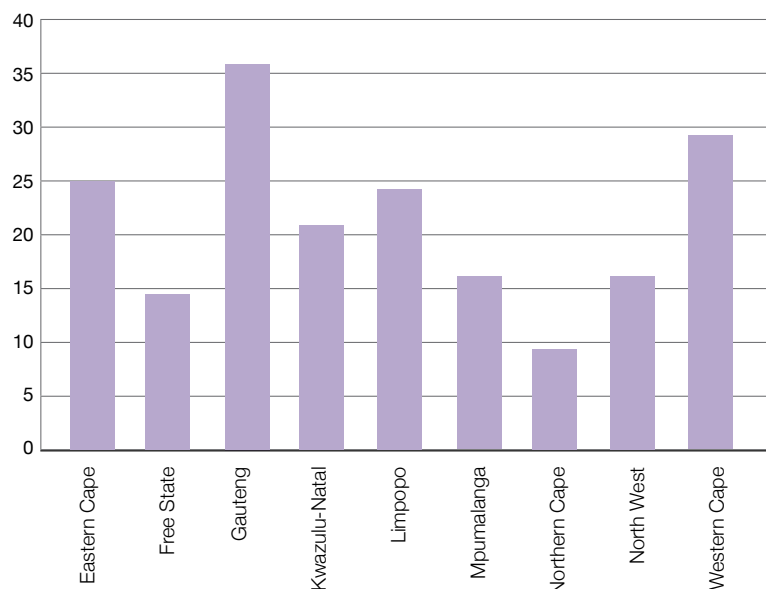
The sector has grown in leaps and bounds in SA but an ongoing challenge has been how to give effect to the notion of community ownership and control. Community radio stations are sometimes far from harmonious places, and subject to intense contestation. This chapter will investigate some of the conflicts, pressures and power play that community radio stations have experienced.

A FRAMEWORK FOR GROWTH

Community radio in South Africa has grown significantly over the past nineteen years. Recent South African Audience Research Foundation (Saarf) figures¹ show that 8.3-million people listen to a community station and there are 204 stations distributed among the provinces as follows: Eastern Cape (27), Free State (15), Gauteng (39), Kwazulu-Natal (23), Limpopo (25), Mpumalanga (18), Northern Cape (10), North West (17), and Western Cape (30).

The new broadcasting dispensation made specific space for community radio, and a legal and regulatory framework as well as considerable state support, and established community service at the heart of the sector’s purpose.

Number of community radio stations by province



The Electronic Communications Act of 2005 (which replaced the 1999 Broadcasting Act) defines community broadcasting as servicing a particular community, which it defines as including “a geographically founded community or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest”. The Act also requires community radio to be fully controlled by a non-profit entity, carried out for non-profit purposes, and to encourage members of the community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes.

In addition, an application to the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) for licences requires that a working group be set up to collect signatures in support of setting up a community station from community members (and thus demonstrate support for the establishment of a station) and facilitate the democratic election of board members.

The rules governing community radio (be it a trust, a Section 21 not-for-profit company or an association) requires community stations to be controlled by a board that represents the community and is elected at annual general meetings. Annual meetings are also an opportunity for the station to account to the community.

NOTIONS OF COMMUNITY

All these measures rely on an understanding of “community” as cohesive and homogeneous. In reality, however, any community spans a range of class, language, cultural, religious, political identities, interests and views. Seeing communities as homogenous hides the contestation and power play that often exists, which can undermine the independence of a station. As Adjunct Professor of Journalism and director of the Wits Radio Academy, Franz Krüger, points out in “News broadcasting on South African community radio: in search of new spheres” (Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies in 2011): “The difficulty with the term ‘community media’ arises from the vagueness of the notion of community, which tends to idealise the underprivileged groups to which it is most often applied and glosses over internal complexities.”

Many community radio stations are one of the few places for employment and training – especially for the youth – in their areas, and are an important source of money, influence and power. Understanding communities as sites of struggle over access to resources, influence, status and voice is crucial.

Very little is known about the range and forms of improper or undue pressure, conflict and interests that community radio faces or that exists around stations. This study aims to extend our understanding of the types of pressures exerted on community stations.

Case studies of three radio stations will be presented, in order to provide a textured, descriptive depiction of these issues. The case studies were chosen on the basis that the stations operate in widely different environments: Alfred Nzo Community Radio is based in Mount Ayliff, a rural area in the Eastern Cape with a limited economic base; Karabo FM is located in Zamdela Township in the industrial town of Sasolburg in the Free State; and Thetha FM serves Orange Farm, a sprawling informal township close to Johannesburg in Gauteng.

In each case, we attempt to identify who the important or powerful individuals or groups in the community are and how they pressure or otherwise interact with the station. We will attempt to differentiate between legitimate and illegitimate pressure, and show how the station responds to these forces; what techniques and strategies are employed in response, and identify the factors that make a station vulnerable to pressure.

In-depth interviews were held with groups at each of the participating stations². Group interviews offered the opportunity for respondents to engage with each other as well as the researcher. The information is, therefore, based on the views of people linked to the stations: it has not been tested but offers an insight into views and perceptions at the stations.

The study hopes to deepen understanding of a sector that has become an important part of the media landscape. These stations have enormous potential to contribute to the communities they serve but what emerges is how difficult and complex local conflicts and pressures can be. If they are to fulfil this potential, these realities need to be understood.

EMERGING THEMES

Important or Powerful Players and Interests that have an Impact on the Stations

In all three case studies, **politicians** emerged as important and powerful actors in the community. However, the forms of pressure they applied and their motivations are quite varied.

In the case of Alfred Nzo community radio, politicians often get elected on to the board because they are the most vocal at AGMs, feel the need to 'be everywhere' and are primarily motivated by the perception that there are financial resources at the station which can be tapped.

At Thetha FM, politicians are keen to build their profile and visibility (particularly during elections) and resources flow to the station as it is part of the patronage system. Politicians use the station for visibility and profile, particularly ahead of elections, and once elected, the station (or individuals at the station) benefit from access to business opportunities including tenders and being invited to provide services for political or local government events in the area.

Where local politicians have access to **local government** structures, this adds the opportunity to use the power of patronage to pressure radio stations. In fact, many local stations are heavily dependent on support from local authorities. While, in principle, this is as it should be, the arms-length relationship needed to ensure the station's independence is often compromised.

A number of research studies³ have examined the increasing reliance on patron-client relationships in which public services and resources are offered in exchange for political and financial support. These are starting to filter down to community radio stations and need more attention.

The staff at Karabo FM lay the blame for the September 2013 arson attack on politics – 'politics got raised and the station got burned'.

Pressures from **local business** emerged very clearly in Alfred Nzo's case, where the marketing manager spent three years negotiating with owners of a local store who kept changing their demands in a manner described as aggressive. Karabo FM has experienced reluctance on the part of Sasol to advertise on the station because it has been highlighting pollution problems in the area.

Alfred Nzo has also had to deal with the complexities of **language and culture**. For example, King Madzikana kaZulu of the AmaBhaca in Mount Frere wants the station to use the isiBhaca language more often but the area is predominantly isiXhosa speaking. Traditional cultural practices like male circumcision have thrown up a range of issues for Alfred Nzo. Not only has it been difficult to find stories that appeal to the audience

THE EXAMPLE OF "OTHER POLITICS"

Stations are often wary of social movement or community struggles outside of the mainstream political players.

In 2010, Radio Zibonele attracted the ire of Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM), a shack dwellers movement that began in Durban in 2005, for running "unfair radio shows". Their unhappiness stems from the fact that a former presenter from Radio Zibonele had gone on to become Helen Zille's spokesperson after the Democratic Alliance (DA) won the local government elections in Cape Town. As spokesperson for the DA, he was then interviewed on the station where he attacked AbM and blamed them for a spate of recent violent protests – including the burning of trucks and a police car. AbM felt that he had been given unfair air time because of his connections to the station and in their statement, they made a call to all radio stations to initiate a debate with the Department of Human Settlements and Housing to interrogate their plans.

In June 2013, the Unemployment People's Movement (UPM), a social movement based in Grahamstown and one of the first groups to initiate "poo protests"⁴, felt that they had been censored by Radio Grahamstown: "Three members of the Unemployed People's Movement were invited as studio guests to discuss this matter. People were very vocal. There were lots of calls coming through. With the exception of one ANC caller who said that the Unemployed People's Movement was being used by whites to undermine the ANC, all the other callers were strongly supportive of the work that we are doing on the Extension Ten housing scandal. Suddenly the station manager barged into the studio, banged the doors, shouted at everyone and kicked the DJ and his three guests out. Callers and people listening to the programme on air could hear her shouting! The DJ who was kicked out of the studio live on air is a member of the Right2Know Campaign. It is incredible that we are being so openly prevented from discussing this important matter on a local radio station⁵."

The station manager says her response was motivated by her fear that UPM would be "inciting violence" on the station and that she had to respond immediately.

around this issue, but the station has also had to be sensitive in terms of who is allowed to discuss the issue and internally, there are differing perspectives among male and female staff.

The Alfred Nzo case study also brings up the fascinating example of the “Ama-Celebrity” group – an example of **pressure from listeners**. When the station started, listeners started calling in and naming themselves after

their favourite artists – and soon became the “Ama-Celebrity” group. The group caused quite a bit of conflict and exerted a great deal of pressure on the station, including encouraging conflict with a neighbouring community station, acting as board members and wanting the power to appoint presenters and make programming changes.

What makes stations vulnerable to external pressure? Internal dynamics are **vulnerabilities** for both Alfred Nzo and Thetha FM. Alfred Nzo has been struggling with board problems for several years and at Thetha FM, there have ongoing allegations of corruption and nepotism since 2009.

THE EXAMPLE OF RADIO 786

Influence can also be exerted in healthy ways as seen with Radio 786, a community station serving the Muslim community in Cape Town, when it came under pressure from activists Zackie Achmat (from a Muslim background) and Doron Isaacs (from a Jewish background) of Equal Education, who wrote open letters denouncing the station for “Holocaust denialism”.

In May 1998, Radio 786 interviewed Dr Yakub Zaki, who “expressed views to the effect that the Jews caused the Anglo-Boer War, conspired to steal South Africa’s resources, controlled world banks and that the ‘million plus’ Jews who perished in the Second World War had died of infectious diseases”⁶.

Achmat said in his letter: “Today, we have Radio 786, a Cape Town-based Muslim radio station defending the immorality of Holocaust denialism. In fairness, Radio 786 has after many years conceded that Holocaust denialism is wrong but claims the right to allow deniers the right to freedom of expression. Whether by omission or deliberation, Radio 786 is legitimising war crimes and crimes against humanity through free speech claims.” Isaacs’s letter included his intention to encourage others not to take part in interviews with the station. “I declined to be interviewed. I explained that this was due to the Holocaust-denial broadcast previously on Radio 786, for which no apology has been offered....I intend to maintain this position until Radio 786 has offered a full apology for the broadcast of anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial, and I intend to encourage friends and colleagues in civil society to do the same.”

Forms and Expressions of Pressure

Not all pressure is illegitimate. If stations are answerable to their communities, they must be ready to listen, and there are varying degrees of pressure – from courteous, respectful letters (as in the case of Alfred Nzo and Radio 786) to formal and informal approaches to staff. At its most extreme, the pressure ends in studio invasions and violence.

The chilling attack on Karabo FM is the starkest example of how violent pressure was exerted on the station – with the burning down of the station in September 2013. In this case, two politically connected individuals have been accused of involvement. The changing political landscape – particularly as a result of the emergence of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), frustrations over service delivery and anger at the mayor over allegations of corruption all impacted on Karabo FM. Violence has also been a feature at Thetha FM.

Pushing Back in a Productive Manner

Stations respond in a variety of ways – from giving in to pressures to appealing to other bodies to mediate and help manage the pressure. The boldest response has been from Karabo FM, which incorporated the arson attack into its new logo.

Both Alfred Nzo and Thetha FM see the value in policies and a strong sense of vision, mission and purpose. Karabo FM is working on an editorial policy, which they feel will empower the station to deal with political dynamics. Alfred Nzo wants to review its constitution so that board elections are not ward-based to enable it to attract more committed members. It always reverts to its vision statement to guide its work and interaction with politicians and business owners.

In the case of Thetha FM, the strategies undertaken by a group of staff to unravel allegations of mismanagement and fraud have not yielded positive results. The group has taken their allegations (and documentation) to the highest level, including to Icasa, and “we had a meeting at the home of the Deputy Minister of Communications”. However, the situation remains unresolved. This also points to weaknesses in capacity, resources and political will in key regulatory, monitoring and support institutions.

Both Karabo FM and Alfred Nzo emphasized the importance of community support. Even if a community cannot provide financial support, the fact that the station feels valued in its community help to keep staff going during times of difficulty.

Karabo FM underscored the value they gained from experts in the field.



Alfred Nzo community radio proudly displays its vision and mission statement

CASE STUDIES

Alfred Nzo Community Radio

On 21 November 2007, Alfred Nzo community radio went on air based in Mount Ayliff in the rural Eastern Cape with a footprint covering Mount Frere, Qumbu, Tsolo, Mthatha, Ngqeleni, Port St Johns, Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Kokstad, Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Ugie and Maclear. It has a listenership of about 279 000 listeners, according to Saarf.

The station covers the Alfred Nzo District Municipality, which consists of ten municipalities. There are a few local businesses in the town – a small Spar, an Engen garage, a furniture store, a pharmacist and a number of small businesses owned mainly by Chinese and Pakistani traders. This constitutes the economic hub of the town.

Given its large geographic footprint, the first conflict to emerge was where to locate the station. After much debate, the decision was made to base the station in Mount Ayliff as it was the most central town.

Politics

Staff at Alfred Nzo community radio were unanimous: “Politicians are the most powerful, they have the most influence and are also the most active. Second are traditional leaders.” However, in terms of political pressures on the station, one said: “What pressures?



Some of the Alfred Nzo staff enjoying a light-hearted moment

Truly, I don't think there are many. Politicians are not too involved.”

As we will see in the section on vulnerabilities, staff see politicians' involvement in the station at board level as driven primarily by self-interest rather than advancing a party political agenda or mandate.

However, the staff members are very aware that the acronym for Alfred Nzo community radio – ANCR – creates the perception that the station is “ANC radio”. The station tries to counter this perception by encouraging public participation – staff members go to

different areas and record people's views; phone-ins on different topics are encouraged; and listeners are asked on air for topics or issues for future programmes.

Language and Culture

In fact, one of the biggest pressures directed at the station has been around language and in particular, the isiBhaca language. King Madzikana kaZulu of the AmaBhaca in Mount Frere says that because the station is in his area, the isiBhaca language should play a bigger part on the station. IsiBhaca is close to Siswati and while it has strong isiZulu and isiXhosa influences, it is considered quite distinct from isiXhosa. The challenge is that the station serves an area that is predominantly isiXhosa speaking.

KaZulu has written letters to the station (in isiBhaca), and phones in to complain. He has also come into the station and shouted: "You don't know who I am. I am a king, not a chief." The staff feel that he wants acknowledgment of his status in the community.

The programme manager comes from the king's area and once or twice, kaZulu has approached him over weekends to lobby him – "to beg or convince me" about the importance of understanding the language clearly. The programme manager responds by saying: "We are working on it. It is under construction."

The station recognises that the older generation among its audience is concerned about the demise of local languages, particularly smaller ones and tries



A view of the Mount Ayliff business centre from the Alfred Nzo community radio offices.

to accommodate these language interests by playing around with words – "we try to bring in words and phrases" – but not to broadcast in the language. Another is hosting traditional programmes – staff go to deep rural areas when there are celebrations and events to interview old people about local traditions and history so that these can be preserved.

The relationship between the station and the king remains amicable and he continues to support the station. He recently donated two sheep to celebrate the station's anniversary.

Male circumcision has thrown up a range of issues for the station because the tradition is supposed to be the secret preserve of circumcised men. On the other hand, there are many safety concerns about the tradition today, making it a newsworthy topic for a community radio station. As a result, the station has had to rely on statistics and figures about the annual event, deaths and hospitalisations from the police.

In addition, because of cultural sensitivities around circumcision, only male isiXhosa presenters are allowed to cover the issue.

Internally at the station, covering and talking about circumcision on air has also raised some tensions. Many male staff members feel that they cannot talk about it. "Anyone who tries to speak or to challenge these practices is a woman and will not be allowed to participate in village activities," said one staff member.

Female staff, however, want to engage in discussion because they see behaviour change among those who have gone through circumcision. "You see a good guy whose behaviour changes. He now starts smoking, drinking and behaving disrespectfully. What is the culture that is being promoted up there? We are not raising men; we are raising wild animals."

Women staff members go on to say "brothers at the station don't entertain discussions on this topic. Since it is a democratic station, they do talk and state their side of the story but then it becomes 'this is the line'."

Strategies by the station to talk about the "negative influences" of the tradition include the use of country-wide campaigns such as the 16 Days of Activism to raise awareness of abuse: what constitutes abuse, how to report it, how to use protection orders, etc. The station also create drama shows to discuss such issues.

Other activities include the hosting of a beauty pageant to encourage young girls to be confident and make positive choices about sex and getting them to focus on studying. For Mother's Day, the station gets the community to nominate a woman in the community who is making a difference and profiles her on the station. To encourage positive relationships. Given the increasing levels of divorce in the area, on Valentine's Day the station asks people to send in stories of how to sustain relationships (with the criteria that respondents should be married for at least three years).

"The news department is not biased and the station recognises that it serves different cultures with different practices and traditions, one staff member said. The station also has staff that comes from the different cultures in the community so we try to compromise. And though it is not easy, we are not giving up."

The Power of Money

Local Government

"Funding is a huge pressure. Our main source of funding is from the municipality. Demarcation has had an impact on the financial sustainability. Kokstad, the nearest decent-sized town is in Kwazulu-Natal but it's hard to get our signal in Kokstad so they don't agree to advertising with us, even though it looks like our capital town."

In the start-up phase, the station received assistance from the Alfred Nzo municipality in the form of a studio and later, the Department of Communications provided a second studio. In the first year, the municipality also donated R114 000 a month (in exchange for air time) informally, which the station used to cover its salary bill.

However, the station soon realised that its funding situation was not sustainable due to the lack of a long-term marketing strategy and the fact that most businesses in the area did not see the need for advertising on ANCR.

"Then the devil visited us," said a staff member. The devil in this case was the ending of terms of key councilors and officials.

Before 2009, the municipal manager was aware of the partnership with the station but he was pushed out of office and the new municipal manager started questioning the relationship with Alfred Nzo. The situation was worsened by a lack of documentation – no contracts between the municipality and the station could be found.

From 2009, the new arrangement with the municipality meant that programmes were funded on the basis of formal quotations. This made 2008-2009 a very difficult year for Alfred Nzo – there was no money to pay salaries or stipends, the station was in arrears with its Sentech payments (it owed R80 000) and at one point, Sentech switched off the transmitter.

"Yet no one would go home," said one staff member. "We would get up every morning, wash and come to the station. What is keeping here is our love for radio. We really developed a love for the station during that period." Staff would share a loaf of bread and Kool-Aid and female staff members started to pray for a breakthrough for the station.

Umzimvubu Municipality was the only municipality out of ten municipalities in the station's footprint that stood by the station and this made all the difference.

Staff do acknowledge that there has sometimes been unhappiness with the station on the part of municipal officials and allegations that it is not telling the truth when it covers in-fighting in the municipality. Alfred Nzo's strategy to deal with this is to collect news through sources in different areas; sending journalists out to do research; and developing outside campaigns. Strong relationships with communications officers in the different municipalities and government departments have been nurtured and the station also checks with other community and public-radio stations for ideas for different angles on an issue.

Pressure from business

In 2008, at the height of its financial crisis, Alfred Nzo community radio started negotiations with a hardware store based in Kokstad. The store has branches in Mount Ayliff, Mount Fletcher and other areas in the station's footprint and is one of the bigger businesses in the area.

When the station first approached it for advertising, the owners demanded one hour of programming for Islam.

The marketing manager spent three years negotiating with the owners. Over this period, the demands from the owners changed: from demanding an hour's programming, they moved to demanding shares in the station and then to offering to buy the station.

The marketing manager describes the interaction as "aggressive". The station's strategy was to resist and hold fast to its mandate – foremost of which was to

serve the interests of its community, the majority of whom were Christian.

They explained the mandate of community radio, including the fact that it was owned by the community and, therefore, could not be sold.

After three years, the store provided some support to the station for a year. As a result of this, Alfred Nzo was able to purchase a bus. However, it has not pursued further advertising with the business owners.

Positive partnerships with local businesses include the organising of a soup kitchen in 2014 on social grants pay-out days with Mount Ayliff Boxer, Stop Discount Furniture and Spar after staff observed that many old people came the night before pay day and slept out in the cold.

Pressure from Listeners

When the station started, listeners started calling in and naming themselves after their favourite artists – Celine Dion, Rihanna, etc. They called themselves the “celebrities of the station” and so the “Ama-Celebrity” group was born.

“They would come to the station and have parties – taxi loads of people from different areas would converge on the station on a weekend and have a party. It used to be big – all ages ranging from 16 to 60s, male and female and from all over the area... The attraction was to see the presenters and mingle with the staff so interaction with the station was valued,” said one staff member.

STAFF FEEL THAT THERE IS A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE BOARD AND THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM HAS TO DO WITH HOW BOARDS ARE INDUCTED.

When a new community station (Inkonjane community radio) started nearby, the Ama-Celebrity group caused quite a bit of conflict between the two stations. Members of the group would send messages via social media saying: “Let us not listen to ANCR anymore, let’s listen to Inkonjane.”

As staff describe it, the Ama-Celebrity group “ended up

acting as board members. They wanted to be in power – they wanted to be informed of changes in advance so as to influence and wanted to appoint presenters.”

They also became very attached to certain programmes and presenters and would become angry if changes were made, pestering presenters on air.

The station responded in a number of ways: at first, by ignoring the group and then by engaging with them to explain why changes were needed at the station. Over time, the group started splintering and the pressure diminished.

Vulnerabilities

A key vulnerability for Alfred Nzo has been governance and board problems.

“The board has been a problem ever since we started the station. At the AGM, people around here elect people who are politically active. They come to the station and we tell them our problems (SARS, salaries) and then they run away because there are problems. The first board was okay and worked well. From the second board, problems started emerging – attendance would be low (only 3 or 5 people attending) so no meeting would take place; board members started demanding sitting allowances; some wanted to manage the station and started getting involved in employee issues. One board member wanted to be a presenter. The third board simply ran away.”

Staff feel that there is a lack of understanding about the role and function of the board and that part of the problem has to do with how boards are inducted. “Even when people are committed, they are often political heads and, therefore, won’t miss a (party) branch meeting in favour of a board meeting. And there are also costs that are incurred – attendance at board meetings means sacrificing petrol. The distance from Matatiele to Mount Ayliff means that great costs are incurred.”

The station feels that a part of the problem is structural: the election process outlined in their constitution. “Part of the problem is our method of electing. Our constitution needs to be amended to enable us to get good people who are skilled in programming, human resources, finance, etc. Currently, the clause in the constitution says the board must be elected from wards and there are 48 wards in the area. Stipends and petrol costs become a problem.”

At one stage, the board forced the station manager to pay them stipends – they told the person taking minutes to record that the station manager had seconded the proposal to pay stipends.

Another part of the problem is self-interest. “When board members come, they focus on their own mandate. Members of the community use the board because they think that there are financial benefits – stipends and allowances. Also, there is a perception that politicians have to be everywhere.”

Karabo FM

Background

Karabo FM was originally conceived of as part of a multimedia youth centre. In 2006, the Karabo Youth Movement established a magazine with start-up funding from the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) and also put in an application for a special event broadcast licence. Only two editions of the magazine were printed but in 2007, an application was made to Icasa for a four-year licence that was issued in 2008. Karabo FM went on air on 16 April 2009.

Karabo FM operates from Zamdela Township in Sasolburg in the Free State. Sasolburg, a large industrial town, together with Deneysville, Oranjeville and Viljoensdrift form the Metismaholo municipality in the Fezile Dabi district.

Political Content

For Karabo FM, the biggest pressure is political. This has taken a number of different forms including groups from political parties or factions (between six and fifteen people) coming to the station and threatening presenters. “They say we come in peace, we want to address this issue,” said one staff member. “If you want to guide them on how to raise their issues, they don’t want to hear. They insist that they want to do this and if you stop them, then you are on the side of their enemies.”

As the station manager put it: “Politics got raised and the station got burned.”

“On Saturday, 7 September 2013, two guys came in wearing balaclavas and with guns,” a staff member told SoN. “There were two guests in the studio with the presenter. The armed men took the guests to the back



The Karabo FM logo painted onto the wall of their new offices

door, tied up the security guard and came back to the studio. They asked the presenter to please switch off the mics and told him, ‘We are here to do our jobs, we are not here to hurt you.’ They then poured petrol and set the station alight.”

Staff attribute the attack to the changing political landscape, increasing unhappiness in the community about the municipality’s delivery of services and allegations of corruption involving the mayor, who was charged with arson after the attack along with the deputy ANC provincial chair of the area. The mayor was later given R5 000 bail and the court referred the matter back to the police for further investigation.

“(On) 1 January 2013... there was massive flooding in Zamdela and houses were blown away by the wind,” said a staff member. “Anger started that the municipality was not doing enough. Then the demarcation issue surfaced. The community found out that the demarcation application had been processed and finalised. The community was unhappy and angered by the lack of consultation and residents began demanding that the newly appointed mayor step down.”

The protests that erupted in Zamdela and Sasolburg left four people dead and 200 people were arrested. They were sparked by unhappiness over the decision to merge the Metsimaholo and Ngwathe municipalities. The Municipal Demarcation Board had proposed the

merger to address the Ngwathe municipality's lack of a tax base and revenue. Residents were opposed to the merger because, they said, the municipality was affected by "rampant corruption, poor service delivery, theft, nepotism and political interference"⁷ but mostly because of the lack of consultation over the proposal.

At the same time, the EFF was entering the political scene and a number of ANC members were moving to the new party. "We had a situation where some ANCYL (Youth League) members came into the station and addressed issues of the ANC leadership and municipality on air. It soon emerged (two to three months later) that they had joined EFF and their earlier on-air discussion was seen as a ploy to discredit the leadership of the ANC. As a result, Karabo FM is thought to be EFF and seen to be EFF, carrying out an EFF mandate."

The issues raised by the ANCYL members on that morning also included allegations of corruption and maladministration implicating the mayor.

The perception of Karabo FM as aligned to the EFF was enhanced when one of the presenters moved from being a member of the ANC to the EFF. Internally, he stopped informing the programme manager about his plans, e.g., plans to interview Julius Malema, leader of the EFF. Municipal leaders were also aware that he had moved to the EFF.

The Karabo FM staff feel that the Department of Communications, Icasa, the MDDA and others moved quickly after the attack to assist them and they are very appreciative of the support. One week after the attack, the Deputy Minister of Communications, Stella Ntabeni-Abrahams, held a meeting with the municipality to ensure that a new building was found for the station as soon as possible.

The station now has a new home but staff feel aggrieved because the municipality only gave them a one-year lease. Also, staff are surprised that the station has been left out of various meetings about their future. "The MDDA team went straight to the mayor's office while we were sitting at our offices waiting for them. We thought they would come to us and be sympathetic and ask questions," said a staff member.

The MDDA also suggested that the station's board step down because it felt that the board had failed to stamp its authority on the station.

In terms of how the mayor responded, the staff say he refused to go on air to clarify or discuss issues despite repeated attempts to engage with him. "His communications officer kept saying that he was not around."

In terms of responses by the community, staff feel that the absence of the station helped people to understand what an important role it played in the area. "Now they realise that when children in the area get lost, they could be brought to the station and an announcement would be made. Now they miss us and they realise the importance and value of community radio."

By the end of August 2014, Karabo FM was not yet back on air.

Response

The station's decision to change its logo and incorporate elements of the attack is bold and cheeky. The logo went from:



To:



Strategies

In terms of future strategies, the team feels that the incident made them realise that policies are needed, especially for editorial. "When Karabo FM signs off on the editorial policy we want to meet with each political party and explain our policy and how we work. We also want to tell them that we will not allow them to pressurise us. We must have documents that protect us."

“An editorial code is important. We knew the principles of journalism but we had no idea of when to apply it. We must be guided by paper.”

They also feel confident that when they go back on air, they will be stronger for the experience. “The previous station manager warned us that “elections are coming, you will see trouble. During elections so much happens that you get caught up and may miss some stuff.” In future, we will prepare for elections and have proper systems and structures. This was the first time there has been political in-fighting and lots of floor-crossing.”

The station manager also believes that it is important to develop a strong team to deal with political issues. Many people who work at the station are inexperienced and the plan is to develop a team approach to developing and preparing content and guiding presenters to deal with difficult interviews.

Staff also said the support they got from experts such as Wits Radio Academy academics was invaluable. “If it was not for Franz Krüger, we would not be here. We have worked with his team and he has carried us on his back.”

In particular, they appreciated that Wits did not spoon-feed the radio team. “We were waiting for him to help us but he let us do it ourselves. He would point out what was needed and supported us with resources. He told us we would have to work through it and think it through. We would drive to Johannesburg every Tuesday. It was not easy to read all the documents but we are glad we did. The documents are ourselves; we know them as well as we know ourselves.”

Thetha FM

Thetha FM grew out of what was initially a newspaper project started in 1997 in Orange Farm in Johannesburg. Some seed funding to start the newspaper was sourced and two editions were printed but the group soon found that it was too expensive. Discussions with Lesley Cowling at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1997 led to the idea of a community radio station. After some delays as a result of the changing broadcast landscape at the time, a licence was granted in 2003. The station's first broadcast was on 15 November 2005 and it has the second highest number of listeners in Gauteng after Jozi FM, according to Saar figures.

Orange Farm is a sprawling informal township located about 45km outside of Johannesburg and borders the Free State. Orange Farm is a relatively young township – dating to 1988 – and according to the City of Johannesburg, the municipality under which it falls, it is “the biggest and most populous informal settlement in the country, home to some 350 000 – mostly living in shacks, mostly unskilled”⁸.

Political Pressures

Former staff members told SoN there was not much political pressure on Thetha FM. They mentioned only a few incidents where groups would “invade the station and say they had the support of ANCYL and Sanco (civic movement) and the community of Orange Farm”.

In their view, these individuals are part of the political patronage system and some of the politicians in the area use the station to boost their profiles, particularly at election time in exchange for business opportunities and kick-backs.

Religious Pressures

In 2012 Thetha FM became embroiled in a battle with the Rivers of Living Waters Ministries, a big advertiser on the station, when a staff member accused two of the church's pastors of Satanism. “Cops raid Thetha FM over Satanism claims”⁹; “Radio head accused on air”¹⁰; “Pastor Mboro says his accusers expected to see Satanism”¹¹ are some of the headlines that accompanied this controversy.

At the heart of this saga was a staff member who produced a show that was broadcast on Sunday mornings that was not only popular with listeners but also generated a lot of money. “The programme was very popular and many listeners would call in claiming to have seen a person change into a snake, that at night something (like a snake) moves in the roof, or that a family member had been bitten by a snake. As staff, we tried to research and even considered whether there were chemicals in the water causing hallucinogenic reactions,” said one staff member.

The producer also claimed that he was a healer and produced a video to show how he acquired his healing powers that he would screen at the station's premises. When the station pulled this programme because of conflict it was causing in the community, the decision unleashed further anger.

Media accounts and footage on YouTube¹² show yet again how pressures on a community radio can become threatening and turn violent. According to a News24 article,¹³ “Paseka ‘Mboro’ Motsoeneng arrived with his entourage at Thetha FM’s premises at Isikhumbuzo Secondary School in Orange Farm, extension 2 for his usual radio show but found doors locked and demanded an explanation. Upon not getting answers he was infuriated and retaliated by producing a pistol, blocked the entrance with his car and declared “war” (on) staff members as he hurled insults. Acting on Motsoeneng’s instructions his bodyguards manhandled a presenter and pointed firearms at two reporters from a national newspaper threatening to confiscate their equipment.”

AS A MEDIA PLATFORM, A SOURCE OF PRESTIGE, AS WELL AS JOBS AND MONEY, COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS ARE WORTH FIGHTING OVER.

Bishop Stephen Bafana Zondo of the Rivers of the Living Waters in Evaton (part of the Thetha FM footprint) took legal action against Thetha FM for defamation with the assistance of the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI): “Pastor Zondo brought an interdict application to the high court against the community radio station, in which he alleges defamation by way of (a) broadcast made by the radio station saying he was a Satanist. The interdict sought to prohibit the radio from any further broadcasts pertaining to him. He further threatened a defamation suite of 10 Million rand, should the interdict (order) be granted.”¹⁴

Internal Pressures

Rivalry between groups has also taken centre stage at Thetha FM since 2009. A group of staff is challenging their dismissals, which they believe are a result of the role they played in exposing corruption and maladministration at the station.

They are also frustrated with what they call insufficient response from the regulator. “Our biggest problem is that officials are not sure of their responsibilities – if a licence is granted and the station does not perform, if the station does not account to the community, the licence should be revoked.”

The cited problems such as the moving of the financial

manager to programme manager and the promotion of a presenter to financial manager; a lack of management and staff meetings; nepotism; and that the station was made a trust without consultation with the community.

Unfortunately, attempts to speak to the other faction at the station were not fruitful.

These divisions have led to a situation where there are two AGMs (one held in Orange Farm and one in Sharpeville), two boards and the staff are divided. Levels of suspicion are high, and there are accusations of fraud, even involvement in a shooting. The situation remains unresolved despite appeals to the board, Icasa, the Department of Communication and the MDDA..

Findings

This study has described perceptions of staff members – existing and former – of the three community radio stations about the pressures brought to bear on them. The challenges of community radio are usually seen as a lack of money and skills but little attention is paid to local pressures such as described above.

As a media platform, a source of prestige, as well as jobs and money, community radio stations are worth fighting over. It is clear that considerable political skill is needed to manage the expectations, demands and pressures that are brought to bear on these stations. Sometimes station leadership teams successfully manage these issues; sometimes they do not.

Particularly important is the relationship between community stations and local government, where patronage can easily be used for political ends. Mechanisms to safeguard the independence of stations and ensure an arm’s-length relationship with local government are essential.

In terms of the political terrain, stations sometimes lack the confidence to navigate political dynamics and are often nervous about dealing with political parties other than the ruling party for fear of falling out of favour with the powers that be.

Outside bodies – such as the Department of Communications, MDDA and Icasa – could provide assistance, support and to act as a ‘court of appeal’ in dealing with problems.

More fundamentally, it is clear that the model and framework for community radio does not recognise

the complexity of community dynamics. The law and regulations assume that communities are homogenous and that community spaces are neutral, and underestimates the potential for conflict. Policy makers and practitioners will need to grapple with these complexities; and while it is easy to identify these dynamics, it is not so easy to find solutions.

KEY TRENDS

- Rivalry between groups (religious, political, traditional leaders) takes different forms in communities and community stations are often caught up in these dynamics.
- Community stations are increasingly becoming part of local patronage networks and power plays at local-government level.
- Political pressures on community stations are likely to increase and intensify in light of the changing political landscape in South Africa.
- Community radio stations need more political and institutional support at all levels to safeguard their independence.
- The model for community radio needs to strike a balance between the need for social cohesion and nation-building and recognising the lack of homogeneity in communities. This means a greater acknowledgment in policy and regulations of the many cleavages that exist in South African history – both as a result of its difficult past and the challenges of dealing with ongoing socioeconomic inequalities.

NOTES

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- 1 <http://www.saarf.co.za/rams-community/2014/rams-community%20Feb%2713%20-Feb%2714.asp>
- 2 Interviews at Alfred Nzo community station were held with six staff members on 29-30 May 2014; seven former staff members from Theta FM were interviewed on 6 June 2014; and four Karabo FM staff were interviewed on 12 June 2014. Interviews at the three stations were done in groups rather than individually, hence it was difficult to attribute specific quotations to individuals.
- 3 For example, the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA) published Patronage Politics Divides Us. A study of poverty, patronage and inequality in South Africa in 2013 and Susan Booysen's The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Power.
- 4 <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/meet-the-pioneer-of-poo-protests-1.1539955#.U8YbLKg8LFI>
- 5 <http://www.polity.org.za/article/upm-statement-by-the-unemployed-peoples-movement-radio-grahamstown-station-manager-shuts-down-debate-29062013-2013-06-29>
- 6 <http://groundup.org.za/content/why-i-will-not-be-interviewed-radio-786-open-letter>
- 7 <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-01-25-00-shifting-borders-at-election-time>
- 8 http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=932&Itemid=52
- 9 <http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dailysun/2012/04/10/DJ/6/THETHA-FM.html>
- 10 <http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/radio-head-accused-on-air-1.1351598#.U8T8oKg8LFI>
- 11 <http://zimkasi.com/index-id-Gossip-zk-16465.html>
- 12 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qf9tResfjc0>
- 13 <http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Mboro-hold-radio-presenters-hostage-20120208>
- 14 <http://fxi.org.za/home/fxi-archives/law-clinic-program-archives/bafana-stephen-zondo-and-rivers-of-living-waters-ministries-vs-thetha-community-radio-station-and-others/>

07 WHERE DO JOURNALISM GRADUATES GO?

JOURNALISM SCHOOLS OR DEPARTMENTS, AT BOTH UNIVERSITIES AND TECHNIKONS, have proliferated over the past two decades. In the 1970s and 80s there was one (Rhodes Journalism School, founded in 1971); today there are thirteen.¹ There is no empirically reliable information on where journalism graduates go once they have graduated. The background questions include: Are there enough jobs for them in journalism at a time when newsrooms are shrinking and retrenchments are widespread? How long does it take to find a job? Do they go to television, radio, newspapers or digital media? Do they go into the growing public relations industry or do they become spokespersons for government and political parties? Which company employs the most journalism graduates? Do these graduates want to study further? If so, what do they want to do? These are the questions we are attempting to answer.

The department of Journalism at the University of Georgia in the United States did a similar survey in 2012, and found that one third of their graduates had no jobs after six months of graduating, and of those who had, 40% were working outside journalism.² We have contacted the public schools of journalism, both universities and technikons, and invited them to participate in a 10-question survey for their alumni so we could glean information about where journalism graduates in SA go.

While there are 13 public institutions that teach different degrees and diplomas in journalism, media studies and communications, we contacted those with a more specific focus on journalism. Eight took part and



About 60% of journalism graduates land themselves jobs in the trade itself

said that they felt this was useful research: Rhodes University, Wits University, North West University, Stellenbosch, Tshwane University of Technology, University of Johannesburg, University of Pretoria, and Cape Peninsula University of Technology. Some of these institutions agreed to participate on condition that we “didn’t compare” the institutions. They offer different courses, there are different levels of graduates, and some schools are new and some old. This condition we agreed to, given that indeed different types of training are given at technikons and universities. What all the survey participants had in common, however, was that they studied at tertiary level to be journalists.

We received 146 individual responses across eight institutions. The questions were: When, where and with what degree/diploma did you graduate? Did you have an internship after graduating? How long did it take you to find your first full paid job? What was that job (title,

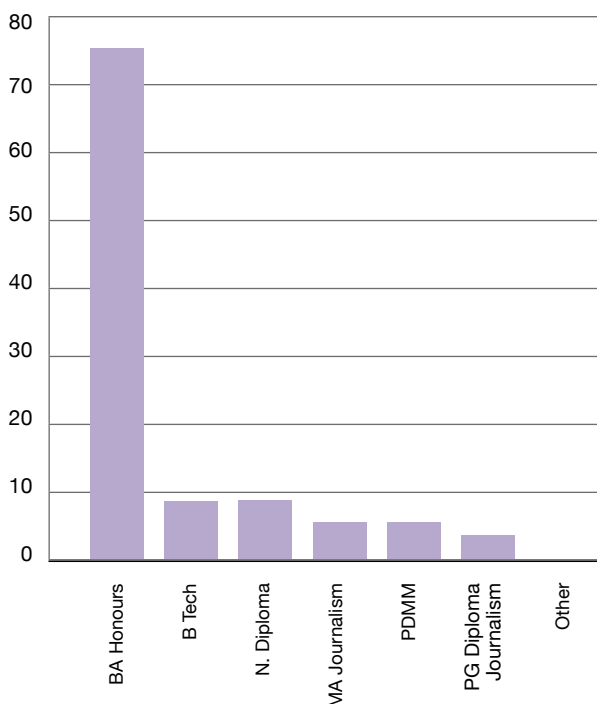
name of employer)? What job are you in now (title, name of employer)? Are you considering further studying? If so, along what lines?

This sample size is not beyond reproach but we can make tentative or suggestive findings – broad indications rather than definitive answers. To complement the quantitative research results, there is qualitative commentary. We asked lecturers at the institutions to interpret the results. In this way we gained some understanding of the context. It is worth noting that the majority of the comments from heads of departments and lecturers showed that they were not surprised by the figures. The results were in tandem with their experience by and large. However, some were taken aback that graduates took such a long time to find jobs, and some mentioned that they found it surprising that so many were in journalism jobs considering the job-shedding environment.

Which institutions do the graduates come from?

- The biggest chunk of participants in the survey come from Rhodes University followed by Wits, North West, Stellenbosch, Tshwane University of Technology, University of Johannesburg, University of Pretoria, and Cape Peninsula University of Technology.
- This does not indicate number of graduates from the various institutions but simply the number of graduates who took part in the survey.

What were their qualifications?



- The biggest proportion of participants in the survey, 76% of the sample, had a BA Honours degree. This accounted for 109 out of the 146 graduates.
- In much smaller quantities there were students with BTechs, National Diplomas, Masters in Journalism, Post-Graduate Diplomas in Media Management (PDMM), Post Graduate Diplomas in Journalism and Radio Academy qualifications.

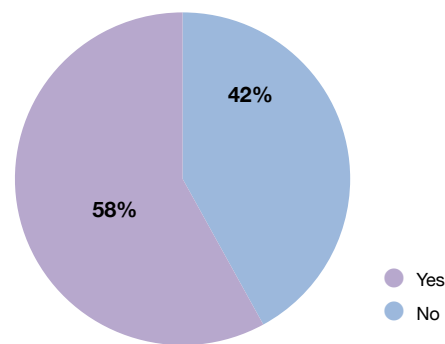
What years did they graduate?

- There was a wide range: from 1984 to 2013.
- However, the majority of participants in the survey, a total of 118, graduated between 2010 and 2013 so, as a whole, the participants can be regarded as recent ones.

Did they get internships after graduating?

- The majority of graduates, 58%, found internship opportunities after leaving their institutions but not by a large majority.
- Out of 144 who answered this question, 83 said they had found internships, and 61 did not.

Did you have an internship immediately after graduation?



Comment and analysis

Rhodes University’s Professor Anthea Garman felt that internships were a way for companies to test out graduates within a non-committal time period so that they could be considered for jobs. “If they perform well and fit into the environment then jobs sometimes or even often follow the internship. If they prove to be a bad fit then the internship can be terminated with no effects.”³

Senior lecturer at North West University’s Department of Journalism, Cornia Pretorius, said: “This could show that the news industry does create opportunities for graduates – perhaps in an effort to identify new talent. It

will be interesting to know how many of the internships become permanent appointments.”⁴

Head of Stellenbosch Journalism Department, Dr Gabriël Botma, was concerned about how some respondents might have understood the question. “As part of the course they are required to complete an internship of four weeks before they can graduate – and my question is whether they should have referred to that – or to a voluntary one after graduating?”⁵ The head of the Journalism Programme at the University of Johannesburg, Dr Ylva Rodny-Gumede, asked: “Many of our students over the years have been offered jobs where they interned so maybe these are positions that do get upgraded at some point. The question is where the 42% go?”⁶

Senior lecturer at Wits Journalism, Jo-Anne Richards, also co-ordinator of the Career Entry programme, was unphased by the number: “We try to find internships for as many of our students as possible, and we do manage for most of those who want internships. Some are not interested, since they want to travel or follow a different route.”⁷

How long after graduating till they found their first full-time jobs?

- The average time was 15 months.
- A total of 23% of the respondents got a full-time job straight after completing their studies.
- 11% said they were still interns but the survey could not ascertain how long after graduation they were interns.
- There was a small percentage that was self-employed.
- On the number of still unemployed, it is probably reflective of the fact that the majority of respondents were recent graduates, still trying to find a job.
- In addition, several internships are arranged by the institution and so finding a proper job would only become an issue afterwards.

Comment and analysis

Garman was “not really” surprised to hear about the average wait of 15 months to get a job. “The environment is very tough and I’m not surprised companies are being very careful about who they employ, as it is cumbersome to remove someone from a full-time job with benefits. What does surprise me is that smart black graduates also struggle with long periods of part employment and unemployment as I would have imagined that an

industry keen to prove its transformation credentials would be looking for them and keen to get them in (this also just from my own knowledge of my own students and some of their difficulties).” We did not survey race in this research so Garman is commenting from experiential evidence.

For Pretorius, it was unexpected that it took an average of 15 months to find a job. “I did not think it would be that long. However, does it perhaps show that internships do not lead to permanent jobs?”

The finding confirmed Botma’s own views: “... there seems to be a shocking level of exploitation of graduates, who are frequently kept on low or no-pay internships for more than a year, and even then are not guaranteed a permanent job. The general problem is the apparent lack of work in industry, of course.”

Rodny-Gumede felt that 15 months was “pretty normal” as you “need a bit of time for sending out applications and engaging with the industry before you land yourself a job”. Richards said that many of the Wits Journalism graduates went into internships, some of which last a year. “Sometimes, they get retained after the internship, but if not, I suppose it takes a while to find another job.”

Which media company employed the most journalism graduates?

- The graduates surveyed were spread across a wide variety of companies – with the top three Media24 (29 people or 20% of respondents); SABC (10 people or 7% of respondents); Primedia (6 people or 4%).
- Importantly, it must be noted, that the second biggest category after Media24 is “unemployed” – 12 people or 8% of respondents – which does not suggest an optimistic situation for employment overall.

Comment and analysis

Garman analysed the situation thus: “I’m aware that each educational institution has particular kinds of relationships with companies and places looking for graduates so I think these patterns play out again and again.”

She added that you would probably find a distinct pattern in whom the companies approach for their new intakes. “Also those that do put in place internships or training courses are in a better position to control who

knocks on their doors looking for work and experience,” she said. For her, it was not in the least bit unexpected that the second single biggest category fell into the unemployed bracket. “... Not surprising when you tally up just how many jobs the big companies have slashed over the years. If the actual number of journalism jobs in this country has been cut again and again in the last 20 years then it’s actually surprising that numbers of graduates find employment at all in the big established media houses.”

According to Professor Johannes Froneman, head of journalism at North West University, it was obvious why Media24 turned up as the Number One employer: “Because it’s the largest media group.”⁸

Pretorius agreed: “No surprise there.”

Botma felt that there was not much to read into this finding: “It is to be expected that the bigger companies and more prominent titles will draw graduates ... both the industry and the career trajectories of young journalists are so fluid that I will not read too much into this finding.” Regarding the fact that the second biggest category is “unemployed”, Botma commented: “It is common knowledge that the industry is struggling.” Richards said the finding surprised her, given her experience with her career entry intakes: “We don’t have huge classes. We take roughly twenty a year and I haven’t heard of any past graduates struggling to find jobs long-term.”

Current employer

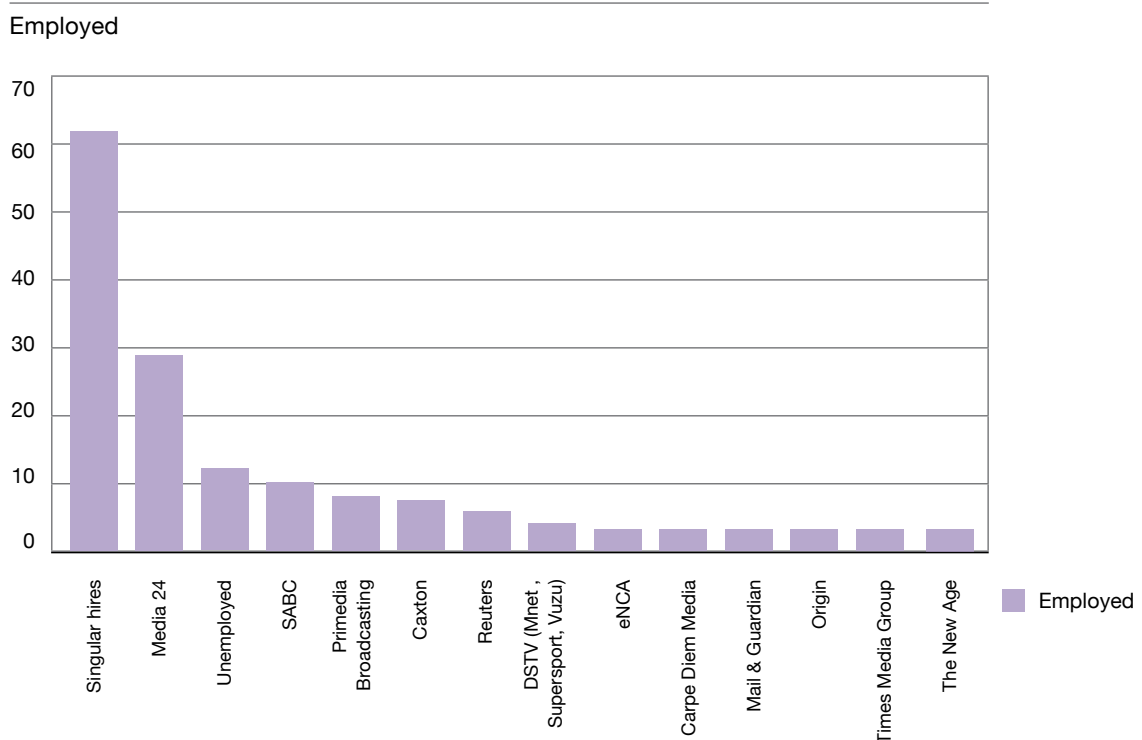
There was a disparate and varied list of employers. However, the biggest single chunk of alumni respondents were employed by Media24, particularly *Beeld*, *Die Burger*, *Volksblad*, *You*, *Huisgenoot*, and *Drum*. The SABC, Caxton and Primedia followed Media24.

Comment and analysis

Once again, Pretorius, Froneman and Botma all felt it was not unexpected that Media24 was the biggest employer. Rodny-Gumede found the results “Interesting”. Media24, she suspected, took many journalism students because their “media ventures span a wide variety of fields... I am surprised about the SABC however,” she said

Current job position

- Most – 60% – of the respondents had jobs in journalism.
- Those not employed in journalism ranged from “beauty consultant” and “secretary” to “strategic planner” and even a “netball coach”.
- A total of 32 out of 146 called themselves “journalists”. However, if you add “content producer” (16), “freelancers” (15), “editors” and “deputy editors” (13), “photo editors” (2), “sub editors” (2), “copy editor” (1), “photojournalist” (1) and “bureau chief” (1), this brings the number of journalist/





The majority of journalism graduates want to study further.

editorial jobs to 88 out of the 146 participants in the survey, about 60%.

- Significantly for this study, the majority of the survey participants landed themselves journalism jobs, but by not a large majority. 40% were in jobs unrelated to journalism.

Comment and analysis

Garman interpreted the results to show a commitment to the profession. She was surprised to find that the majority of journalism graduates had journalism jobs. “A majority in and related to journalism work is surprising! I would think that in this job climate many would be forced to rely on other talents to get employment. The freelance situation is very tough and it’s also surprising

that they take that option too. This says something about commitment to the profession!”

Garman added: “It’s also that at this stage of life, graduates are mobile and making choices about relationships (both partners and families) and I think they seize on work when and where they find it, conscious that this is not forever.”

Froneman said that all the respondents had undergraduate degrees, which might well open up other employment opportunities, particularly in the corporate communications field. Therefore moving into related fields such as corporate communications was “not particularly problematic” for him.

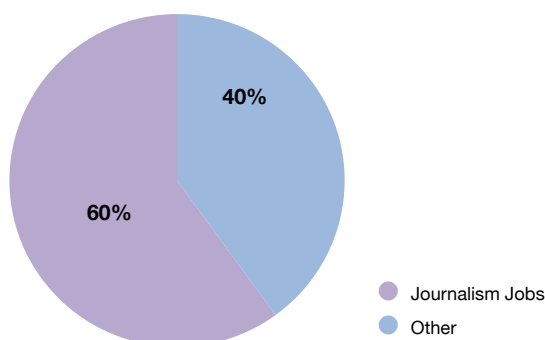
Pretorius wondered if it was a case of graduates not being able to find jobs or because they chose something else. She asked: “How many permanent journalist jobs are in South Africa, what is the attrition rate? I think the study shows we could focus more sharply on news organisations’ needs and see if we are producing enough (and obviously the right type) of student.”

Pretorius would like to interrogate respondents’ reasons for not choosing journalism. “Some students realise while they are still studying that journalism is not what they want to do,” she observed.

Botma’s view on the result that 40% of journalism graduates were “somewhere else” other than journalism was pragmatic: “It has been our experience over decades that many graduates leave journalism.” As an aside: “I heard long ago that for some people journalism is what you do while you wait for your true calling...”

Rodny-Gumede felt it was “a reflection of the industry itself, it is also an indication that journalism training is desirable for other fields of the media sector”.

Current employment

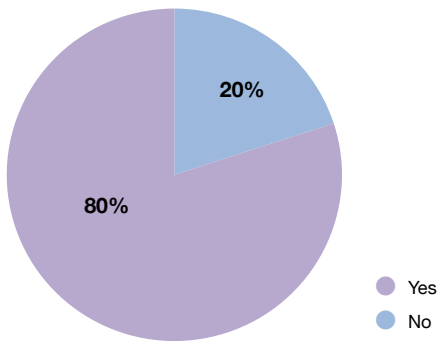


Richards said that her department only accepted those who specifically want to become journalists. “Of course, not all of them do end up in journalism and, clearly, I haven’t kept track of all of them, but most of those I have contact with (who are not journalists) seem to have ended up in fields that are related in some way to journalism, or use some of those skills.”

Considering studying further?

- 80% of those who participated in the survey said they were interested in further study.

Considering studying further?



Comment and analysis

Garman’s view was that the high percentage of graduates wanting to study further related “to the degree creep that happens when employers decide only to employ people with degrees, then when there are too many people with undergraduate degrees, the way to distinguish oneself in relationship to all the other job-seekers is to have an MA”.

What do you want to study?

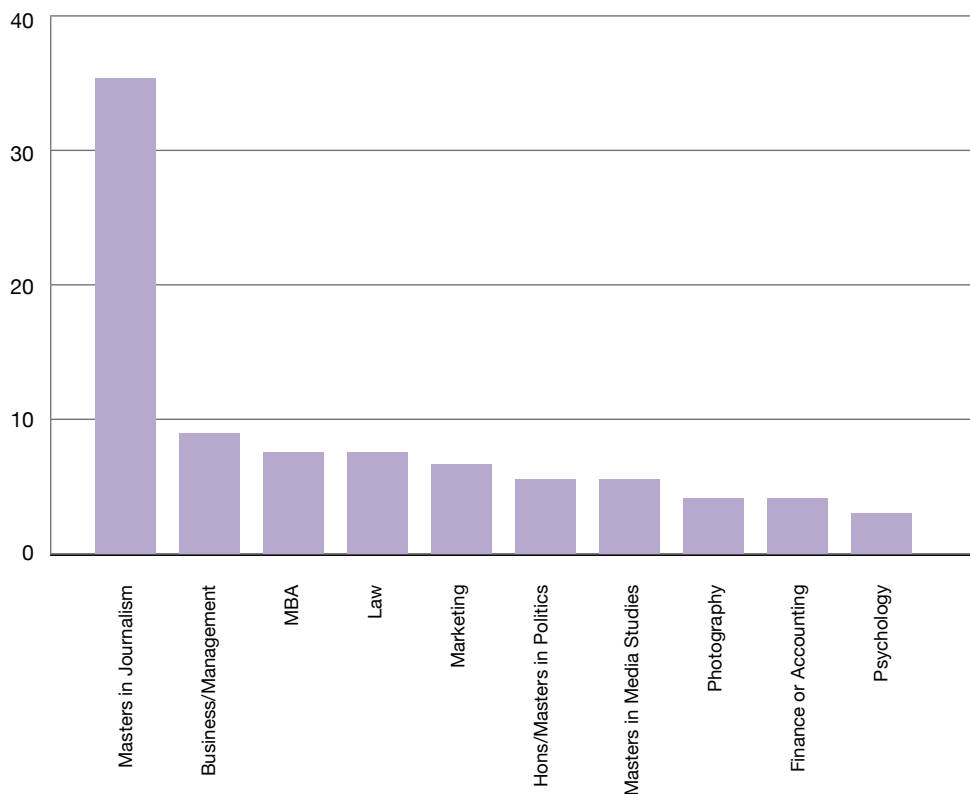
- Most wanted to do an MA in journalism.
- This was followed by, in this order of priority: business management, MBA, law, marketing, Honours and Masters in politics, MA in media studies, finance or accounting, psychology and creative writing.

Comment and analysis

Garman provided this backstory to the desire to do MAs: “The universities drive this cycle by offering attractive MA degrees (specialising in health, investigative journalism etc.) aimed at mid-career journalists, so it’s possible that some of these graduates are looking into the future and seeing a moment when up skilling for themselves is a definite possibility and value in their career trajectory.”

Froneman questioned why so many graduates wanted to study journalism further? “It will not further your career in journalism. And everyone cannot become a J lecturer. On the other hand, it’s fantastic that many are somehow idealistic about journalism.”

What do you want to study?



Pretorius felt that the benefits of doing an MA for working journalists are “minimal”. “If they do an MA to change careers (enter academia) it makes sense. Sure, some people like studying, but once again, I am curious to know why they want to study further.”

Botma felt that the high numbers wanting to do MAs in journalism could indicate that they felt it would help them to get a job at a university.

For Rodney-Gumede it was “great” that so many desired MAs in journalism but “unfortunately, we do not see their applications. I think financial and time constraints hamper these ambitions.”

However, senior lecturer and co-ordinator of the MA programme at Wits Journalism, Lesley Cowling, experiences the opposite. She processes an increasing number of MA applications.

“Increasing numbers of our own Honours graduates are applying to do the Masters. A few Masters graduates also seem to be considering a PhD.”⁹

She said she found this “quite surprising” as most of these graduates are mid-career, and do not need a qualification for promotion or job security.

In some cases, she pointed out – as in global NGOs and government departments, where a number of journalists have gone – a Masters degree might result in an increase in earnings but there is no requirement for them to acquire these degrees. The interest, Cowling believes, seems to stem “from personal motivation for self-improvement, or a feeling that they need to acquire specialised skills, or a desire for a change”. In addition, the practice of many media organisations is to pay for their employees’ studies so this is an important factor in people deciding to do higher degrees, she observed.

“I think the MA in Journalism is first choice for working journalists as it appears to speak to and take on board their own experience, and allows a mid-career injection of new ideas and thinking,” she said.

KEY TRENDS

- The most important finding is that most of the journalism graduates surveyed, albeit by a narrow majority, landed themselves journalism jobs.
- About 60% of the graduates were in journalism and journalism-related jobs – and most within three years of graduating. Compare this with the situation in the US painted by the research by Georgia University mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The latter found that one third of their graduates had no jobs after six months of graduating, and of those who had, 40% were working outside journalism.
- A total of 32 out of 146 called themselves “journalists” but when one includes more specific titles such “content producer”, “freelancer”, “editor” and “deputy editor”, the number rose to 88 out of the 146 participants in the survey, about 60%.
- Only 3 respondents said they were self-employed. This low number was expected considering most of those surveyed had graduated recently.
- 40% were not in journalism and current job descriptions from this group ranged from beauty consultant to netball coach.
- The majority of respondents were BA Honours graduates.
- 58% of those surveyed were successful in acquiring internships after graduating.
- It took an average of 15 months before respondents found full-time jobs; 23% of the graduates found jobs straight away.
- They were spread across a variety of companies – with the leading employers (in terms of numbers) being Media24, SABC, Caxton, Reuters, DSTV, and eNCA. No surprises here given that these are the among the largest media companies in SA.
- However, the second biggest category after Media24 was “unemployed”, which is not an optimistic situation for employment for journalism graduates. This is clearly a sign of the times, with full-time positions in journalism being hard to find.
- The vast majority of respondents – 80% – wanted to study further.
- Most of those who wanted to study further wished to do an MA in journalism.

NOTES

- 1 Rhodes University, Wits University, North West University, Stellenbosch, Tshwane University of Technology, University of Johannesburg, University of Pretoria, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Unisa – communications, University of Cape Town film and media, University of Limpopo – communication studies, Univen – media studies (department of communication), and Zululand – communication science.
- 2 Nieman Reports (2014) www.Nieman.harvard.edu Re-writing J-Schools.
- 3 Garman, A (2014) Email interview: 10 March.
- 4 Pretorius, C (2014) Email interview: 27 February.
- 5 Botma, G (2014) Email interview: 3 March.
- 6 Rodney-Gumede (2014) Email interview: 3 March.
- 7 Richards, J (2014) Email interview: 13 March.
- 8 Froneman, J (2014) Email interview: 27 February.
- 9 Cowling, L (2014) Email interview: 12 March.

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- About e.tv: <http://etv.co.za/about-us>
- Multichoice, About Us: <http://www.multichoice.co.za/multichoice/view/multichoice/en/page44119>
- SABC, Channel Statement: <http://vcnstatic.sabc.co.za/VCMStaticProdStage/CORPORATE/SABC%20Corporate/Document/CommissioningBriefs/channelstatements.pdf>
- Support Public Broadcasting South Africa: <http://www.supportpublicbroadcasting.co.za/>
- The digital migration process: http://www.doc.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=136
- Panel Discussions and Seminars**
- Boardman, D. (2014) Future of News conference held by Wits Journalism: 21 January 2014.
- Capps, G. (2014) Panelist at a seminar held at Wits University, Senate House, after the film screening of Marikana: Miners shot down: 19 May.
- Narisetti, R. (2014) Media strategist from News Corp spoke at Wits Journalism's Future of News conference in January, in Johannesburg.
- Fana, W. (2013) 13 September.
- Froneman, J. (2014) 27 February.
- Garman, A. (2014) 10 March.
- Goldstuck, A. (2013) 22 November.
- Goodwin, S. (2014) 5 March.
- Goso, S. (2014) 29-30 May.
- Hamilton, A. (2014) 24 February.
- Hulumani, V. (2013) 8 September.
- Joseph, R. (2014) 23 February.
- Katopodis, K. (2013) 5 September, 25 November,
- Kock, E. (2014) 12 June
- Koopman, A. (2014) 27 February.
- Makhamedzha, P. (2013) 8 September.
- Mashaba, R. (2013) 27 August.
- Mathebula, M. (2014) 18 April.
- Matthewson, S. (2014) 25 February.
- Mballo, O. (2013) 18 September.
- Mbatha, L. (2014) 6 June.
- Mbatha, S. (2013) 6 September.
- Mbhele, S. (2014) 6 June.
- Mbongo, V. (2014) 12 June.
- McKinley, D. (2014) 9 March.
- Mhlongo, S. (2013) 28 August.
- Milo, D. (2014) 13 March.
- Morais, S. (2013) 6 September.
- Morais, S. (2014) 12 May.
- Moshoeshoe, K. (2014) 29-30 May
- Mtimde, L. (2013) 13 August.
- Mtirara, Z. (2013) 6 September.
- Mxakaza, M. (2014) 12 June.
- Nkanjeni, V. (2013) 27 August.
- Nyathi, S. (2013) 28 August.
- Nzapheza, V. (2013) 09 September.
- Nwamba, S. (2014) 6 June.
- Omar, Y. (2013) 09 September.
- Otter, A. (2014) 19 February.
- Pather, J. (2013) 04 August.
- Phaloane, D. (2014) 6 June.
- Phamodi, S. (2014) 7 February.
- Pillay, C. (2013) 09 September.
- Pretorius, C. (2014) 27 February.
- Pretorius, L. (2013) 29 November; (2014) 11 March.
- Ramjathan, M. (2013) 01 September.
- Retief, J. (2014) 3 February.
- Richards, J. (2014) 13 March.
- Rodny-Gumede, Y. (2014) 3 March.
- Roper, C. (2013) 4 December; (2014) 20 February and 12 March.
- Sayed, F. (2013) 04 September.
- Scholly, A. (2013) 16 September.
- Schreiner, W. (2014) 21 April.
- Skinner, K. and (2014) 7 February.
- Stent, S. (2014) 31 March.
- Tshabala, B. (2014) 12 June.
- Tshitanye, P. (2014) 6 June.
- Twala, B. (2014) 6 June.
- Tyabule, M. (2014) 29-30 May.
- Vale, L. (2013) 08 August, 20 August.
- Valentine, S. (2014) 24 February.
- Van der Velden, M. (2014) 22 January.
- Van Niekerk, S. (2013) 16 September.
- Wane, C. M. (2014) 6 June.
- Weiner, M. (2013) 4 September.

Interviews: Personal, Telephone and Email

- Abdinor, D. (2014) 3 March.
- Bateman, B. (2013) 7 September.
- Bird, W. (2014) 13 March.
- Botma, G. (2014) 3 March.
- Bramdeo, A. (2014) 20 February.
- Charalambous, S. (2014) 14 February.
- Chingamuka, S. (2013) 3 October.
- Cloete, J. (2013) 4 September.
- Cowling, L. (2014) 12 March.
- Dhlomo, M. (2013) 9 September.
- Dube, J. (2013) 10 September.
- Fairweather, A. (2014) 30 January.

APPENDIX 1

Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) of South Africa's newspaper circulation numbers for the period April-June 2014



Free Newspaper Summary April - June 2014



Publication Name	Period	Frequency	Copies Printed	Residential Individual	Residential Bulk	Non Residential Individual	Non Residential Bulk	Handouts	Institutions	Mailed	TOTAL NET DISTRIBUTION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
Alberton Record	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	38,684	26,354	10,456	0	479	0	1,126	0	38,415	38,407	38,330
Alex News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	19,904	10,088	1,757	1,892	627	1,580	3,726	0	19,670	19,727	19,750
Alex Pioneer	Apr-Jun	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	19,978	19,958
Amajuba Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	15,200	2,000	0	0	5,960	7,040	0	8	15,008	15,010	15,013
Athlone News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	56,137	52,163	0	0	3,774	0	0	59	55,996	55,996	55,996
Atlantic Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	31,550	25,785	3,335	0	2,230	0	0	59	31,409	31,409	31,409
Ballito Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	20,000	2,439	2,091	510	13,859	0	1,051	0	19,950	19,950	19,950
Barberton Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	5,500	2,650	0	1,980	0	500	140	50	5,300	5,300	5,350
Bash Lifestyle	Apr-Jun	F	10,000	0	0	0	9,800	50	0	0	9,850	9,900	New member
Bedfordview & Edenvale News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	47,197	38,056	3,737	1,878	1,639	0	1,543	0	46,853	46,822	46,761
Benoni City Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	39,598	28,076	4,564	2,216	2,045	0	1,900	0	38,801	38,796	38,797
Berea Mail	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	27,299	15,213	5,667	3,170	2,400	167	550	0	27,167	27,165	27,164
Bloemfontein Courant (formerly Krant)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	41,999	27,550	12,696	0	0	0	1,574	0	41,820	41,778	41,221
Bloemrus	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	42,886	27,802	0	0	12,209	1,100	1,357	9	42,477	42,477	42,477
Boksburg Advertiser	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	43,999	33,565	5,248	2,610	831	0	1,196	0	43,450	43,451	43,455
Bolander	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,200	24,000	0	0	6,000	0	0	60	30,060	30,060	30,060
Botswana Advertiser	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	84,997	3,686	280	0	74,402	6,211	383	0	84,962	86,781	103,811
Brakpan Herald	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	19,699	15,477	1,377	1,148	120	0	948	0	19,070	19,071	19,071
Breedersrivier Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	11,450	7,840	0	3,525	0	0	0	35	11,400	11,400	11,420
Capetowner	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	15,200	360	0	0	14,840	0	0	0	15,000	15,000	15,000
Chatsworth Rising Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	51,258	44,209	0	5,290	326	690	723	0	51,148	51,148	51,148
Chatsworth Tabloid	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	50,000	44,350	4,100	0	0	0	1,480	50	49,980	49,980	49,980
Chiwelo Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	25,100	25,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	25,000	25,000	25,000
City Buzz	Apr-Jun	Mly	11,999	0	2,195	0	6,704	0	2,721	0	11,620	11,628	New member
City Vision (Khayalitsha)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	50,694	50,453	0	0	0	0	0	0	50,453	50,453	50,453
City Vision (Langal/Gugulethu)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	49,875	49,634	0	0	0	0	0	0	49,634	49,634	49,634
Coal City News	Apr-Jun	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Non Payment	4,750	8,371
Coastal Weekly	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	29,999	24,800	0	1,885	1,774	350	1,140	0	29,949	29,948	29,949
Comaro Chronicle	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	21,297	15,114	4,899	148	325	0	506	0	20,992	20,865	20,876
Constantiaberg Bulletin	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	31,900	28,584	1,301	0	1,815	0	0	61	31,761	31,761	31,761
Corridor Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	6,000	1,570	50	0	3,880	300	0	50	5,850	5,850	5,760
Cosmo City Chronicle	Apr-Jun	F	16,000	12,500	200	0	3,100	0	0	100	15,900	15,900	15,900
Cosmos Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	15,000	13,490	0	0	1,450	0	0	0	14,940	14,940	14,950

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Cosmos News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	19,999	0	0	0	18,970	0	0	863	19,833	19,833	16,992
CXpress	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	10,000	0	0	9,900	0	0	0	0	9,900	New member	New member
Diepkloof Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,100	29,600	0	0	400	0	0	0	30,000	30,000	30,000
Dobsonville Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	32,600	32,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	32,500	32,500	32,500
Drakenstein Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,500	12,500	0	0	4,950	0	0	0	17,450	17,450	17,450
Dumelang News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	19,187	5,834	365	6,115	3,261	1,766	1,770	0	19,111	18,913	New member
Durban North Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	20,000	10,137	877	938	2,619	5,000	379	0	19,950	19,950	19,950
East Griqualand Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	14,997	0	0	0	12,397	511	2,001	9	14,918	14,913	14,918
East London Express formerly (East London Fever)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	50,000	45,970	100	0	3,000	910	0	0	49,980	49,800	42,941
Eastern Cape Today	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	42,000	0	0	0	30,018	4,423	7,236	50	41,727	41,727	41,848
Echo, The	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	20,000	0	0	0	18,800	844	280	45	19,949	19,949	19,899
Eden Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	53,500	44,232	0	0	9,078	100	0	0	53,410	53,400	38,400
Edendale Echo	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	34,988	30,280	0	311	3,915	0	402	0	34,908	34,970	34,970
Edendale Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	45,000	26,580	0	800	6,840	9,179	1,480	0	44,879	44,879	44,899
Eldorado Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,100	28,815	0	0	615	0	570	0	30,000	30,000	30,000
Ermelo Insig / Insight	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	9,000	0	0	0	6,993	0	2,000	0	8,993	8,993	New member
Ethekwini Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	41,000	37,770	1,960	0	0	0	1,200	50	40,980	40,980	40,980
Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	44,000	0	0	0	18,976	11,774	13,163	15	43,928	43,928	53,657
Express Eastern Free State (Former Express QwaQwa)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	14,900	0	0	0	4,545	8,774	1,515	0	14,834	14,833	14,834
Express Northern Cape	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,500	0	0	0	7,840	5,675	3,915	0	17,430	17,430	17,430
Eyethu Bay Watch (Formerly Baywatch)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	45,200	18,075	0	0	25,536	0	1,218	3	44,830	44,830	45,002
False Bay Echo	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,940	26,715	0	0	4,025	0	0	61	30,801	30,801	30,801
Foreign Exchange	Apr-Jun	Mtly	5,000	0	0	0	0	0	4,850	75	4,925	4,928	4,929
Founways Review	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	37,124	23,799	7,852	3,183	859	0	1,243	0	36,938	37,024	36,038
Free State Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	5,000	0	0	4,500	0	150	0	100	4,750	4,750	4,750
George Mini Ads News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	24,210	21,158	0	2,953	0	0	0	0	24,109	24,113	New member
Garristown City News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	30,499	26,197	1,817	1,717	70	0	450	0	30,251	30,249	30,249
Go & Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	37,897	33,195	0	0	3,711	0	0	0	36,906	37,435	37,442
Goldfields & NFS Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	25,000	0	0	0	10,950	2,640	11,350	0	24,940	24,940	New member
Hamanskraal News	Apr-Jun	F	10,000	1,800	2,100	1,200	700	0	4,150	0	9,950	9,950	New member
Hazyview Herald	Apr-Jun	F	3,500	0	0	0	3,280	0	100	50	3,430	3,430	3,420
Heidelberg Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	31,500	30,695	0	0	755	0	0	0	31,450	31,450	31,450
Harrie, Die	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	17,000	8,890	0	0	6,285	1,260	525	0	16,960	16,960	15,960
Highlands Panorama News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	8,999	1,250	0	60	3,598	0	4,060	0	8,968	8,968	New member
Highvelde, The	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	17,999	0	0	0	17,850	110	0	24	17,984	17,985	17,985
Highway Mail	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	54,699	37,757	8,125	6,468	1,005	907	295	0	54,557	54,556	54,559
Hillcrest Fever (formerly Forest Express)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	20,000	13,384	1,421	1,775	2,770	0	600	0	19,950	19,950	19,950
Hilltop	Apr-Jun	Mtly	19,665	11,680	3,095	3,800	895	0	145	0	19,615	19,615	19,937
Iembe Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	27,500	8,600	0	1,500	12,480	3,500	1,405	0	27,485	27,485	19,942
Intshonalanga Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,000	19,460	0	350	3,675	6,030	380	0	29,895	29,915	New member
Isolomzi Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	20,000	0	0	0	19,825	40	0	7	19,872	19,969	19,885
Issue Mangaung	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,000	0	0	6,480	0	20,700	2,670	0	29,850	29,850	29,900
Issue, Eastern Free State	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	21,999	0	0	5,304	0	14,758	1,860	0	21,922	21,920	21,904

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Jabavu Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	27,600	27,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	27,500	27,500	27,500
Johannesburg Eastern Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	17,998	13,440	2,270	1,235	160	0	526	0	17,831	17,644	17,581
Kalahari Bulletin (Formerly Kuruman Bulletin)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	28,000	11,700	0	0	11,485	3,319	1,330	0	27,834	27,832	21,973
Kempton Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	55,847	44,741	5,875	2,511	922	0	1,359	0	55,408	55,380	55,264
Kouga Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	20,000	12,904	0	0	6,995	86	0	0	19,985	19,840	19,840
Kroonmuus	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	9,000	6,492	0	0	571	1,645	210	12	8,930	8,930	8,930
Krugersdorp News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,462	26,133	2,915	25	458	0	681	0	30,212	30,310	29,813
Kwela Xpress	Apr-Jun	F	20,000	0	0	0	0	19,325	0	0	19,325	19,325	19,325
Lentzwe	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	25,299	0	0	0	13,376	125	0	0	13,501	13,501	13,503
Leseding News	Apr-Jun	2xW, Mo&Th	10,500	840	336	0	672	0	8,592	0	10,440	9,340	New member
Leseding News - Brits	Apr-Jun	2xW, Mo&Th	8,750	700	280	0	560	0	7,160	0	8,700	9,340	New member
Makhado Review	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	1,007	711	0	0	0	153	0	0	864	924	5,800
Makhulu News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Terminated	Suspended	30,816
Maitji	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	8,000	6,420	0	0	1,211	0	290	11	7,932	7,932	7,931
Manitzburg Echo	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	34,228	23,971	0	2,201	6,161	1,150	603	0	34,086	34,866	34,932
Manitzburg Fever (formerly Minor, The)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	39,997	37,283	1,011	312	780	0	411	0	39,797	39,879	39,880
Manitzburg Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,000	22,947	50	1,280	2,290	279	765	2,269	29,879	29,879	29,879
Meadowlands Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	27,600	27,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	27,500	27,500	27,500
Merobank Rising Sun	Apr-Jun	F	22,500	18,774	0	3,526	0	100	0	0	22,400	22,400	22,400
Mgosi News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	19,999	250	0	250	11,490	0	7,100	0	19,090	New member	New member
Mid South Coast Rising Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	20,175	13,425	0	1,550	5,000	100	0	0	20,075	20,075	20,075
Midrand Reporter	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Thu	28,595	18,624	3,526	2,596	2,891	0	808	0	28,445	28,468	28,520
Midvaal Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	15,787	15,065	0	0	647	0	0	27	15,739	15,540	9,055
Midweek Rekord	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	25,299	115	0	0	16,150	2,450	0	0	18,715	18,715	18,722
Migrant Voice	Apr-Jun	Mthly	49,999	0	0	20,200	27,043	0	2,556	0	49,799	New member	New member
Mossel Bay Home Ads News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	16,679	2,517	0	14,061	0	0	0	0	16,578	16,583	New member
Motherwell Sun	Apr-Jun	Mthly	20,611	20,361	0	0	0	0	0	0	20,361	20,361	20,361
Msaunduzi News	Apr-Jun	Mthly	50,000	40,447	150	180	1,300	10	7,903	0	49,990	49,990	49,990
Mthatha Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	60,000	30,000	0	0	29,900	80	0	7	59,987	59,969	59,895
My Line	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	80,000	0	0	0	0	79,800	0	0	79,800	79,800	New member
Nelspruit Post	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	16,000	8,400	0	0	2,285	4,070	929	50	15,734	15,684	15,810
Newcastle Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	14,250	0	0	0	5,420	8,340	240	1	14,001	14,000	14,005
Noordkaap	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	22,137	14,948	0	0	4,970	0	1,837	11	21,766	21,766	21,766
Noordwes Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	17,058	16,200	0	0	833	0	0	15	17,048	23,247	18,159
North Coast Courier	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	35,039	2,150	0	0	28,429	68	4,290	52	34,969	34,234	32,990
North Coast Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	22,997	12,913	0	0	5,426	3,459	1,114	0	22,912	22,917	22,419
North Eastern Tribune	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	24,752	15,884	3,295	2,153	455	0	2,805	0	24,592	24,631	24,638
North Western Bonus	Apr-Jun	F	25,298	0	0	0	3,426	19,134	1,467	0	24,027	24,039	23,850
Northolt & Melville Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	31,758	20,895	5,528	2,599	997	0	1,510	0	31,529	31,615	31,553
Northern Advertiser	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	Resigned	17,283
Northern Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Mthly	21,699	0	0	0	20,855	0	502	4	21,361	21,360	6,002
Northern Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	32,000	25,630	5,720	0	0	0	580	50	31,980	31,980	31,980
Northglen News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	27,699	16,503	4,458	5,292	830	316	170	0	27,566	27,565	27,565

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Northwest Independent	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	12,000	6,000	0	0	1,891	3,200	878	10	11,979	11,985	New member
Ons Stad	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	38,187	32,997	0	0	4,010	300	562	19	37,882	37,881	37,882
Orlando Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,100	30,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	30,000	30,000	30,000
Overport Rising Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	45,000	40,800	0	4,000	0	100	0	0	44,900	44,900	44,900
Parys Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	7,388	6,701	0	0	865	0	0	6	7,372	7,308	7,420
PE Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	90,000	89,250	497	0	0	0	0	5	89,752	97,994	89,829
PE Express Indaba	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	40,000	39,420	400	0	0	0	0	0	39,820	39,770	39,770
People s Post Athlone	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	30,427	28,865	0	875	312	0	200	0	30,252	30,252	30,252
People s Post City Edition	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	29,421	23,521	4,925	600	0	0	200	0	29,246	29,246	29,246
People s Post Claremont/Rondebosch	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	32,009	30,263	0	921	400	0	250	0	31,834	31,834	31,834
People s Post Constantia/Wynberg	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	30,244	28,319	0	1,050	300	0	400	0	30,069	30,069	30,069
People s Post False Bay	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	31,147	28,446	215	841	1,160	0	310	0	30,972	30,972	30,972
People s Post Grassy Park	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	22,013	21,134	0	209	355	0	140	0	21,838	21,838	21,838
People s Post Lansdowne	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	21,305	19,812	0	706	312	0	300	0	21,130	21,130	21,130
People s Post Mitchells Plain	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	83,837	80,000	0	800	2,160	0	380	0	83,340	83,340	83,340
People s Post Retreat	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	23,588	22,723	0	400	0	0	300	0	23,423	23,423	23,423
People s Post Woodstock	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	16,566	15,441	0	750	0	0	200	0	16,391	16,391	16,391
Phoenix Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	60,000	54,800	0	5,000	0	110	0	0	59,910	59,910	59,910
Phoenix Tabloid	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	51,500	44,860	4,993	0	0	0	1,577	50	51,480	51,480	51,480
Pimville Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	25,100	25,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	25,000	25,000	25,000
Pioneer Express	Apr-Jun	Mtly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	9,968	9,962
Pioneer Mirror	Apr-Jun	Mtly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	9,971	9,955
Pioneer North	Apr-Jun	Mtly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	9,970	9,961
Plainsman	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	87,336	77,844	0	0	9,292	0	0	64	87,200	87,200	87,200
Potokwane Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,050	0	0	0	0	30,000	0	0	30,000	30,000	30,000
Pretea Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	25,100	24,290	0	0	290	0	420	0	25,000	25,000	25,000
Public Eye	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	30,000	26,530	100	900	1,500	659	170	0	29,859	29,859	29,879
Queensburgh News	Apr-Jun	F	13,199	9,890	2,160	820	330	93	100	0	13,093	13,094	13,093
Randburg Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	60,929	34,065	14,651	3,700	6,085	0	1,962	0	60,463	60,505	60,371
Randfontein / Westonaria Herald	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	19,997	16,874	1,243	400	639	0	597	0	19,753	19,803	19,740
Rekord Central/Sentraal	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	18,550	3,855	14,225	0	200	0	111	0	18,391	18,391	22,540
Rekord Centurion	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	56,280	27,680	26,983	5	909	0	470	0	56,053	56,093	55,983
Rekord East/Dos	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	74,834	49,082	24,472	0	393	0	620	0	74,567	74,385	70,521
Rekord Mamelodi	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	20,230	19,546	0	0	100	0	350	0	19,996	19,944	20,000
Rekord Moot	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	33,130	25,852	6,785	0	53	0	190	0	32,880	32,880	32,880
Rekord North/Noord	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	37,859	24,532	11,880	0	510	0	768	0	37,690	37,738	37,838
Rekord Noweto	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	29,000	28,170	0	0	284	0	366	0	28,820	28,820	28,820
Rekord West News/Wes Nuus	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	19,157	16,288	1,957	0	104	0	598	0	18,947	18,962	19,000
Ridge Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	35,000	23,400	0	0	10,900	478	160	45	34,983	34,983	34,923
Rise n Shine - Capricorn, Mopane, Vhembe	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	5,000	0	0	0	4,975	0	0	0	4,975	New member	New member
Rise n Shine - Waterburg	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	5,000	0	0	0	4,975	0	0	0	4,975	New member	New member
Rising Sun Lenasia	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	33,000	23,761	104	8,250	0	450	360	0	32,925	33,097	32,900
Rodepoort Northsider (FormerlyNorthside Chronicle)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	29,468	17,732	8,620	1,330	674	0	887	0	29,246	29,334	28,930
Rodepoort Record	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	51,798	36,971	11,748	458	691	0	1,597	0	51,465	51,583	51,491

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Publication Name	Period	Frequency	Copies Printed	Residential Individual	Residential Bulk	Non Residential Individual	Non Residential Bulk	Handouts	Institutions	Mailed	TOTAL NET DISTRIBUTION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
Rosebank Kilamey Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	27,439	19,505	3,315	2,173	1,320	0	921	0	27,237	27,322	27,319
SA Jewish Report	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	11,471	0	0	0	10,879	0	572	0	11,451	11,449	11,462
Sandton Chronicle	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	51,632	33,517	7,109	2,908	5,972	0	1,576	0	51,082	51,016	50,502
Sasolburg Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	14,998	14,366	0	0	586	0	0	18	14,964	14,940	14,945
Secunda & Bethal Insig / Insight	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	9,000	0	0	0	7,493	0	1,500	0	8,993	8,993	New member
Sediberg Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	100,998	98,630	0	0	2,311	0	0	19	100,960	100,938	100,990
Sentinal News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	7,345	5,642	630	0	873	0	0	59	7,204	7,204	7,204
South Coast Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	34,998	0	0	0	27,232	5,046	2,554	23	34,855	34,854	34,908
South Coast Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	20,324	9,555	4,760	2,446	2,064	511	690	0	20,026	20,025	20,028
Southern Courier	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	40,098	27,958	7,159	1,531	1,309	0	1,991	0	39,948	39,723	39,790
Southern Mail	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	45,700	42,612	0	0	2,888	0	0	60	45,560	45,560	45,560
Southern Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	32,000	28,130	3,050	0	0	0	750	50	31,980	31,980	31,980
Southern Suburbs Tatler	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	48,860	41,647	3,016	0	3,997	0	0	59	48,719	48,719	48,719
Southlands Sun	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	18,099	13,748	1,874	1,248	671	176	109	0	17,826	17,825	17,829
Soweto Express	Apr-Jun	Mtly	30,000	26,100	0	0	3,400	0	0	0	29,500	29,500	29,502
Sport Elizabeth	Apr-Jun	Mtly	28,333	0	0	0	17,000	10,520	0	0	27,520	29,019	29,073
Springs Advertiser	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	26,799	20,006	3,987	1,113	500	0	478	0	26,064	26,076	26,061
Standerton Iris	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	20,000	10,400	0	0	9,450	0	0	4	19,854	19,823	19,882
Stanger Weekly	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	29,998	14,610	25	5,000	6,035	2,797	1,431	0	29,888	29,899	29,900
Stellenburger	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	18,000	0	0	0	16,600	1,200	0	11	17,811	17,850	15,900
Stellenbosch Gazette (formerly Gazette)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	16,713	16,064	0	0	622	0	0	0	16,686	17,970	17,970
Sunshine Coast Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	10,000	7,660	0	0	2,315	10	0	0	9,985	9,600	New member
Swartland Gazette (formerly Swartland Monitor)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	16,819	11,139	0	0	3,830	0	0	1,650	16,619	15,650	15,650
Tabietalk	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	60,782	50,352	3,605	0	6,625	0	0	59	60,641	60,641	60,641
Tame Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Rebranded	Rebranded	69,131
Tame Times - Kallahong	Apr-Jun	F	15,000	3,576	894	2,384	2,682	0	5,409	5	14,950	14,900	New member
Tame Times - Thokoza	Apr-Jun	F	19,000	4,531	1,134	3,024	3,452	0	6,804	5	18,900	18,900	New member
Tame Times - Vosloorus	Apr-Jun	F	21,000	5,016	1,304	3,339	3,762	0	7,524	5	20,950	21,233	New member
Tame Times - Alberton	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	33,520	9,365	6,112	4,013	1,941	0	12,041	2	33,474	33,434	New member
Tame Times - Bedfordview / Germiston	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	11,928	3,317	2,232	1,421	645	0	4,265	2	11,882	11,843	New member
Tame Times - Boksburg	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	29,978	8,421	5,381	3,587	1,770	0	10,763	2	29,924	27,488	New member
Tame Times - Johannesburg South	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	24,413	6,817	4,382	2,921	1,380	0	8,865	2	24,367	24,334	New member
Taxi Indaba	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Suspended	No submission	39,989
The Northern Sun	Apr-Jun	Mtly	21,170	20,920	0	0	0	0	0	0	20,920	20,920	20,920
The Precinct Community News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	39,999	33,185	950	0	5,371	0	135	0	39,641	39,655	33,893
The Rising Sun - North Coast	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	60,200	59,870	0	90	0	0	0	0	59,960	59,960	59,960
The Walmer Sun	Apr-Jun	Mtly	19,925	14,377	0	0	5,298	0	0	0	19,675	19,675	19,675
The Weekly Free State	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	20,000	0	0	19,950	0	0	0	0	19,950	19,950	19,950
The Weekly Gazette	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	50,000	42,215	6,585	0	0	0	1,130	50	49,980	49,980	49,980
The Weekly Northern Cape	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Discontinued	9,495	9,950
The Western Sun	Apr-Jun	Mtly	28,753	28,503	0	0	0	0	0	0	28,503	28,836	28,503
Theewaterkloof Gazette (Formerly Kontreiaus Gaz.)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	14,658	13,178	0	0	1,430	0	0	0	14,608	14,612	13,071
Times of Ladysmith	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	15,200	11,590	0	0	2,815	0	595	31	15,031	15,031	15,030

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Tygerburger Bellville	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,575	28,659	0	1,098	200	0	400	0	30,357	30,357	30,357
Tygerburger Brackenfell	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,274	16,235	275	446	0	0	100	0	17,056	17,056	17,056
Tygerburger Durbanville	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	19,764	18,583	435	384	0	0	144	0	19,546	19,546	19,546
Tygerburger Easterstevier/Blue Downs	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	28,186	27,009	0	659	0	0	300	0	27,968	27,968	27,968
Tygerburger Elsiesrivier	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	33,303	31,972	0	913	0	0	200	0	33,085	33,085	33,085
Tygerburger Goodwood	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	24,782	23,132	0	832	300	0	200	0	24,564	24,564	24,564
Tygerburger Kraaifontein	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,358	16,014	350	678	0	0	100	0	17,140	17,140	17,140
Tygerburger Kulturivier	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,860	17,250	0	292	0	0	100	0	17,642	17,642	17,642
Tygerburger Minerton	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	17,006	15,788	0	700	100	0	200	0	16,788	16,788	16,788
Tygerburger Parow	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	19,313	18,407	0	586	0	0	100	0	19,095	19,095	19,095
Tygerburger Ravensmead/Belhar	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	34,198	32,670	0	400	410	0	500	0	33,980	33,980	33,980
Tygerburger Table View	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	28,528	26,148	0	1,862	200	0	100	0	28,310	28,310	28,310
Tygerburger Bellville/Durbanville	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	38,040	34,644	1,096	0	2,100	0	0	59	37,899	37,899	37,899
Tygerburger Goodwood	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	29,930	24,440	1,200	0	4,090	0	0	59	29,789	29,789	29,789
UD News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	30,000	26,066	0	0	3,413	450	0	6	29,935	29,777	29,919
UGU Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	35,000	0	0	0	20,325	14,000	525	0	34,850	35,266	34,850
Ulundi Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	19,999	0	0	0	18,430	0	1,412	0	19,842	19,850	19,851
Umlhanga Globe	Apr-Jun	Mtly	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Discontinued	Discontinued	19,898
Umlazi Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,000	23,800	0	1,450	2,150	2,495	0	0	29,895	29,915	29,925
Umlazi Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	41,000	33,760	6,300	0	0	0	870	50	40,980	40,980	40,980
Umrigeri Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	12,000	7,300	0	0	2,665	1,639	255	0	11,859	11,859	12,241
Uppercoast Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	24,998	12,584	0	0	10,518	465	1,250	4	24,821	24,837	24,864
Uthukela Eyethu	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	15,200	4,140	0	0	6,770	4,020	70	1	15,001	15,001	15,001
Uvo Lwethu Express	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	20,000	0	0	0	19,650	255	0	7	19,912	19,970	19,846
Vanderbijlpark Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	26,054	25,234	0	0	760	0	0	17	26,011	25,937	26,128
Vereeniging Star	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Tue	17,037	16,022	0	0	918	0	0	32	16,972	16,806	24,010
Veidbrand	Apr-Jun	Mtly	4,999	0	0	500	4,388	100	0	1	4,989	4,962	4,990
Vista	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	35,000	28,070	0	0	2,505	2,027	1,612	18	34,232	34,231	38,220
Vukani	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	81,300	77,030	0	0	4,070	0	0	60	81,160	81,160	81,160
Weskus Nuus	Apr-Jun	Mtly	15,000	11,700	0	0	3,100	0	0	0	14,800	14,800	14,800
West Side Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	16,100	16,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	16,000	16,000	16,000
White River Post	Apr-Jun	F	5,000	2,570	0	0	1,850	0	282	50	4,752	4,702	4,900
Xpress Times	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	23,999	12,013	0	4,210	6,980	665	670	9	23,947	23,948	22,794
Zola Urban News	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Fr	30,100	30,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	30,000	30,000	30,000
Zululand Eyethu (formerly Eshowe Watch)	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Wed	24,600	0	0	0	22,900	0	1,267	3	24,260	24,260	24,260
Zululand Fever	Apr-Jun	Wkly, Th	39,998	16,050	0	0	14,777	7,950	1,060	5	39,842	39,855	39,879
Total			6,658,782	4,380,588	340,174	247,443	1,027,822	350,784	246,325	7,091	6,600,207	6,591,287	6,281,506

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**Local Newspaper
Summary
April - June 2014**



Sales at 50% and above														
Publication Name	Frequency	Cover Price	Subscriptions			Copy Sales	PDF Replica	Third Party Bulk	PMIE	Back Issues	Sales below 50%	TOTAL CIRCULATION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
			Individual	Business	Travel & Commercial									
African Reporter	Wkly. Fr	R 1.50 /	0	0	0	21,547	0	0	0	0	0	21,547	20,090	19,216
Bosvelders Review	Wkly. Fr	R 2.00 /	0	0	0	2,210	0	0	0	0	0	2,210	2,334	2,477
Brits Pos	Wkly. Th	R 3.00 /	2	0	0	6,198	6	0	0	0	0	6,206	6,784	5,950
Capricorn Voice	Wkly. Wed	R 1.00 /	57	0	0	5,654	0	0	0	0	0	5,711	5,975	5,198
Carletonville Herald	Wkly. Fr	R 4.10 /	1	0	0	4,899	0	0	0	0	0	4,900	5,430	5,514
Daller, Die	Wkly. Fr	R 1.50 /	0	9	0	2,037	0	0	0	0	0	2,046	1,843	1,841
Die Noordwester	Wkly. Fr	R 2.00 /	6	0	0	3,716	6	0	0	0	0	3,728	3,983	4,044
District Mail	Wkly. Th	R 6.20 /	46	0	0	9,752	0	244	32	0	0	10,074	10,367	10,472
Eikestadnuus	Wkly. Th	R 5.50 /	215	0	0	4,914	35	114	55	0	0	5,333	5,642	5,860
Estcourt and Midlands News	Wkly. Fr	R 3.70 /	44	0	0	2,219	0	0	0	0	0	2,263	2,479	2,465
Gemsbok	Wkly. Wed	R 4.00 /	76	0	0	11,092	5	0	0	0	0	11,173	11,893	11,649
George Herald (Thursday)	Wkly. Th	R 4.00 /	38	0	0	14,747	0	0	0	0	0	14,785	15,832	15,448
Graaff Reinet Advertiser	Wkly. Th	R 3.00 /	26	0	0	2,061	0	0	0	0	0	2,087	2,160	2,000
Grocoets Mail	Wkly. Fr	R 7.00 / R 5.00	248	88	0	1,684	0	0	0	0	0	2,020	2,248	1,738
Hermanus Times	Wkly. Th	R 5.10 /	66	0	0	5,798	0	0	0	0	0	5,864	6,245	6,280
Klerksdorp Rekord	Wkly. Fr	R 3.00 /	2	0	0	14,200	8	0	0	0	0	14,210	16,464	16,809
Krystna Pielt Herald	Wkly. Th	R 3.00 /	30	0	0	3,147	0	0	0	0	0	3,177	3,408	2,931
Ladysmith Gazette	Wkly. Fr	R 4.20 /	31	0	0	3,904	0	0	0	0	0	3,935	4,284	4,550
Letaba Herald	Wkly. Fr	R 3.00 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Terminated	Suspended	3,447
Limpopo Mirror	Wkly. Fr	R 3.00 /	3	0	0	8,460	0	0	0	0	0	8,463	8,042	8,929
Lowvelders, The / Laevelders, Die (Tuesday)	Wkly. Tue	R 3.50 /	20	0	0	13,954	0	0	0	0	0	13,974	14,697	13,358
Lowvelders, The / Laevelders, Die (Friday)	Wkly. Fr	R 3.50 /	20	0	0	15,408	0	0	0	0	0	15,428	15,957	15,696
Mid South Coast Mail	Wkly. Fr	R 1.00 /	2	56	0	2,103	0	0	0	0	0	2,161	2,251	2,410
Middelburg Observer, Fri	Wkly. Fr	R 3.00 /	0	13	0	17,666	0	0	0	0	0	17,679	18,930	18,374
Middelburg Observer, Tues	Wkly. Tue	R 1.50 /	0	9	0	5,194	0	0	0	0	0	5,203	5,521	5,405
Mosselbay Advertiser	Wkly. Fr	R 4.00 /	34	0	0	7,826	0	0	0	0	0	7,860	8,166	7,875
Mpumalanga News	Wkly. Th	R 1.50 /	12	0	0	8,390	0	0	0	0	0	8,402	9,208	8,675
Newcastle and District Advertiser	Wkly. Fr	R 5.40 /	7	0	0	8,426	0	0	0	0	0	8,433	9,190	9,677

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Sales at 50% and above														
Subscriptions														
Publication Name	Frequency	Cover Price	Individual	Business	Travel & Commercial	Copy Sales	PDF Replica	Third Party Bulk	PMIE	Back Issues	Sales below 50%	TOTAL CIRCULATION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
Northern Natal Courier	Wkly, Fr	R 3.70 /	10	0	0	2,983	0	0	0	0	0	2,993	3,147	3,205
Northern Review Weekend	Wkly, Fr	R 3.00 /	75	0	0	6,080	0	0	0	0	0	6,155	6,767	6,558
Oudtshoorn Courant	Wkly, Fr	R 3.00 /	20	0	0	2,234	0	0	0	0	0	2,254	2,420	2,239
Our Times	Wkly, Th	R 2.50 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Changed Publisher	Changed Publisher	1,657
Paarl Post	Wkly, Th	R 6.00 /	217	0	0	12,271	0	714	239	0	0	13,441	13,660	13,504
Palaborwa Herald	Wkly, Fr	R 2.00 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Terminated	Suspended	2,061
Potlswane Observer	Wkly, Th	R 4.00 /	0	44	0	6,270	0	20	0	0	0	6,334	6,679	6,429
Potchefstroom Herald	Wkly, Fr	R 4.40 /	112	180	0	7,574	0	138	0	0	0	8,004	8,509	8,256
Representative	Wkly, Fr	R 3.90 /	82	12	0	5,442	0	0	0	0	0	5,516	5,623	5,985
Review Midweek	Wkly, Wed	R 3.00 /	98	0	0	2,794	0	0	0	0	0	2,862	2,976	2,138
Rustenburg Herald	Wkly, Th	R 5.00 /	7	0	0	20,511	37	0	0	0	0	20,555	22,387	24,988
South Cape Forum/Suid Kaap Forum	Wkly, Th	R 3.00 /	20	0	0	3,971	0	0	0	0	0	3,991	4,095	3,770
South Coast Herald	Wkly, Fr	R 3.00 /	43	0	2,738	11,175	0	304	0	0	0	14,261	14,724	15,025
Standerton Advertiser	Wkly, Fr	R 2.00 /	2	9	0	2,826	0	0	0	0	0	2,837	3,052	3,399
Stellalander	Wkly, Wed	R 2.00 /	6	0	0	4,329	7	0	0	0	0	4,342	4,410	4,259
Strekeknus	Wkly, Fr	R 2.00 /	0	6	0	2,837	0	0	0	0	0	2,843	3,017	2,977
Talk of the Town	Wkly, Fr	R 5.00 /	17	0	0	2,002	0	0	0	0	0	2,019	2,220	2,184
Tembisan	Wkly, Th	R 0.50 /	0	0	0	9,194	0	0	0	0	0	9,194	9,288	9,514
The Courier	Wkly, Fr	R 4.00 /	10	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	915	976	1,353	1,320
The Mail	Wkly, Th	R 4.00 /	5	0	0	12,805	6	0	0	0	0	12,816	12,673	13,523
Umhloti	Wkly, Th	R 2.00 /	4	0	0	2,165	3	0	0	0	0	2,172	1,962	2,212
Vaalweekblad	Wkly, Th	R 4.40 /	272	120	0	9,176	0	38	0	0	0	9,606	11,013	10,332
Vryheid Herald	Wkly, Fr	R 3.70 /	11	0	0	2,553	0	0	0	0	0	2,564	2,886	2,885
Vrystaat	Wkly, Th	R 3.80 /	344	114	0	2,640	0	0	0	0	0	3,098	3,539	3,526
Weslander, The	Wkly, Th	R 5.50 /	13	0	0	10,665	41	100	0	0	0	10,819	11,126	10,957
Witbank News, Fri	Wkly, Fr	R 3.00 /	0	12	0	23,118	0	0	0	0	0	23,130	25,305	25,717
Worcester Standard	Wkly, Th	R 5.00 /	41	0	0	8,779	0	0	34	0	0	8,854	9,157	8,894
Zululand Observer Monday	Wkly, Mon	R 3.50 / R 182.00	9	0	0	7,463	4	60	0	0	0	7,536	8,210	8,255
Zululand Observer Weekend (Formerly Friday)	Wkly, Fr	R 3.50 / R 182.00	9	0	0	12,023	4	60	0	0	0	12,096	13,120	13,459
Total			2,363	723	2,738	401,086	162	1,792	360	0	915	410,140	432,771	437,815

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Report Date : 13 Aug, 2014

Revision : 76.0 Q2 2014



**Weekend Newspapers
Summary
April - June 2014**



Sales at 50% and above														
Publication Name	Frequency	Cover Price	Subscriptions			Copy Sales	PDF Replica	Third Party Bulk	PME	Back Issues	Sales below 50%	TOTAL CIRCULATION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
			Individual	Business	Travel & Commercial									
Beeld, Saturday	Wkly, Sat	R 8.00 /	24,950	150	500	25,997	142	1,640	29	0	0	53,408	55,260	59,944
Burger, Die Saturday	Oos Kaap											10,844	10,577	11,648
Burger, Die Saturday	Wes Kaap											60,299	63,015	62,608
Burger, Die Saturday	Wkly, Sat	R 9.90/5.00 /	26,027	459	500	43,307	186	662	0	0	0	71,141	73,588	74,256
Citizen, The (Saturday)	Wkly, Sat	R 5.50 /	1,274	260	4,000	25,809	0	1,329	0	4,229	0	36,901	35,865	37,947
City Press	Wknd	R 14.50 /	9,800	96	791	107,323	94	555	0	337	0	118,956	118,676	120,666
Ilanga Langesonto	Wknd	R 3.00 /	34	0	0	52,327	0	0	0	0	0	52,361	55,224	59,152
Independent on Saturday	Wkly, Sat	R 6.80 /	19,128	1,006	860	19,567	65	444	0	0	0	41,070	40,849	42,635
Isilezwe ngoSonto	Wkly, Sun	R 3.20 /	566	113	0	84,969	52	0	0	0	0	85,700	93,268	91,369
Isilezwe ngoMgqibelo	Wkly, Sat	R 3.20 /	432	87	0	78,938	19	0	0	0	0	79,476	80,976	79,874
Pretoria News Saturday	Wkly, Sat	R 5.70 /	1,101	321	0	6,505	44	0	0	0	1,777	9,748	10,177	10,269
Rapport	Wknd	R 16.00 / R 13.00	20,520	87	1,250	152,319	431	514	0	29	0	175,552	177,016	192,328
Saturday Dispatch	Wkly, Sat	R 4.80 / R 2.40	2,872	1,406	530	15,968	511	125	0	0	0	21,412	22,109	20,186
Saturday Mail	Wkly, Sat	N/A K3.00 /	0	2,262	112	12,658	0	0	0	0	0	15,032	New member	New member
Saturday Star, The	Wkly, Sat	R 9.00 /	9,266	1,199	6,639	46,030	342	0	0	0	7,485	70,963	72,556	75,129
Son op Sondag (formerly Sondag Son)	Wkly, Sun	R 6.00 /	4	0	0	49,758	0	0	0	0	0	49,762	50,166	54,367
Sondag	Wknd	R 11.00 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Discontinued	Discontinued	33,129
Sunday Independent, The	Wkly, Sun	R 17.50 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Resigned	34,543	35,002
Sunday Mail	Wkly, Sun	N/A K3.00 /	0	2,254	112	11,603	0	0	0	0	0	13,969	New member	New member
Sunday Monitor	Wknd	UGShs 1500.00 /	231	0	0	15,579	0	0	0	0	0	15,810	17,039	14,955
Sunday Nation	Wkly, Sun	KShs 60.00 /	300	0	0	188,537	0	0	0	0	0	188,837	190,111	237,706
Sunday Sun	Wknd	R 6.80 /	1,661	152	0	174,746	0	136	0	609	0	177,304	172,741	170,843
Sunday Times	Wknd	R 19.00 / R 8.00	89,545	25,256	37,571	237,721	645	0	0	0	0	390,738	405,458	422,869
Sunday Tribune	Wkly, Sun	R 16.00 /	35,936	363	488	28,468	128	382	0	3,155	0	68,920	68,668	73,521
Sunday Vision	Wkly, Sun	UGShs 2000.00 /	1,176	0	0	22,048	0	0	0	0	0	23,224	23,384	28,536
Sunday World	Wknd	R 8.00 /	13,421	273	5,411	87,673	34	0	0	0	0	106,812	113,757	127,659
Tlafa Jurnapil	Wkly, Sun	KShs 30.00 /	21	0	0	12,608	0	0	0	0	0	12,629	13,015	14,491
The Southern Cross	Wkly, Sun	R 7.00 /	896	128	0	8,208	0	0	0	128	0	9,360	9,427	9,849
Volksblad - Saturday	Wkly, Sat	R 6.20 /	8,406	115	297	8,629	92	0	19	0	0	17,560	17,913	18,079
Weekend Argus	Saturday											37,831	39,580	40,239
Weekend Argus	Sunday											17,187	16,928	19,837
Weekend Argus	Wknd	R 16.00 / R 7.00	10,744	872	2,000	39,256	555	0	1,590	0	0	55,017	56,508	60,078
Weekend Post	Wknd	R 7.00 / R 2.31	3,477	0	0	15,249	1,665	333	0	0	0	20,724	21,027	20,874
Weekend Witness	Wkly, Sat	R 6.20 / R 5.80	8,613	529	0	8,948	191	316	0	0	0	18,997	19,183	19,757
Total			290,808	37,386	61,021	1,580,748	5,196	6,436	1,636	1,102	16,648	2,000,983	2,048,524	2,205,462

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Report Date : 13 Aug, 2014

Revision : 78.0 Q2 2014



**Weekly Newspaper
Summary
April - June 2014**



Sales at 50% and above														
Publication Name	Frequency	Cover Price	Subscriptions			Copy Sales	PDF Replica	Third Party Bulk	PMIE	Back issues	Sales below 50%	TOTAL CIRCULATION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
			Individual	Business	Travel & Commercial									
Auto Week	Wkly, Th	R 9.90 /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Changed Sector	9,245	
Botswana Gazette, The	Wkly, Wed	Pula 6.00 /	3	696	0	14,769	0	838	0	0	0	16,306	16,228	
Botswana Guardian	Wkly, Fr	Pula 9.50 /	0	1,565	0	15,747	0	0	0	0	0	17,312	17,411	
Confidante	Wkly, Th	Nam\$ 5.00 /	304	0	0	8,339	0	0	0	0	0	8,643	8,520	
Itanga	2xW, Mo&Th	R 3.00 /	336	0	0	93,578	0	0	0	0	0	93,914	100,653	
Lesotho Times	Wkly, Th	R 6.00 /	142	0	0	8,149	0	0	0	0	0	8,291	7,975	
Mail & Guardian	Wkly, Fr	R 35.00 /	4,155	2,184	6,308	26,483	870	0	0	0	0	40,000	44,267	
Midweek Sun, The	Wkly, Wed	Pula 7.00 /	0	1,311	0	10,644	0	0	0	0	0	12,155	12,401	
Mmegi Reporter, The	4xW, Tu-Fr	Pula 5.50/ 9.00 /	2	577	0	7,735	0	0	0	0	0	8,314	8,206	
Motorsport World	F	R 12.50 /	0	0	0	4,213	0	0	0	0	0	4,213	4,997	
Post, The	Wkly, Wed	R 6.50 /	17,045	73	0	26,139	147	59	0	0	0	43,463	45,503	
Soccer Laduma	Wkly, Wed	R 3.50 /	0	0	0	295,698	66	0	0	0	0	295,964	317,013	
The Monitor (Formerly Mmegi Monitor)	Wkly, Mon	Pula 6.50 /	4	573	0	11,320	0	0	0	0	0	11,897	12,331	
The Zimbabwean	Wkly, Th	R Free /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Changed sector	7,835	
Voice, The	Wkly, Fr	Pula 7.50 /	10	616	0	24,775	0	0	0	0	0	25,401	26,046	
Total			22,001	7,595	6,308	547,989	1,083	897	0	0	0	585,873	621,751	

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Report Date : 13 Aug, 2014

Revision : 76.0 Q2 2014



**Daily Newspaper
Summary
April - June 2014**



Sales at 50% and above													
Publication Name	Frequency	Cover Price	Subscriptions			Copy Sales	PDF Replica	Third Party Bulk	PMIE	Sales below 50%	TOTAL CIRCULATION	Immediate Previous Period	Corresponding Previous Period
			Individual	Business	Travel & Commercial								
Zambia Daily Mail	Mo-Fr	N/A K3.00 /	0	2,487	101	16,244	0	0	0	0	18,832	New member	New member
Beeld, Daily	MD, Mo-Fr	R 8.00 / R 6.50	26,005	763	500	29,949	128	438	1,761	0	59,544	62,766	64,073
Bukedde	MD, Mo-Sat	UGShs 1000.00 /	153	0	0	32,875	0	0	0	0	33,028	35,008	32,170
Burger, Die Daily	Cos Kaap										9,532	9,646	10,374
Burger, Die Daily	Wes Kaap										47,893	50,097	49,330
Burger, Die Daily	MD, Mo-Fr	R 6.90/5.00 / R 8.00	23,039	876	500	31,443	172	1,130	263	0	57,423	59,895	59,704
Business Day	MD, Mo-Fr	R 19.00 /	3,162	14,407	7,364	5,169	786	13	0	0	30,901	32,854	32,486
Cape Argus	MD, Mo-Fr	R 6.00 / R 2.75	8,676	1,283	1,000	17,064	235	0	912	0	29,170	30,319	33,297
Cape Times	MD, Mo-Fr	R 7.50 / R 3.75	9,817	3,422	1,000	16,145	913	0	487	0	31,784	33,986	35,996
Citizen, The (Daily)	MD, Mo-Fr	R 4.00 /	919	3,952	4,000	41,123	0	1,762	422	4,918	57,096	57,385	61,623
Daily Dispatch	MD, Mo-Fr	R 4.80 / R 2.40	2,878	1,400	517	21,493	511	8	108	0	26,915	30,199	25,956
Daily Monitor	MD, Mo-Sat	UGShs 1500.00 /	1,426	0	0	18,835	0	0	0	0	20,261	21,855	18,722
Daily Nation	MD, Mo-Sat	KShs 60.00 /	979	0	0	153,153	0	0	0	0	154,132	156,576	183,329
Daily News	MD, Mo-Fr	R 5.50 /	17,117	386	630	9,896	66	103	0	1,289	29,457	30,016	31,383
Daily Sun	Mo-Fr	R 3.00 /	348	465	1,527	269,941	0	1,884	0	0	274,165	283,216	287,222
Diamond Fields Advertiser	MD, Mo-Fr	R 4.50 /	1,161	270	0	7,086	137	0	0	865	9,519	9,745	9,378
Herald, The	MD, Mo-Fr	R 5.20 / R 2.31	5,694	0	0	14,894	1,644	81	674	0	22,987	23,605	22,255
Issolezwe	MD, Mo-Fr	R 3.20 /	908	339	3	103,520	88	2	0	0	104,860	119,846	110,764
Mercury, The	MD, Mo-Fr	R 6.50 /	12,586	2,221	635	12,145	162	191	0	998	28,938	29,616	30,121
Nambian, The	MD, Mo-Fr	Nam\$ 3.00 /	0	1,495	0	36,967	0	0	7	0	38,469	37,938	35,314
New Vision	MD, Mo-Fr	UGShs 2000.00 /	2,294	0	0	27,893	0	0	0	0	30,187	31,495	34,476
Pretoria News	MD, Mo-Fr	R 5.70 /	2,304	1,131	0	9,736	98	0	0	3,645	16,914	17,445	17,750
Son (Daily)	MD, Mo-Fr	R 3.20 & 3.00 /	28	2	0	84,690	0	6	0	0	84,726	84,870	91,735
Sowetan	Mo-Fr	R 4.50 /	1,321	7,488	4,059	86,591	70	0	0	0	99,529	99,403	99,517
Star, The	MD, Mo-Fr	R 7.00 /	15,021	8,753	14,205	45,252	599	0	0	12,199	96,029	101,711	102,498
Taifa Leo	MD, Mo-Sat	KShs 30.00 /	32	0	0	13,535	0	0	0	0	13,567	13,547	15,936
The Times.	MD, Mo-Fr	R 1.00 /	72,875	5,485	8,227	57,496	357	0	0	0	144,440	142,603	Changed sector

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Times of Swaziland	MD, Mo-Fr	E 3.90 /	778	0	0	20,997	0	0	0	0	21,775	22,340	20,951
Voikhabad - Daily	Mo-Fr	R 6.20 / R 5.20	8,601	154	431	10,134	93	111	52	0	19,576	20,590	20,059
Witness, The	MD, Mo-Fr	R 6.00/4.00 /	8,866	881	109	6,638	191	623	0	0	17,308	17,693	17,908
Total			226,988	57,660	44,808	1,200,894	6,250	6,352	4,686	23,894	1,571,532	1,606,531	1,494,023

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Report Date : 13 Aug, 2014

Revision : 76.0 Q2 2014

APPENDIX 2

Editors of Major SA newspapers, Race and Gender, as of August 2014

1. *Cape Argus*: Jermaine Craig - black male
2. *The Times*: Stephen Haw - white male
3. *Beeld*: Adriaan Basson - white male
4. *Sunday Times*: Phylicia Oppelt - black female
5. *Business Times*: Rob Rose - white male
6. *Sunday World*: Abdul Milazi - black male
7. *Daily Dispatch*: Bongani Siquko - black male
8. *Rapport*: Waldimar Pelsner - white male
9. *Business Day*: Songezo Zibi - black male
10. *The Herald and Weekend Post*: Heather Robertson - black female
11. *The Witness*: Andrew Trench - white male
12. *Daily Voice*: Taariq Halim - black male
13. *Die Burger*: Bun Booyens - white male
14. *The Citizen*: Steven Motale - black male
15. *Cape Times*: Gasant Abarder - black male
16. *Daily News*: Alan Dunn - white male
17. *Son and Son op Sondag*: Andrew Koopman - black male
18. *Daily Sun* and *Sunday Sun*: no editor. Publisher Jeremy Gordin (white male) is overseeing both with Reggy Moalusi deputy editor for the daily and Ben Viljoen deputy editor of the *Sunday Sun*;
19. *Diamond Field Advertiser*: Johan du Plessis - white male
20. *Isolezwe*: Sazi Hadebe - black male
21. *Isolezwe* weekend editions: Sandile Mdadane - black male
22. *Ilanga*: Eric Ndiyane - black male
23. *Ilanga Langesonto*: Zanele Msibi - black woman
24. *The Mercury*: Jon Knight (acting) - white male
25. *Pretoria News*: Val Boje - white woman
26. *Sowetan*: Mpumelelo Mkhabela - black male
27. *The Star*: Kevin Ritchie (acting) - white male
28. *Volksblad*: Gert Coetzee (acting) - white male
29. *The New Age*: Moegsien Williams - black male
30. *Saturday Star*: Cecilia Russell - white woman
31. *Independent on Saturday*: Deon Delpont - white male
32. *Sunday Independent*: Jovial Rantao - black male
33. *Weekend Argus*: Chiara Carter - white female
34. *Mail & Guardian*: editor-in-chief Chris Roper - white male; Angela Quintal editor - white woman
35. *Post*: Yogas Nair - black female
36. *Soccer Laduma*: Clint Roper - white male
37. *Sake24*: David van Rooyen - white male
38. *Sunday Tribune*: Aakash Bramdeo - black male
39. *City Press*: Ferial Haffajee - black female
40. *Business Report*: Ellis Mnyandu - black male

APPENDIX 3

Radio 2014

1. 5FM
2. 567 CapeTalk
3. 94.5 Kfm
4. 94.7 Highveld Stereo
5. 99.2 YFM
6. 2000FM
7. Algoa FM (Radio Algoa)
8. BRFM (The Border Drive)
9. Capricorn FM
10. Classic FM 102.7
11. East Coast Radio
12. Gagasi FM
13. Good Hope FM
14. Heart 104.9 FM
15. iKwekwezi FM
16. Jacaranda FM
17. Kaya FM 95.9
18. Lesedi FM
19. Ligwalagwala FM
20. Lotus FM
21. Metro FM
22. Motsweding FM
23. MPowerFM
24. Munghana Lonene FM
25. North West FM
26. OFM
27. Phalaphala FM
28. Power FM
29. Radiokansel/Radio Pulpit
30. RSG
31. SAfm
32. Smile 90.4FM
33. Talk Radio 702
34. Thobela FM
35. tru fm
36. Ukhozi FM
37. Umhlobo Wenene FM
38. Vuma 103 FM
39. Alfred Nzo Community Radio 98.3/93.8 FM
40. Bayfm 107.9
41. eKhephini Community Radio
42. Emmanuel Haven FM – (EH 88.7 FM)
43. Forte Community Radio
44. IFM
45. Inkonjane 100.5 FM
46. Izwi Lethemba Christian Community Radio
47. Khanya Community Radio
48. Kingfisher FM
49. Kouga FM
50. Kowie FM 99 Dot Zero
51. Kumkani
52. LA – FM 107.2
53. Link FM
54. Lukhanji 93.7 FM
55. Mdantsane FM
56. Nkqubela Community Radio Station
57. PE FM 87.6
58. Radio Graaff-Reinet
59. Radio Grahamstown
60. RMR 89.7FM (Rhodes Music Radio)
61. Sajonisi Youth Radio
62. Takalani Community Radio (TCR FM)98.2 Mhz
63. Unique FM
64. Unitra Community Radio (UCR-FM)
65. Vukani Community Radio
66. Wild Coast FM
67. 729 Cape Pulpit / Kaapse Kansel
68. Bok Radio 98.9FM
69. Bush Radio 89.5 FM
70. CCFM 107.5
71. Eden FM
72. Fine Music Radio
73. Franschhoek FM 87.6
74. Hope Radio
75. Knysna FM 97.0
76. MC90.3FM
77. ME FM
78. MFM 92.6
79. Moo 97.3FM
80. Radio 786
81. Radio Atlantis 107.9 (RAFM)
82. Radio Gamkaland 87.6FM

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 83. Radio Helderberg 93.6FM | 124. DYR 105.1 FM |
| 84. Radio Houtstok | 125. Good News Community Radio (GNCR) 93.6FM |
| 85. Radio KC 107.7 FM | 126. Highway Radio 101.5FM |
| 86. Radio Namakwaland 93.4FM | 127. Hindvani |
| 87. Radio Overberg 98.4FM | 128. Icora FM |
| 88. Radio Tygerberg 104 FM | 129. Imbokodo 96.8FM |
| 89. Radio West Coast 92.3FM | 130. Inanda 88.4 FM |
| 90. Radio Zibonele | 131. Izwi LoMzansi |
| 91. RKPfm (Radio Kaap se Punt) | 132. KZN Capital 104FM |
| 92. SFM (Suidkaap FM) | 133. Maputaland Community Radio 107.6 FM |
| 93. The Voice of the Cape | 134. Newcastle Community Radio |
| 94. UCT Radio 104.5FM | 135. Nkandla FM |
| 95. Valley FM | 136. Nkungumathe FM |
| 96. Whale Coast FM | 137. Nongoma FM |
| 97. Witzenberg Radio | 138. Nquthu Community Radio |
| 98. Kurara FM | 139. Radio Al-Ansaar |
| 99. Radio Kaboesna | 140. Radio Khwezi |
| 100. Radio NFM 98.1 | 141. Radio Sunny South 97.0 FM |
| 101. Radio Orania | 142. Shine FM |
| 102. Radio Riverside 98.2FM | 143. Siyathuthuka FM 97.6 |
| 103. Radio Teemaneng Stereo 89.1 FM | 144. Ugu Youth Radio FM |
| 104. Revival FM | 145. Umgungundlovu Community Radio (U107.6 FM) |
| 105. Ulwazi FM 88.9 | 146. Vibe FM 94.7 |
| 106. X-K FM 107.9 | 147. Zululand FM 97.0 |
| 107. Karabo FM | 90.6FM Stereo / VCR FM |
| 108. Koepel Stereo (KSFM 94.9) | 148. 101.9 Chai FM |
| 109. Kovsie FM 97.0 | 149. Alex FM |
| 110. Lentswe Community Radio | 150. ArrowLine Chinese Radio Station |
| 111. Medfm | 151. East Rand Stereo 93.9FM |
| 112. Mohokare Community Radio | 152. Eastwave Radio 92.2 FM |
| 113. Mosupatsela FM Stereo | 153. eK FM 103.6 |
| 114. Motheo FM | 154. Eldos FM Community Radio |
| 115. Mozolo FM | 155. GrootFM 90.5 (Radio Rippel) |
| 116. Naledi FM | 156. Hellenic Radio |
| 117. Overvaal Stereo | 157. Hope FM |
| 118. QwaQwa Radio | 158. IFM 102.2 |
| 119. Radio Panorama 107.6 FM | 159. Impact Radio 103 FM |
| 120. Radio Rosestad 100.6 FM | 160. Jozi FM |
| 121. Setsoto FM Stereo | 161. Kasie FM 97.1 |
| 122. The Rock Community Radio | 162. Kofifi FM 97.2 |
| 123. Divine Touch Radio | 163. Lenz FM 93.6 |

164. Mams FM
165. Merafong FM
166. Midcities 107.4FM
167. Mix 93.8 FM
168. Mogale FM
169. Open Haven Community Radio
170. Radio 1584
171. Radio Islam MW 1548
172. Radio Medunsa
173. Radio Pretoria
174. Radio Today
175. Radio Veritas
176. Rainbow FM 90.7
177. River FM
178. Rock FM 91.9
179. Sloot FM
180. Soshanguve Community Radio
181. Thetha FM 100.6
182. Tshwane FM 93.6
183. Tuks FM 107.2
184. TUT FM 96.2
185. UJFM 95.4
186. Voice of Tembisa FM
187. Voice of Wits (VOW FM) 90.5
188. VUT FM 96.9
189. 99.3FM Kosmos Stereo
190. Barberton Community Radio (BCR 104.1FM)
191. Emalahleni FM
192. Greater Middelburg FM 89.7
193. Kangala Community Radio Services
194. Kasi FM 107.3
195. Kriel Info Radio
196. Ligwa Community Radio
197. Mash FM Stereo
198. Mkhondo Community Radio
199. MP East Community Radio
200. Nkomazi FM
201. Radio Alpha 97.8 FM (Alfa-Alfa)
202. Radio Bushbuckridge
203. Radio Ermelo 104 FM Stereo
204. Radio Kragbron 93.1FM Stereo
205. Radio Laeveld 100.5FM Stereo
206. Secunda FM
207. Standerton Info Radio
208. Blouberg Community Radio
209. Botlokwa Community Radio Station
210. Comrad Tshepo
211. Giyani Community Radio
212. Greater Lebowakgomo Community
213. Greater Tzaneen Community Radio (GTFM 104.8)
214. GYFM
215. Hlanganani FM
216. Lephalale FM
217. Makhado FM 107.3
218. Mala FM 101
219. Maruleng FM
220. Masemola Community FM
221. Mohodi Community Radio 98.8 FM
222. Mokopane Community Radio Station
223. Moletsi Community Media
224. Moutse Community Radio Station
225. Musina FM
226. Phalaborwa FM (PFM)
227. Radio Turf
228. Sekgosesa Community Radio
229. Sekhukhune Community Radio (SK FM)
230. Thabazimbi Radio Station
231. Tubatse FM
232. Univen Community Radio 99.8 FM
233. Waterberg Stereo 104.9 FM
234. Zebediela Community Radio
235. Aganang FM
236. Bosveld Stereo 107.5FM
237. Kgatleng FM
238. KopanongFM
239. Legae La Botshabelo FM 100.4Mhz
240. Lethabong Community Radio
241. Letlhabile Community Radio
242. Lichvaal Stereo-92.6FM
243. Life FM
244. Mafikeng Community Radio 96.7

245. Mmabatho FM
246. Modiri FM
247. Moretele Community Radio 106.6 FM
248. Motsitle FM
249. NWU FM
250. PUKfm 93.6
251. Radio Mafisa 93.4 FM
252. Star FM 102.9 Mhz
253. Vaaltar FM (VTR FM)
254. Village FM

APPENDIX 4

Arson, Assaults, Harassment, Intimidation, Death Threats and One Death (of journalists and photo-journalists): 2013-2014

Death, Assaults and Harassment

- In May 2013, a private security guard fired rubber bullets at close range at *The Star* photographer Motshwari Mofokeng.¹ He was photographing the eviction of people living in an empty Johannesburg factory. Mofokeng, working with a reporter, was on a public road at the time. All seemed fine at first, until Mofokeng photographed security guards chasing people. A guard turned his attention to Mofokeng, striking him and threatening to break his camera, the photographer told the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). Then someone threw a stone at the guards and one of them began firing. “The first shot was right at me. There were five or six shots after that: *pah, pah, pah,*” said Mofokeng, who was hit in the chest. He continued working but later sought treatment at a hospital and laid a complaint with the police. In an editorial, *The Star* editor Makhudu Sefara said the shooting was an attack on all citizens. “The truth is that media freedom is not a privilege for media practitioners”, he wrote. “All of us, as freedom-cherishing South Africans, must realise that every time a journalist is slapped, or shot, or killed, it is not merely about their publication or family, it is about all of us.”²
- In May 2013, Thomas Holder was taking pictures for the *Cape Argus* of a refugee gathering at a Home Affairs office in Cape Town. The refugees had gathered to renew their asylum seeker documents. Holder was assaulted by a Home Affairs security guard and told to stop taking pictures.
- On May 22, 2013 *Cape Argus* photographer David Ritchie and reporter Yolisa Tswana were interviewing family and friends of refugees who had been arrested for not carrying their identity documents and who had gathered outside the Caledon Square police station in central Cape Town. “As Dave lifted his camera, an official wearing a brown uniform spotted him,” Tswana said. At first the journalists thought the individual was a prison official but they later came to believe he was with Home Affairs. “He came over and told Dave to delete the photo. Dave refused. The official tried to take his camera, then grabbed Dave by the arm and dragged him into the police station courtyard. They wouldn’t allow me to go with him.” The official deleted the pictures and returned the camera to Ritchie, who went back to the gathering and took more photos.
- On 14 November 2013, owners of the Harbour Fish Market restaurant in Bedfordview, Johannesburg, allegedly harassed a *Beeld* photographer for taking pictures of the restaurant frequented by Czech fugitive Radovan Krejcir. Employees of the restaurant confiscated the photographer’s camera. The restaurant offered to “release” the equipment on grounds that the pictures be deleted in front of them. Police officers who arrived on the scene agreed that the pictures should be deleted. *Beeld* has laid charges against the restaurant.
- On 18 November 2013, a member of President Jacob Zuma’s VIP Protection Unit assaulted Eyewitness News (EWN) journalist Reinart Toerien outside the home of former president Nelson Mandela in Houghton, Johannesburg. Toerien was filming the departure of Zuma’s motorcade from the Mandela home after the president had visited there. Sanef said that Toerien was standing on the pavement bordering the public road outside the house when one of the security guards leaned out of a window of a security 4X4 accompanying Zuma’s car, and slapped Toerien. He also pushed against his video camera, forcing Toerien to stumble and shouted “Voetsek” at the journalist. EWN editor-in-chief Katy Katopodis said: “These strong-arm tactics are nothing short of disgraceful and we call for a full investigation and appropriate action to be taken. We are shocked that the president’s security believes that they can act with such impunity and are in some way above the law.”
- In January 2014, police allegedly shot dead 62-year old freelance photographer, journalist and community activist Michael Tshele during a service-delivery protest in Mothutlung, Britz, in the North West Province. The protest was over a water stoppage. Bystanders said Tshele was taking pictures of broken water pipes when he was shot. Sanef has requested an urgent investigation into the death.

- Also in the North West province and also during service-delivery protests, in January 2014, police assaulted a *Daily Sun* journalist, Ricky Dire. He was allegedly assaulted after taking pictures of police officers accepting a bribe from shop owners in Rustenburg. *Daily Sun* deputy editor Reggy Moalusi said the shop owners, who had claimed that the police were harassing them and asking for bribes, had called Dire. Moalusi said the police assaulted Dire, confiscated his cellphone, deleted pictures from his camera and threatened to keep him in police custody. North West Premier Thandi Modise has called on the Independent Police Investigative Directorate to investigate alleged death threats made against Dire.^{3,4}
- In February 2014, freelance journalist Sandiso Phaliso was detained in Cape Town while covering a story for the *Daily Sun* on a vigilante attack in Philippi. Phaliso took photographs of police officers taking pictures of the badly injured victim with cellphones. Phaliso overheard the officers saying they would post the pictures on Facebook. When the officers saw him, they locked him in the back of a police van and insisted that he delete his photographs. He was kept at the Nyanga police station for two hours before being released.
- In April 2014, less than a month ahead of the May 7 national election, eNCA reporter Nikolaus Bauer had his phone taken away by an ANC bodyguard when he was covering President Jacob Zuma's election campaigning in Duduza, Ekurhuleni. The bodyguard grabbed his phone and deleted his pictures – some of which related to ANC t-shirts being ferried to an ANC election event – in a state vehicle. Sanef's chairperson, Mpumelelo Mkabela, said in a statement that this was intimidation, censorship and also an abuse of state resources.

Arson Attack on Karabo FM

- In September 2013, Karabo FM community radio station in Sasolburg was destroyed in an arson attack.⁵ Two armed men stormed into the building and ordered a radio presenter, his two studio guests and a security guard out of the building into a nearby shed before spraying petrol in and around the station and setting it on fire. They did not say why they were destroying the station and no one claimed responsibility. This was the first attack resulting in the destruction of a media outlet since 1994. Board chairperson Sam Mkwanazi said: "The whole building was destroyed. Our hard work of five years was destroyed in two minutes."

Death Threats

- *Grocott's Mail* municipal reporter Avuyile Diko received what was perceived as a death threat from the Makana municipality in Grahamstown. A spokesman from the municipality told the reporter. "Avuyile, you must stop digging. People who continue to dig don't last forever. You will hear people saying that you were wearing a black jacket and you were going there to dig."

Excluded with No Explanation

- In November 2013, *Grocott's Mail* editor Steven Lang said the paper continued to have serious issues with the municipality. Lang attended a special council meeting and then was instructed to leave and given no explanation for the decision.

Daily Dispatch Reporters Barred from Schools

In October 2013, reporters were barred from entering a number of schools to report on preparations for the matric exams. One school principal said he had received strict instructions not to allow journalists from the *Dispatch* to cover the exams. The reporters were refused entry to East London schools such as Grens, Clarendon, Selborne, Hudson and Inkwenkwezi High School. However, journalists from other newspapers and broadcasters such as *Die Burger*, SABC, e.tv and ANN7 were given access.

Reporter Charged with Trespassing

- In December 2013, Andile Nomabhunga, editor of *The Informer* community newspaper in the Alfred Nzo district (covering Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff and Matatiele) was charged with trespassing at the home of the municipality's special programme unit manager, Nontsikelelo Matubatuba, after interviewing her there for a story about alleged abuse of the municipal budget. Sanef said the story was clearly in the public interest and this was interference in the newspaper's right to free expression.

Criminal Defamation Case against Sowetan Journalist

- In June 2013, Cecil Motsepe, a former *Sowetan* journalist, was found guilty of criminal defamation for a story he wrote and fined R10 000 or ten months' imprisonment. He was found guilty of writing a series of articles about a Gauteng magistrate, Marius Serfontein. Motsepe wrote that the magistrate abused his position to protect a white friend with a history of assaulting black employees. In a series of articles, Motsepe claimed that Serfontein was meting out harsher punishments to black defendants compared with white defendants. The magistrate sued for criminal defamation. Media lawyers from Webber Wentzel are handling the appeal, joined by lawyers Simon Delaney and Justine Limpitlaw, and Sanef in an amicus capacity.

Banned

- In October 2013, the SABC banned the Big Debate Show in a move described as political censorship and an abuse of the public broadcaster's role. It was evident that the criticism levelled at government ministers and other officials on the show motivated that decision by the SABC, according to the Right2Know campaign.⁶

Stifling independent journalism

- In August 2013, the SABC threatened Sylvia Vollenhoven with legal action about re-cutting her film and selling it elsewhere after the SABC refused to show it.⁷

NOTES

- 1 <https://www.cpj.org/security/2013/06/photographers-attacked-two-weeks-in-southern-afric.php>
- 2 The Star (2013) Those who attack journos must pay: 31 May.
- 3 The Media Online (2014) Premier calls for investigation into death threats against Daily Sun journo: 29 January 2014.
- 4 See also <https://www.cpj.org/2014/01/south-african-journalist-arrested-threatened.php>
- 5 <https://www.cpj.org/2013/09/south-african-community-radio-station-silenced-by.php>
- 6 <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-17-sabc-pulls-big-debate-off-air-at-last-minute>
- 7 <https://www.cpj.org/blog/2013/08/sabc-keeps-a-lid-project-spear-documentary.php>

APPENDIX 5

List of Community Newspapers (source: AIP)

	NAME OF PUBLICATION	AREA (Town)	AREA (Province)	Distribution Area
	Eastern Cape			
1	Activate	Grahamstown	Eastern Cape	Grahamstown
2	Advertiser, The	Graaff Reinet	Eastern Cape	Graaff Reinet, Willowmore, Middelburg (CP), Beaufort West, Aberdeen, Jansenville, Uniondale, Colesberg, Cradock, Hofmeyr, Hanover, Noupoot, Richmond, Victoria West, Klipplaat, George.
3	Aliwal Weekly	Aliwal North	Eastern Cape	Aliwal North, Burgersdorp, Rouxville, Zastron, Lady Grey, Sterkspruit, Bethulie, Dordrecht, Smithfield, Jamestown
4	Barkly East Reporter	Barkley East	Eastern Cape	Barkly East, Sterkspruit/Herchell, Burgersdorp, Aliwal North, Dordrecht, Elliot, Ida, Indwe, Lady Grey, Maclear, Queenstown, Rhodes, Cala & Ugje
5	Eagle Eye News	Sterkspruit	Eastern Cape	Sterkspruit, Lady Grey, Backley East, Aliwal North, Burgersdorp
6	Eastern Cape Mirror	Port Elizabeth	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Jeffreys Bay, St Francis, Humansdorp
7	Eastern Cape Today	East London	Eastern Cape	East London, Mdanstane, Berlin, Bisho, Butterworth, Grahamstown, King Williams Town, Port Alfred, Adutywa, Mthatha, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Stutterheim.
8	Eastern Cape Voice News	King Williams Town	Eastern Cape	25 towns in the Amathole district municipality
9	Eastern Cape Womens Magazine	Mthatha	Eastern Cape	Umthata
10	Grocotts Mail	Grahamstown	Eastern Cape	Grahamstown, Port Alfred and Kenton-on-Sea
11	iDike-Iethu news	Alice	Eastern Cape	Alice, Adelaide, Ford Beaufor
12	Ikamva Lase Gcuwa	Butterworth	Eastern Cape	(1).Butterworth Cuba, Msobomvu,Ibika, Zithulele Industrial area Extension 6,7, Zizamele, Mission, Coloured,Zazulwana, Ndabakazi,Mgomanzi, Vulley Valley,Skiet Settlement, Kei Bridge, .(2) Dutywa, Govan Mbeki Township,Colosa, Nyhwara.(3) Centane,Thutura, Nombanjana,Cebe, Gqunqe, Msento. (4)Ngqam-akhwe Blyswood, Gxojana, Ngqncule, Ematolweni, Hlobo,Khothana (5) Tsomo.
13	Ikhwezi lase Mthatha	Mthatha	Eastern Cape	
14	Ikhwezi News	Umthatha	Eastern Cape	
15	Imonti Educational Express	East London	Eastern Cape	
16	Inqayi	Mt Ayliff	Eastern Cape	Mt Ayliff, Mt Frere, Tabankulu, Matatiele, Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, Kokstad.
17	Isizwe	Ncqobo	Eastern Cape	

18	Izimvo zabantu	East London	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth, King Williams Town, East London, Butterworth, Idutywa, Queenstown, Uitenhage & Despatch, Cradock, Peddie, Fort Beaufort, Strutterheim, Cathcart, Symour, Mthatha, Idutwa, Alexandria, Humansdorp, Kokstad, Bedford Kentani, Ngqamakwe, Ngcobo, Port Shepstone, Bizane, Mount Aylf, Mount Frere, Alicedale, Paterson, Cookhouse, Grahamstown, Bathurst, Port Alfred, Cofinvaba, Gcuwa, Lusikisiki, Ntabankulu, Port St. Johns, Qumbu, Tsholo, Tsomo, Viedgesville, Alice.
19	Izwi le Africa	Kokstad	Eastern Cape	
20	Midland News	Cradock	Eastern Cape	Cradock, Hofmeyr, Tarkastad and Steynsburg.
21	Rainbow News	Butterworth	Eastern Cape	
22	Sisonke	East London	Eastern Cape	
23	Skawara	Cofimvaba	Eastern Cape	
24	Somerset Budget	East Cape Midlands	Eastern Cape	Pearston, Somerset East, Cookhouse, Bedford, Adelaide, Fort Beaufort, Cradock and Middelburg (Eastern Cape)
25	St Francis Chronicle	Port Elizabeth	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth, St Francis Bay area, Humansdorp, Oyster Bay and Jeffreys Bay
26	Stormberg Gazette	Molteno	Eastern Cape	Molteno
27	Suburban Bugle	King Williams Town	Eastern Cape	Gonubie, Beacon Bay, Stirling, Crossways/East Coast, Nahoon.
28	Taxi Talk	Bizana	Eastern Cape	Travellers at taxi ranks & bus ranks, bulk drops to shops, general dealers and cafeterias in lower Natal South Coast, Eastern Cape, East Griqualand and selected outlets in Gauteng.
29	The Bugle (King Williams Town)	King Williams Town	Eastern Cape	King William's Town, Bisho, Berlin, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza/Alice, Ginsberg, Breidbach, Pakamisa.
30	The Oppidan Press	Grahamstown	Eastern Cape	Grahamstown
31	Township Times	Buffalo City Metro	Eastern Cape	East London, Mdantsane, King Williams Town, Berlin, Ndevana, Zwelitsha, Bisho, Dimbaza
32	Transformer	East London	Eastern Cape	East London
33	Upstart	Grahamstown	Eastern Cape	Grahamstown, Joza, Kenton-On-Sea, Alicedale, Riebeeck East, Cradock, Port Alfred
34	Woboer (NWGA) Wool Farmer	Port Elizabeth	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth
35	Your Money	Port Elizabeth	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth
36	Zithethele	Port Elizabeth	Eastern Cape	Port Elizabeth
	Free State			
37	Eastern Free State Issue	Bethlehem, QwaQwa, Harrismith, Kestell	Free State	Bethlehem, QwaQwa/ Phuthaditjhaba/ Witsieshoek
38	Frankfort Herald	Frankfort	Free State	Frankfort, Villiers, Tweeling, Heilbron, Cornelia, Petrus Steyn, Oranjeville.
39	Free State News	Mangaung	Free State	
40	Free State Sun	Welkom	Free State	Welkom, Virginia, Odendaalsrus, Allanridge, Ventersburg, Hennenman, Theunissen, Bloemfontein and Brandfort
41	Harrismith Chronicle	Harrismith	Free State	Harrismith, Warden, Kestell and QwaQwa
42	Lentswe News	Bloemfontein	Free State	Bloemfontein, Mangaung, Glen, Bochabelo, Thaba Nchu, Brandford, Welkom
43	Letsholo News		Free State	

44	Mangaung Issue	Bloemfontein, Botshabelo, Thaba Nchu	Free State	Bloemfontein/ Mangaung, Botshabelo, Thaba Nchu
45	Masilonyane News	Theunissen	Free State	Bloemfontein, Brandford, Soutpan, Theunissen
46	Metro News	Botshabelo	Free State	Thabanchu, Botshabelo, Mangaung, Bloemfontein
47	Peoples Agenda (Puisano News)	Sasolburg	Free State	Sasolburg
48	Phetoho News	Ficksburg	Free State	Ficksburg
49	Phumelela Express	Vrede	Free State	Vrede
50	Public Eye (Bloemfontein)	Westdene	Free State	Bloemfontein, Welkom, Bethlehem, Qwaqwa
51	Seipone News	Bloemfontein	Free State	Mothe District, Bloemfontein, Botshabelo, Thabanchu, Ladybrand, Xhariep District, Dewetsdorp, Tromsburg, Reddersburg, Smitsfield, Lejweleputswa, Theunissen, Brandford, Welkom, Kroonstad, Thabo mafutsanyane, Qwaqwa, Senekal, Ficksburg
52	Xhariep Independent	Dewetsdorp	Free State	Greater Mangaung Metro, Xhariep District Municipality, Naledi Municipality, Mohokare Municipality, Letsemeng Municipality, Kopanong Municipality
53	Maloti News	Ladybrand - Maseru	Free State - Lesotho	Ladybrand Maseru
54	The Sports Eye	bloemfontein/ potchefstroom	Free state/ northern cape	bloemfontein, welkom, kimberly, kroonstad, qwaqwa, Mafikeng, potchefstroom, ventersdorp, parays, Sasolburg, vryuburg, klersdorp and orkney
	Gauteng			
55	Alex Pioneer	Sydenham	Gauteng	Alexandra and surrounding areas, River Park, Savoy, Highlands North, Bramley, Orange Grove, Kew, Lyndhurst, Wynberg, Edenvale Hospital
56	Bua Sedibeng News	Palm Springs, Vereeniging,	Gauteng	Orange Farm, Palm Springs, Evaton, Sebokeng, Meyerton, Ironside, Sharpville, Bophelong, Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Lake Side, Polokong, Beverly Hills, Tshepong
57	Bua Soweto News	Orlando West, Soweto	Gauteng	Soweto, Lenasia, Johannesburg CBD
58	Consumer Fair	Pretoria	Gauteng	Johannesburg Pretoria Cape Town Durban Port Elizabeth East London Bloemfontein Louis Trichardt
59	Cosmo City Chronicle	Cosmo City & surrounding areas	Gauteng	Cosmo City, Diepsloot, Zandspruit, Kya Sand,
60	Eastern Times	Lynwood Ridge	Gauteng	Lynwood, De Beers, Newlands, Waterkloof Glen, Garsfontein, Faerie Glen, Moreleta Park, Lynnwood, Lynwood Glen/Park/Manor/ Ridge, Menlyn, Erasmusloof, Wilgers, Silver Lakes, Monument Park, Elardus Park, Meyerspark, Wapadrand, Murrayfield, Mooikloof.
61	Ekurhuleni News	Boksburg	Gauteng	Alberton, Benoni, Brakpan, Boksburg, Kempton Park, Germiston, Nigel and Springs
62	Fordsburg Independent	Auckland Park	Gauteng	Fordsburg, Mayfair, Emmerentia, Greenside, Roshnie, Lenasia
63	Gauteng Times	Brixton	Gauteng	Newtown, Fordsburg, Pageview, Jan Hofmeyer, Mayfair, Homestead Park, Crosby, Brixton, Riverlea, Horsehoe, Bosmont, Newclaire, Wesbury Croesus, Azaadville, Ormonde, Southgate, Marlboro, Nancefield, Eldorado Park & Lenasia.
64	Greater Alex Today	Alexandra	Gauteng	Government Department, Community Centres, Balfour Park, Police Station, Shopping Centres
65	Gulova Magazine	Vanderbijlpark	Gauteng	Vanderbijlpark

66	Hammanskraal News	Hammanskraal	Gauteng	Hammanskraal, Temba, Mabopane, Soshanguve, Seabe, Moretele, Lefiso, Loding, Mamelodi, Silverton, Pretoria, Ekangala, Kwaggafontein, Marapyane, Makapanspan, Ramotse, Mametlhake, Vaalbank, Senotleo, Kwa-Mhlanga
67	Homeless Talk	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Johannesburg (Sandton, Rosebank, Bryanston, City Centre, Parktown North and surrounding areas)
68	Horizon	Lenasia	Gauteng	Malay, Coloured and Indian areas of Johannesburg: Lenasia, Azaadville, Eldorado Park, Ennerdale, Fordsburg, Fordsburg, Oriental Plaza, Robertsham, Ormonde.
69	iKwaito	Johannesburg Metro	Gauteng	Johannesburg - Soweto, Orange Farm, Alexandra, Johannesburg CBD Ekurhuleni - Vosloorus, Thokoza, Katlehong, Spruitview, Tsakane, Daveyton Vaal/Sedibeng - Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville Tshwane - Mamelodi, Mabopane, Soshanguve, Pretoria CBD Mogale - Kagiso, Mohlakeng
70	Inner City Gazette	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Johannesburg: Yeoville, Hillbrow, CBD, Bellevue East, Bellevue, Benrose, Berea, Bertrams, Braamfontein, Crown Gardens, Denver, Doornfontein, Elandspark, Elcedes, Fairview, Fordsburg, Glendanda, Heriotdale, Jeppestown South.
71	Joburg Style	Joburg	Gauteng	We encompass the whole Joburg area, as well as Ekurhuleni, and Mogale City.
72	Kathorus Mail	Voslorus	Gauteng	East Rand: Kathlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus, Zonkizwe, Spruitview/Mzamo Acres, Phumula Gardens, Leondale, Dawn Park, Eden Park. Plus civic centres and police stations in Alberton, Germiston & Boksburg.
73	Kwela Xpress Newspaper	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Gauteng: Park Station, Germiston, Pretoria, Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Vereeniging, New Canada, Midway, Stredford, Randfontein, Western Cape: Cape Town, Bellville, Khayelitsha, Langa, Wynberg Kwazulu Natal: Durban Station, Cato Ridge, Stanger, Clairewood, Kwamashu
74	Lenasia Times	Lenasia	Gauteng	Lenasia, Lenasia South, Roshnee, Azaadville, Fordsburg, Mayfair, Zakariyya Park, Wynberg, Marlboro, Actonville/East Rand, Homestead Park, Laudium, Oriental Plaza, Emmarentia, Greenside, Crosby and country areas.
75	Loxion News	Sebokeng	Gauteng	Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Sebokeng, Evaton, Meyerton, Boipatong, Bophelong, Orange Farm, Palm Springs, Sasolburg, Sharpville, Porrtjie, Like Side, Iron Side, Boitumelo, Bevelly, Small farms, Powerville
76	Nokeng News	Lynn East	Gauteng	Roodeplaat, Cullinan, Rayton (Municipal area), Nao-kenge tsa Taemane, North of Magaliesberg, East of N1, North towards Rust de Winter.
77	Pulse City and Suburban	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Johannesburg, Braamfontein, Inner City, Fordsburg, Hillbrow, Elloff Ext, Parktown, Down Town, Crown Mine
78	Rekord- Nigel & Heidelberg	Nigel	Gauteng	Nigel, Heidelberg, Balfour, Bergsig, Dunnottar, Greylingstad, Grootvlei, Selcourt (Springs), Sharon Park.
79	SA India	Laudium	Gauteng	Indian community in South Africa & neighbouring countries via news agencies, retail outlets, Exclusive Books, CNA, Fascination Bookstores, C-stores etc
80	Sosh Times	Pretoria	Gauteng	Soshanguve, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa, Hammaskraal, Pretoria CBD, Winterveldt, Temba, Makapanstad.
81	Southern Echo	Lenasia	Gauteng	Lenasia, Lenasia South, Emmarentia, Greenside, Robertsham, other parts of Soweto

82	Southern Globe	Lenasia	Gauteng	Greater Lenasia, Lenasia South, Roshee, Fordsburg, Mayfair, Zak Park, Eldorado Park, Ennerdale, The Glen, Southgate, Vereeniging and parts of south JHB. Protea, Bara, Oriental Plaza, and Protea Glen.
83	Soweto Advertiser	Lenasia	Gauteng	Chiawelo, Dlamini, Freedom Park, Lehae, Mapeta, Pimville Zone 1, 5, 7, Protea Glen Ext 7, 11, 12, 13, Protea Glen proper.
84	Spaza News	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Soweto, Eldorado Park, Orange Farm, Sebokeng, Evaton, Kagiso, Mohlakeng, Toekomsrus, Tembisa, Katlehong, Thokoza, Daveyton, Nataspruit, Mamelodi, Mabopane, Soshanguve and Attradgeville
85	Tame Times	Alberton	Gauteng	Alberton, Johannesburg South, Germiston South, & Bedfordview to flats, townhouses, complexes, small business holdings and private hospitals.
86	Techsmart	Hatfield	Gauteng	Distributed to high income households via SA Post Office boxes in Johannesburg and Pretoria plus businesses, universities, colleges and shopping centres delivered throughout the month.
87	The African.org	Rosebank	Gauteng	On sale at retail outlets, airports, hotels & bookstores in SA, the UK, Europe & America. Also distributed at ISS seminars & conferences.
88	The Criterion	Laudium	Gauteng	Laudium, Erasmia, Claudius, Heuwelsoord, Eldoglen Villages.
89	The New Dimension	Bedfordview	Gauteng	South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho
90	The Nigerian	Randburg	Gauteng	Johannesburg, Hillbrow, Fourways, Northern Suburbs, North Riding
91	The Precinct Community News	Brentwood Park	Gauteng	Benoni (CBD, Western Extension, Benoni South, Benoni North) Other Benoni Suburbs (Farramere, Lakefield, Northfield, Northmead ext 4, Northvilla, Brentwood Park, Rynfield, Cloverdene, Crystal Park, Fairleads, Bonaero Park, Bredell, Benoni Agricultural Holdings, Pomona. Boksburg Suburbs (Atlasville, Impala Park, Bartlett, Beyers Park,
92	The Soweto Bulletin	Soweto	Gauteng	Soweto, Protea Glen, Protea Gardens, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Pimville, Moletsane, Naledi, Jabulani
93	The View	Vanderbijlpark	Gauteng	Lakeside, Sebokeng, Bophelong, Tshepong, Orange Farm, Palm Springs, Vanderbijlpark, Evaton, Kanana, Drieziek, Boitumelo, Vereeniging, Ironside, Small Farm, Finetown, Sharpeville, Meyerton, Debonair Park, Mkhalele
94	Triangle Courier	Risiville	Gauteng	Meyerton, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Sasolburg, Henley-on-Klip, Vaalpark.
95	Voz Portuguesa	Brentwood Park	Gauteng	All major cities in all South African Provinces. As well as a number of outreaching towns.
96	Vutha News	Daveyton, Etwatwa	Gauteng	Daveyton, Etwatwa
97	Xoxa Manje	Eesterus, Silverton, Sun Valley, Derdepoort, Mamelodi	Gauteng	Eesterust, Silverton, Mamelodi, Sun Valley, Waitloo, Industrial Area
98	Y-Express	Johannesburg	Gauteng	Johannesburg
99	The Diaspora	Gauteng	Gauteng, Free State, Limpopo	Gauteng, Free State, Limpopo
	Kwazulu Natal			

100	Agenda	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban
101	Al-qalam	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Overport & suburbs, Tongaat and surroundings, Phoenix, Joburg and Pretoria
102	Chatsworth Tabloid	Chatsworth	Kwazulu Natal	Mobeni Heights, Westcliff, Croftdene, Arena Park, Montford, Risecliff, Havenside, Bayview, Silverglen, Umhlatuzana, Kharwastan, Burlington, Shallcross, Buffelsbosch, Moorton, Woodhurst, Savanna Park, Crossmoor, Welbedag, Queensburg,
103	Coastal Weekly	Stanger	Kwazulu Natal	Tongaat CBD, Verulam CBD, Belvedere, Buffelsdale, Chelmsford Height, Flamingo Heights, Watsonia, Mithanagar, Ghandhinagar, Gandhis Hill, Metcalfe, Varova Gardens, Hambanathi, Fairbreeze, Maidstone, Sandfield Industrial, Birdhaven, Trenance Park, Mountainview, Lotusville, Temple Valley, Southridge, Riyadh, Everest Heights, Waterloo, Redcliffe, Oakfield, Ottawa, Westbrook, Ballito, .
104	Durban North News	Briardene	Kwazulu Natal	Umhlanga: Glen Hills, Glen Anil, Sunningdale, Somerset Park, Prestondale, Herrwood Park, Glen Ashley, La Lucia, Umhlanga Rocks, Westridge. Durban North: Riverside, Athlone, Parkhill, Redhill, Broadway, Virginia & Greenwood
105	Edenvale Eyethu	Pietermaritzburg	Kwazulu Natal	Ashdowne (Graceland), Edendale, Plessislaer, Sweetwaters, Dambuza, Caluza (Landaville), Imbali, Wil-lowfountain, Mpumelelo, Foxhill, Slangspruit, Pelham, Richmond Crest, Westgate, Grange, Bisley Heights, Oribi, Bisley Valley, Panorama Gardens, Cinderella Park, Prestbury, Napierville, Sobantu, drop-off points in Pietermaritzburg
106	eThekwini Times	Kwa Mashu/ Inanda/CBD	Kwazulu Natal	Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, Phoenix Industrial Pard,
107	Ezakwazulu News	Pinetown	Kwazulu Natal	Pinetown
108	focus Youth Magazine	Morningside	Kwazulu Natal	Ilembe, Ugu, Othukela, Umkhanyakude, Pinetown, Umgungundlovu, Vryheid, Tongaat, Sisonke, Amajuba, Umlazi, Umzinyathi
109	Galaxy Newspaper	Pietermaritzburg	Kwazulu Natal	Pietermaritzburg, Northdale, Raisethorpe and Greytown.
110	Genuine Magazine	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban Pietermaritzburg Port Shepstone Empangeni Richards Bay Eshowe Ulundi Newcastle Ladysmith
111	Hammersdale Izindaba	Briardene	Kwazulu Natal	Ntshongweni, Mophela, Tshelimnyama, Isiqhoqhoqho,
112	Highway News	Overport	Kwazulu Natal	Overport
113	Ikansi News	Newscastle	Kwazulu Natal	Newscastle
114	Ikusasa Lethu	Pinetown	Kwazulu Natal	Hillcrest, Ndwendwe, Inanda, Pinetown, Durban, Kwa Nqetho
115	Inhloso Yesizwe Newspaper	Ladysmith	Kwazulu Natal	Ezakhenai, Driefontein, Watersmeet, Ladysmith, Steadville, Rosboom, Burford, Blue Rank, Ekuvukeni, St Chads, Klinfontein, Wasbank, Peace Town, Acaciaville, Model Kloof, Umkhamba
116	Inkazimulo Newspaper	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban, Kwamashu, Ndwendwe, Portshepstone, Mandeni, Pietermaritzburg, Newscastle, Ladysmith, Richadsbay, Jozini, Tongaat, Bergville, Escort, Pongola, Ulundi, Empangeni, Stanger, Kwamaphumulo, Isipingo, Nongoma
117	Inkululeko Newspaper	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Umgungundlovu, Dalton, Wartburg, Mpolweni, Trustfeed, Zwathini, Mantobelu, Swayimane, Imbali, Ndwedwe, Mshwathi, Bhamshela, Chibini
118	Intuthuko Newspaper	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Eston, Mid Illovo, Ezimwini, Umbumbulu, Mphushini, Folweni, Adams Mission, Lovu, Mgababa, Amanzimtoti

119	Isibani Somphakathi	Newcastle	Kwazulu Natal	Newcastle
120	Kokstad Advertiser	Kokstad	Kwazulu Natal	Kokstad
121	KZN Newspaper	Montclair	Kwazulu Natal	KwaZulu-Natal from Kokstad in the south to Northern Zululand/Pomala.
122	Ladysmith Herald	Ladysmith	Kwazulu Natal	Ladysmith, Hyde Park, Egerton,
123	Life & Style	Durban Umhlanga Ballito	Kwazulu Natal	Durban Umhlanga Mt Edgecombe La Lucia Sunningdale Umdloti Ballito Umhlali
124	Maputaland Mirror	Mkhanyakude	Kwazulu Natal	Mkhanyakude
125	Maritzburg Views	Cleland	Kwazulu Natal	Pietermaritzburg CBD & shopping centres, Camps Drift, Montrose etc, Hillcrest, Cato Ridge, Camperdown, Umlaas Road, Eston, Mid-Illovo, Richmond, Hilton, Howick, Wartburg, Greytown, Nottingham Road/ Midlands Meander, Baynesfield, Richmond, Ixopo, Creighton, Northdale, Allandale, Raiselthorpe, Assagai, Bothas HillBulwer, Hammersdale, Donntbrook, Dalton, Drummond.
126	Meander Chronicle	Hilton	Kwazulu Natal	Howick, Ashburton, Dalton, Durban, Estcourt, Greytown, Hilton, Ladysmith, Lidgettton, Lions River, Merrivale, Mooi River, Nottingham Road, Pietermaritzburg, Rosetta/Kamberg, Underberg, Wartburg.
127	Mountain Echo	South Western Districts	Kwazulu Natal	Southern Drakensberg and the South Western Districts of KZN – these include:- Underberg, Himeville, Bulwer, Boston, Bushmansnek, Cedarville, Creighton, Drakensberg Gardens, Donnybrook, Howick, Hilton, Ixopo, Kokstad, Matatiele, Merrivale, Richmond, Sani Pass, Swartberg.
128	Newcastle Express	Newcastle	Kwazulu Natal	Ncandu Park, AmJUBA Park, Sunny Ridge
129	Northern Star	Northern Areas	Kwazulu Natal	Ottawa, Parkgate, South Ridge, Lotusville
130	Phoenix Tabloid	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban
131	Pinetown Izindaba	Pinetown	Kwazulu Natal	Pinetown, Cleremont, Kwa Dabeka, Fairview
132	Pondo News	Mbizana	Kwazulu Natal	Mbizana, Kokstad,
133	Pongola Nuus/ News	Pongola	Kwazulu Natal	Greater Pongola area: Pongola, Nongoma, Mkuze, Magudu, Nchtshane, Jozini, Golela, kwa Shoba, Piet Retief.
134	Southern Star	Southern Areas	Kwazulu Natal	BViewrighton Beach, Grosvenor, Ocean View
135	Springfield Gazette	Overport	Kwazulu Natal	Berea, Musgrave, Morningside, Overport, Cato Manor, Windermere
136	Stanger Weekly	Stanger	Kwazulu Natal	Stanger inc suburbs Stanger Manor, High Ridge, Windy Heights, Oceanview, Sunnypark, Indian Village, Morningside, Northlands Park, Docktorskop, Dawnside & Erasmus Dam, Townview, Rocky Park, Glenhills, Industrial and surrounds. Bulk to Ballito, Umhlali, Salt Rock, Shaka's Kraal etc.
137	Taxi Indaba Media & Advertising	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban, Pinetown, Isipingo, Berea, Umgeni, Pietermaritzburg, Scottsburg, Umzinto, Port Shepston, Margate, Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, Empangeni, Richards Bay, Mandini, Undelani
138	Taxi Indaba Media & Advertising	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban, Pinetown, Isipingo, Berea, Umgeni, Pietermaritzburg, Scottsburg, Umzinto, Port Shepston, Margate, Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, Empangeni, Richards Bay, Mandini, Undelani
139	The Bugle		Kwazulu Natal	Durban North, Umhlanga, La Lucia, Mt Edgecombe, Prestondale, Sunningdale, Glen Anil, Glen Ashley, Umdloti, Ballito, Salt Rock
140	The Ripple Effect	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	

141	Thisability Newspaper	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Community Centres, Associations of people with disabilities, Medical Centres, Disability schools, Hospitals
142	Thubelihle News	Newcastle	Kwazulu Natal	
143	Ubhaqa Newspaper	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Durban, Tongaat, Stanger, Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt, Claremont
144	Ukholo News	Durban	Kwazulu Natal	Hammersdale, Stanger, Durban, Ndengezi, Pinetown,
145	Umamgobhozi News	Newcastle	Kwazulu Natal	Newcastle
146	Umaqeketha News	Newcastle	Kwazulu Natal	Newcastle
147	Umlazi Times	Umlazi	Kwazulu Natal	Umlazi
148	Umvoti Light/ Ukukhanyakomvoti	Umvoti/Umswathi/Msinga	Kwazulu Natal	Greytown, Ahrens, Bruyns Hill, Cool Air, Greytown, Dalton, Eshane, Keates Drift, Kranskop, , New Hanover Seven Oaks, Tugela Ferry, Wartburg
149	Weekly Gazette	Briardene	Kwazulu Natal	Berea, Musgrave, Durban CBD, Essenwood, Windermere, Stamford Hill, Puntans Hill, Springfield, Springtown, Overport, Newlands, Parlock, Sydenham, Clare Estate, Reservoir Hills, Sherwood, West Riding, Bonela, Bakerville, Asherville, Sparks.
150	Weekly Gazette Glenwood	Briardene	Kwazulu Natal	Bulwer, Glenwood, Westridge, Carrington, Glenmore, Stellawood, Umbilo, Seaview
151	Weekly Gazette Westville	Briardene	Kwazulu Natal	Berea West, Beverly Hills, Chiltern Hills, Dawncliffe, Dawncrest, Grayleigh, Westville, Woodside
	Limpopo			
152	Blouberg Today	Senwabarwana	Limpopo	Senwabarwana, Dendron, Alldays, Vivo, Blouberg
153	Bulletin	Tzaneen	Limpopo	
154	Die Kwêvoël	Thabazimbi Municipality	Limpopo	Thabazimbi Northam Swartklip Amandelbult Setaria Koedoeskop Kromdraai
155	Die Pos	Bela-Bela	Limpopo	Bella-Bella, Modimolle, Alma, Pienaarsrivier, Radium, Platrivier, Elim, Vaalwater, Settlers, Tuinplaas, Tuinplaas, Leeupoort, Rooiberg and Kromdraai, Mookgopong
156	Kruger 2 Canyon	Hoedspruit	Limpopo	Hoederspruit, Acornhoek, The Oaks, Josh Macs, Kruger National Park, Malelane, Hazyview, White River, Nelspruit
157	Limpopo Mirror	Louis Trichardt	Limpopo	Thohoyandou, Louis Trichardt, Musina, Levubu, Nzhelole, Elim, Malamulele.
158	Limpopo Rise 'n Shine News	Modimolle	Limpopo	Modimolle, Mookgopong, Thabazimbi, Lephallale, Bela Bela, Mogalaokwena, Makhado, Musina, Thohoyandou, Elim, Polokwane, Blouberg, Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, Turfloop, Tzaneen, Seshego
159	Loskop Loerie	Groblersdal	Limpopo	Groblersdal
160	Mogol Post	Ellisras	Limpopo	Lephallale (Ellisras), Marapong, Marken, Baltimore, Onverwacht, Shogwane, Steenbokpan, Vaalwater, Limpopodraai.
161	Noordelike Nuus/ Northern News	Mokopane	Limpopo	Mokopane, Lephallale, Marken, Tolwe, Baltimore, Steenbokpan
162	Nqoho News	Thohoyandou	Limpopo	Thohoyandou, Sibasa, Dzanani, Elim, Musina, Makhado, Vuwani, Tshilamba, Levubu, Shayandima, Siloam, Mukula
163	Nthavela	Polokwane	Limpopo	malamulele has 34 villages Giyani 42 villages Elim 23 villages Tzaneen 17 villages Phalaborwa 15
164	Sebatakgomo News	Sekhukhune	Limpopo	

165	Seipone Newspaper	Polokwane	Limpopo	Polokwane 1500 Mogwadi (Dendron) 100 Soekme- kaar 400 Dendron 100 Mokopane (Potgietersrus) 1000 Mookgopong (Naboomspruit) 100 Modimolle (Nylstroom) 120 Matlala (Bakenburg) 300 Apel 150 Thohoyandou 400 Burgersfort 900 Groblersdal 900 Jane Furse 600 Sekhukhune 800 Tzaneen 700 Sen- wabarwana (Bochum) 300 Marble Hall 250 Bela Bela 400 Sekgosese 380 Modjadiskloof (Duiwelskloof) 300 Senwabarwana (Bochum) 400 TOTAL 10000
166	The beat community newspaper	Bela Bela	Limpopo	Bela Bela, Modimolle, Thabazimbi, Mookgapong (Na- boomspruit), Northam, Vaalwater, Pienaarrivier
167	The Eye News	Tzaneen	Limpopo	Tzaneen, Bathabine Community, Bakgakga , Leny- enye, Nkowankowa, Giyane, Ngwamitwa, Bolobedu, Kgapane
168	Zimbabwean	Louis Trichardt	Limpopo	Zimbabweans resident in South Africa (15500). Plus distributed into Zimbabwe (15000)
169	Zoutpansberger	Louis Trichardt	Limpopo	Louis Trichardt, Musina, Levubu, AFB Makhado
	Mpumalanga			
170	African Eye News	Nelspruit	Mpumalanga	Online
171	Bushbuckridge News	Bushbuckridge	Mpumalanga	Hazyview Sabie Nelspruit Bushbuckridge
172	Coal City News	Witbank	Mpumalanga	Witbank, Ogies, Delmas, Kriel
173	Cosmos News	Standerton	Mpumalanga	Balfour, Bethal, Greylingstad, Morgenzon, Sakhile, Secunda, Standerton, Trichardt, Val, Villiers, Vrede, Kinross.
174	Delmas News	Witbank	Mpumalanga	Delmas, Botleng Township, Abor, Elof
175	Ehlanzeni News	Nelspruit	Mpumalanga	Kanyamazane, Kamagugu, Pienaar, Ka Bokweni, Bushbuckridge, Nelspruit, Whiteriver, Baberton, Male- bane, Lydenburg, Sabie
176	Ekasi News	Secunda	Mpumalanga	eMbalenhle, Sakhile, Secunda, Leandra, Evander, Trichard, Kinross, Ermelo, Standerton, Bethal, eMzino- ni, Lebohang, kwa Zamokuhle, Hendrina
177	Excelsior News	Mkhondo(Piet Retief)	Mpumalanga	piet retief, paulpietersburg, driefontein, dirkiesdorp, panbult, iswepe, amsterdam, pongola, nhlango (swaziland)
178	Focus Youth Magazine	Groblersdal	Mpumalanga	
179	Guardian yase Mpumalanga	Barberton	Mpumalanga	
180	Highlands Panorama	Lydenburg	Mpumalanga	Lydenburg, Burgersfort, Dullstroom, Steelpoort, Ohrigstad
181	Highveld Tribune: Ermelo	Ermelo	Mpumalanga	Ermelo, Amersfoort, Breyten, Carolina, Chrissiesmeer, Morgenzon, Amsterdam, Lothair, Piet Retief, Bethal, Sheepmore, Badplaas.
182	Khanyisa News	Ermelo	Mpumalanga	
183	Mash News	Lydenburg / Mashishing	Mpumalanga	Mashishing, Sabie, Graskop, Pilgrims Rest, Matibidi, Coromandela, Skhila
184	Mhlunzi Reflection	Witbank	Mpumalanga	Middleburg, Mhlunzi, Surrounding mines
185	Mpumalanga Tourism Information	Belfast	Mpumalanga	Witbank, Pilgrims Rest, Balfour, White River, Lydenburg
186	Nkangala Informer	Middleburg	Mpumalanga	Middleburg
187	Nkomazi Observer	Enhlanzeni	Mpumalanga	Schoemansdal, Madadeni, Tonga, Hoyi, Malelane, Drie- koppies, Mgobodzi, Jepesreef, Magogeni, KwaMhlush- wa, Boschfontein, Mbuzini, Magudu, Tsambokhulu, Komatipoort, Mzinti, Masibekela, Mangweni, Mananga

188	Recorder	Volksrust	Mpumalanga	Volksrust Amersfoort Majuba Powerstation Wakkerstroom Perdekop Charlestown
189	Thaba Chweu News	Sabie	Mpumalanga	Lydenburg, Dintjie, Sabie, Bushbuckridge, Graskop, White River, Pilgrims Rest, Nelspruit
190	Ziwaphi	Mbombela	Mpumalanga	Mbombela (Nelspruit, White River, Matsulu, Lekazi, Pienaar, KaBokweni, Hazyview, Nsikazi, Kaapmuiden) Nkomazi (Malalane, Komatipoort, Jeppes Reef, KaMhlushwa, Tonga) Umjindi (Barberton, Mjindini)
	National			
200	I do Magazine	National	National	National
	North West			
201	Agenda Magazine	Mmabatho	North West	Mafikeng, Setlagole, Tswaing, Ditsobotla, Ramotshere, Klerksdorp
202	Kormorant	Melodie	North West	Hartbeespoort, Schoemansville, Melodi, Ifafi, Meerhof, Scheerpoort, Broederstroom, Brits.
203	Leseding News	Rustenburg North	North West	Bojanala (Rustenburg), Brits, Thlabane, Phokeng, Madibeng, Letlhabile, Maboloka, Moses Kotane, Moruleng, Sun City, Mabieskraal, Koster, Zeerust, Mafikeng, Mmabatho (govt buildings).
204	Madibeng Times	Brits	North West	Brits, Hartbeespoort, Garankuwa, Mooinooi
205	Mmega District News	Mafikeng	North West	Delareyville (Atamelang, Madibogo, Setlagole, Kraaipan), Lichtenburg, Mafikeng, Zeerust, Vryburg and Sannieshof
206	North West On Sunday	Mafikeng/ Lichtenburg/ Rustenburg	North West	Mafikeng/Lichtenburg/Rustenburg
207	NorthWest Independent	Potchefstroom, Fochville	North West	Potchefstroom, Stillfontein, Ventersdorp, Klerksdorp, Parys
208	Overvaal	Wolmaransstad	North West	Wolmaransstad, Amelia, Bloemhof, Boshof, Bothaville, Bulfontein, Christiana, Hartswater, Hertzogville, Hoopstad, Kameel, Leeudoringstad, Makwassie, Ottosdal, Reivilo, Schweizer-Reneke, Stella, Tosca, Vryburg, Wesselsbron, Wilpoort & Klerksdorp
209	Platinum Press	Rustenburg	North West	Mafikeng, Rustenburg
210	Western Sun	Koster	North West	Kgetleng, Swaruggens, Koster, Reagile, Borolelo, Mazista, Skierlik, Boons, Derby, Rustenburg, Tlhabane, Suncity, Phokeng, Mogwase, Northam, Thabazimbi, Brits, Mafikeng, Zeerust, Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp, Derdeport, Mabeskraal, Madikwe, Mabalstad, Silvekrans, Pela, Lindelspoort
211	Zeerust News	Zeerust	North West	Zeerust, Mafikeng, Lichtenburg, Swaruggens, Lehurutshe and Groot-Marico.
212	North West Journal	Mafikeng	North west	Ngaka Modiri, Molema, Dr Ruth Segomotsi, Sempati District, Dr Kenneth Kaunda District
213	Vaal Times	Hartswater	North west	Taung, Christiana, Schwizer Reneke, Hartswater, Bloemhof, Pampierstad, Warrenton, Vryburg, Jankempdorp, Reivilo
214	Youth Today	Moshawana Village	North west	Ngaka Modiri Molema District, Dr Kenneth Kaunda District, Dr Ruth Segomotsi District
	Northern Cape			
215	Die Ghaap - Kimberley Gazette	Postmansburg	Northern Cape	Postmansburg
216	Die Horison	Upington	Northern Cape	Upington
217	Die Platteland	Springbok	Northern Cape	Barkley East

218	Kathu Gazette	Kathu	Northern Cape	Kathu (Sesheng, Deben), Barkly West, Blackrock, Danielskuil, Khumani, Deben, Dingleton, Hartswater, Hotazel/Samancor, Kolomela, Jan Kempdorp, Kuruman, Lime Acres, Lohatla, Mamatwan, Olifantshoek, Postmasburg/Beeshoek, Upington, Warrenton, Ulco, Delporthoop.
219	Kuruman Chronicle	Kuruman	Northern Cape	
220	The/Die Echo	De Aar	Northern Cape	Hanover, Richmond, Petrusville, Britstown, Vanderkloof, Philipstown.
221	Victoria West Messenger	Calvinia	Northern Cape	Victoria West, Loxton & Vosburg.
	Western Cape			
222	Amandla		Western Cape	
223	Cape Flats News	Bonteheuwel	Western Cape	Bonteheuwel, Golden Gate, Kalksteenfontein, Netreg, Bishop Lavis, Nooitgedacht, Elsie's River, Matroosfontein, Athlone CBD, Charesville, Montana, Valhalla Park, Langa, Heideveld, Welcome, Vanguard, Surrey, Greenhaven, Rylands, Gatesville, Parktown, Silverton, Kewtown, Bridgetown & Belgravia.
224	Chalkline	Cape Peninsula	Western Cape	
225	Chimurenga Magazine	Vlaeberg	Western Cape	
226	Courant	Malmesbury	Western Cape	Malmesbury (Wesbank incl), Darling, Moorreesburg (Koringberg incl), Riebeeck Valley (Riebeeck Kasteel, Riebeeck West & Hermon incl), Porterville, Piketberg, Yzerfontein, Hermon, Koringberg.
227	Courier	Beaufort West	Western Cape	Beaufort West
228	Die Herrie	Oudtshoorn	Western Cape	Calitzdorp, De Rust, Ladismith, Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, George.
229	Die Hoorn	Oudtshoorn	Western Cape	Oudtshoorn and Klein Karoo
230	Dizindaba News	Goodwood	Western Cape	Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Phillipi, Mfuleni, Delft, Langa, Gugulethu, Boland, Strand
231	Full Circle	Sunnydale	Western Cape	Duynfontein, Van Riebeeck Strand, Melkbosstrand, Bloubergstrand, West Beach, Bloubergstrand, Blouberg, Sunset Beach, Edgemoed, Welgelegen, Kleinbosch, Platteklouf, Veirlanden, Aurora, Durbanville, Welgemoed, Amanda Glen & Eversdal
232	Gansbaai Courant	Gansbaai	Western Cape	
233	Impact 24/7	Atlantis	Western Cape	Atlantis, Darling, Witsand, Mamre, Pella, Phillidelhia
234	Langebaan Online	Langebaan	Western Cape	
235	Muslim Views	Rylands	Western Cape	
236	My Future Magazine	Cape Town	Western Cape	Cape Town, Kimberley, Joburg, Parts of KZN
237	Next 48 hours	Maitland	Western Cape	Cape Town
238	Northern Bulletin	Brackenfell	Western Cape	Kraaifontein: Scottsdale, Watsonia Park, Bernodino Heights, Belmont Park, Eikendal & Scottsville. Brackenfell: North Pine. Kuils River area: Highbury & Sarepta. Blackheath: Malibu & Greenfields. Bellville.
239	Ons Kontrei	Vredendal	Western Cape	Vredendal, Alexander Bay, Clanwilliam, Citrusdal, Doringbaai, Garies, Graaffwater, Kamieskroon, Klawer, Kleinzee, Lambertsbaai, Lutzville, Springbok, Vanyhnsdorp, Port Nolloth, Koekenaap, Bitterfontein, Loeriesfontein.
240	Overstrand Herald	Kleinmond	Western Cape	Betty's Bay, Kleinmond, Pringle Bay, Rooiels

241	People's Choice	Cape Town	Western Cape	
242	SA Fruit Journal	Paarl	Western Cape	Citrus and subtropical fruit growers & associations. Fresh produce exporters' forum. The Citrus Growers Association. The SA Avocado growers' association and deciduous fruit producers trust.
243	Suidernuus		Western Cape	Bredasdorp, Napier, Struisbaai, L'agulhas, Arniston, Swellendam, Elim, Protem, Riviersonderend
244	The Big Issue	Cape Town	Western Cape	Sold on the street by vendors
245	Treasure Magazine	Goodwood	Western Cape	Athlone, Rylands, Gatesville, Crawford, Belgravia, Lansdowne, Wetton, Ottery, Wynberg, Grassy Park, Retreat, Pelican Park, Strandfontein, Michells Plein, Mannenburg, Hanover Park, Surrey Eastate, Gugulethu,
246	West Cape News Agency	Cape Town	Western Cape	
247	Wine Tourism Handbook (reference book/ directory)	Vlaeberg	Western Cape	Wine tourists via sales at Cape Town international airport, local and international wine tourism shows, retail book shops, wine shops and hotels.
248	Winelands Echo	Cape Winelands District	Western Cape	Stellenbosch, Khayamandi, Franschoek, Pniel, Somerset West, Strand, Paarl, wellington, Mbekweni, Gouda, Saron, Hermon, Wolseley, Tulbach, Ceres, Worcester, Hamlet, Nduli, Gordons Bay
249	Witzenberg Herald	Ceres	Western Cape	Ceres, Tulbagh, Wolseley, Prince Alfred Hamlet, Op-die-Berg and Koue Bokkeveld

APPENDIX 6

Mail & Guardian Social Media Policy Guidelines

AUTHENTICITY

Yours

- Be authentic and consider your audience. When sourcing material on social media, include your name and, when appropriate, your company name and your title. Readers consume content from people they know and trust, and pass that content on. Be aware that you are part of a community, and subject to the dynamics of that community.
- Do not misrepresent yourself on social media. Be upfront about being from the Mail & Guardian. Do not use subterfuge to obtain information, and do not use underhand technical methods (such as subverting security protocols on websites) to obtain information. Although social media are public platforms, and in general in the public domain, be mindful that some people might not fully understand this. If in any doubt, check with people that they are aware that they are, de facto, commenting in the public domain. In cases where public interest is the overriding factor, the expectation of privacy is not as relevant.

Theirs

- The internet is home to much disinformation and false data. Be very aware of this, and make sure you are thoroughly conversant with your subject and source before accepting the validity of information received online. As with traditional reporting, take notes. Take a screenshot of any page you are using in your research -- pages can be removed from sites, and then you have no proof. This is especially important when using information sourced via social media. Take a screenshot of Twitter conversations or social network pages. As these are private accounts, they can be deleted by their owners.

Attribution

- Information on social media is still owned, despite the illusion of a liminal free-for-all. Always attribute your source, be it a person or a platform. Readers ascribe different values to different sources, so they need to know, for example, when something comes from a user on Twitter as opposed to physical investigation.
- From time to time, your tweets will be aggregated on to mg.co.za. This means the M&G might, in certain circumstances, be legally responsible for what you write. Exercise the same caution, with regards to libel and fairness, as you would on any other of our platforms. This is not just about the law. If you make a comment that is aggressive or nasty, this can taint our reputation, as well as your personal name in the industry.
- Online, the distinction between the public and the private is blurred. Inevitably, your private persona will be conflated with your business persona. If the M&G feels that your private online persona adversely affects your ability to work in your professional area, we may change the area in which you work, or discipline you if this is deemed necessary.
- Also, remember that data can be mined in various ways. You might inadvertently betray a source, or leak an upcoming scoop, by a seemingly unrelated series of tweets or posts that tell a revealing story when parsed together. Be vigilant at all times. You are responsible for what you say on social media. Social media are not lesser media: you are judged by the same standards as what is commonly termed “traditional media”. You are responsible for what you write.
- Respect copyrights and fair use. Always give people proper credit for their work, and make sure you have the right to use something with attribution before you publish. This is particularly tricky with retweeting, and editing those retweets for space. If you edit someone’s tweet, mark it as a partial retweet (PRT).

- Remember to protect confidential & proprietary info. You are obliged, contractually, to protect the M&G's confidential or proprietary information. Employees who share confidential or proprietary information do so at the risk of losing their job and possibly even ending up a defendant in a civil lawsuit. At the very least, companies will seriously question the judgment of an employee who shares confidential or proprietary information via social media.

AUTHORITY

- The bedrock of our authority as a publication is our impartiality. Your profiles, retweets, likes and postings can reveal your political and ideological affiliations. Be very sure that your audience either understands that you are professional enough to put those aside in the workspace, or that those affiliations will not be construed as having an effect on your ability to do objective journalism. A simple example: If you join a particular Facebook group for research purposes, it would be politic (as well as good research policy) to also join whatever group holds a contrary viewpoint on the same subject.
- Exercise good judgment. Your comments will be open to misinterpretation and malicious repostings. Always think before you hit enter. Your comments will be monitored - that's the nature of social media - and will be passed on to your employer. As our reputation is predicated on dealing with controversial subjects, this will always be a contested area. We have to take a standpoint, but be aware that your standpoint has to be defensible according to the Code of Ethics of the Mail & Guardian. As with our other publications, our social media are judged on the value we provide to the user. Do not imagine that social media consumers have a less rigid idea of what they want from our publication. The product might be different (shorter, looser tone, etc), but they are still judging by our usual standards.

The separation of the private and the professional

- If you have a private social media account (Facebook, Twitter and the like), you are advised to declare your professional affiliation, and include the following disclaimer: "The views expressed here are strictly personal, and do not represent the views of my employer, the Mail & Guardian." Be aware that people will still elide the two, so make sure you say nothing that will damage the *Mail & Guardian's* name.

PUBLISHING

- Should you break stories on social media? The general rule is, if you don't do it, someone else will. You don't want to scoop our other relevant platforms, but social media platforms are as important in terms of building a news reputation. Where possible, we would prefer to break news with a link to a solid piece of content on our other platforms, but there will be many occasions where you'll have to preempt our newsdesks. If possible, check with a senior editor on the wisdom of your decision. Generally, the ideal would be that someone checks your social media update before you post it. This will seldom be possible, but make it happen if you are in any doubt.
- There's a delicate balance between whetting our audience's appetite with teasers about work in progress, and handing a competitive advantage to other news organisations. Here, there are no guidelines possible except those of your professional acumen and common sense. In principle, the *Mail & Guardian* is committed to as transparent a news agenda as is possible within the constraints of business sense.

(Note: Many of these points are a variation of those found on the excellent Reuters social media guidelines).

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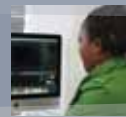
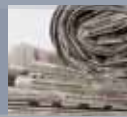
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